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Cover illustration. Pride as a falling rider. ca. 1225. Chartres Cathedral. Photograph: James Austin. (See fig. 1, p. 33.)

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The American Historical Association in 1970

R. R. PALMER

We have come together this evening to hear the eighty-fifth presidential address of the American Historical Association. It has been customary in the past for my predecessors to speak on general problems of history, or to call for new directions in historical study, or to offer mature reflections on the subjects to which their professional lives have been devoted. Tonight I am going to speak about the American Historical Association itself. Much has been heard here on the nature of history in these eighty-five years, and I have said in other places, a bit repetitiously, what I think of the eighteenth century and the Age of the Democratic Revolution. It seems best to use the present occasion to survey the problems of our own Association in the year 1970. The date of these observations is early October, the copy deadline for the February 1971 number of the *American Historical Review*. I hope that the rush of events, in these strenuous times, will not make my remarks this evening seem already outmoded.

As historians we are forever talking about revolutions, crises, and turning points. Let us recognize one in our own midst. The Association is in a period of crisis; and what comes out of it probably will be, as with actual revolutions, not complete success for any one group, but a continuing interplay between people who have different opinions. In current language it may be called an identity crisis. We share it with the whole academic world. As historians we claim to be a profession, but we do not quite know what the profession is. Are we researchers, teachers, writers, or experts on various countries and centuries? Are we activists or academics? Is our Association a trade union or a learned society? While we uphold our own interests, how can we best serve the public interest as well? There are no easy answers to these questions. The Association must somehow face them all and have a place for all kinds of members.

The crisis, though long in developing, became apparent a year ago. We had in 1969, I suppose, the most turbulent business meeting in the whole history

This is an expanded version of a presidential address delivered by Mr. Palmer at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, Boston, December 28, 1970.

of the Association. It was attended by over two thousand persons, of whom over fourteen hundred were members, or were at least counted as voting. This was over ten times the attendance of preceding years; even in 1968, when controversial issues also arose, only 116 voting members were present. To be sure, the attendance last year was a small fraction of the membership as a whole. Yet to have so many come to a business meeting, and remain for several hours, is indeed a sign of something like a revolution, and probably also of counterrevolution, as anyone should know who has studied such phenomena in the past.

There were three issues that produced this unprecedented turnout. One was the Vietnam War, or rather the question of whether the Association, acting officially as such, should vote to condemn it. It was on this issue that the balloting was most evenly divided. The larger issue, of course, was whether a professional or learned society should ever take an official stand on any political question. Many of our members firmly oppose such declarations, and yet they would make an exception of such a rare and special case as the prolonged American military involvement in Southeast Asia; and I think that if the resolution had been presented in different language, with emphasis on the destructive effects of the war on college and university campuses, which are our immediate concern, a substantial majority might have been won for it.

The second issue was the election of the president of the Association. For the first time in its eighty-five-year history—perhaps not soon enough—the AHA had a contested election on the floor of its business meeting. It is true that in 1944 an opposition candidate for the presidency was in fact nominated; but the candidate refused to run, never appeared at the meeting, and sent a letter repudiating those who had nominated him. In 1969 the opposition candidate received almost thirty per cent of a very large vote.

The third issue was a set of amendments proposed by the Council to modify the constitution of the Association. These amendments were passed and are now in effect. It is possible that their import is not generally understood, since the pressures at the meeting a year ago greatly shortened the explanations the Council had intended to offer. I shall therefore offer a brief explanation now. The effect of the amendments was and is to limit the formerly sovereign powers of the business meeting. In the AHA, as in other learned societies that grew up at the close of the last century, each at first with only a few hundred members, it was long the practice to regard the "Business Meeting," as it was called, as the general assembly of the whole membership. As such, as in a small Rousseauist city-state, it had final authority in the election of officers and in its power to reverse or instruct the elected Council. Now that our Association numbers eighteen thousand, distributed over a country three thousand miles wide, it is difficult to maintain that the hundred or so members who normally appear at a business meeting, and constitute less than one per cent of the membership, really

represent the membership or should exercise the powers of the membership as a whole. Who or how many come to a business meeting fluctuates from year to year and depends on prior knowledge of the issues at stake, the interest or activity of particular groups, and the part of the country in which the annual meeting is held. The former power of the business meeting was one of the most archaic parts of our constitution; there are others to which I shall refer later. At present, and in the future unless further constitutional change provides otherwise, there cannot be an election of officers on the floor of the business meeting, nor can that meeting, without more ado, simply overrule the Council or give it positive orders. It can vote to reverse an action of the Council; the Council may then accept the reversal or submit the issue to a mail ballot of the whole membership. The business meeting also has enacting powers, unless the Council declines to concur, in which case the issue is submitted to a mail ballot. The business meeting can question, criticize, urge, and recommend to the Council, it can pass resolutions, and it can propose constitutional amendments. It is to be expected that the Council will listen seriously to the business meeting. That depends on the future vitality of the business meeting itself. At present, however, where the business meeting and the Council formally disagree, the appeal is to the membership as a whole.

I know that there were some in 1969, and doubtless are some now, who think that in obtaining those amendments the Council was acting defensively, that it was afraid of a take-over by some small unspecified group, generally supposed to be far to the left, or that it was protecting its own oligarchic freedom of action by appeal to a large uninformed or apathetic electorate. There has been talk of an establisment entrenching itself behind the pretended democracy of a popular plebiscite. It has been said that those of our members who are sufficiently interested, informed, and active to attend a business meeting should have the powers that that meeting formerly enjoyed. I simply do not agree. Of course the Council was taking precautions against a "take-over," or whatever the seizure of power by a handful of members might be called. But there were also more immediate reasons for the amendments.

If an assembly of historians can bear with a little more of their own history, they may recall the business meeting of 1968. On that occasion it was a group that proved to be a minority at the business meeting that asked for the so-called plebiscitarian solution. Unable to get the business meeting to disapprove of holding the International Congress of Historical Sciences at Moscow in 1970, this group won a vote instructing the Council to submit the question to a mail ballot, which upheld the idea of the Moscow meeting by two to one. At the same time, in 1968, the business meeting reversed a decision of the Council, which had concluded after much deliberation that a list of approved Ph.D. programs should not be made public. Constitutionally, as was then its right, the business meeting ordered publication of this list.

The Council—that is, the officers and elected members—violated the constitution in not carrying out this mandate. The Council did so not out of obstinate adherence to its previous judgment, but because of anguished outcries, accompanied by threats of legal action, on the part of institutions that thought that they would be injured if a list was published. There were indeed other important considerations. The matter was arranged by agreement. But the constitution was violated. It was to restore some orderly procedure to the affairs of the Association that the amendments were proposed and carried.

Of the amendments adopted last year it should finally be said that they contain some liberalizing features, not at all calculated to keep an in-group in office. Formerly ex-presidents remained as voting members of the Council for three years; now they do so for only one. Now for the first time the nominating committee is required to announce in advance, early in the year, the names of its nominees for president, vice-president, treasurer, and elected members of the Council. The purpose is to enable those who may be dissatisfied to know who the nominees are in time to prepare and publicize a list of alternative candidates if they wish. The names of the alternative candidates are then placed on the usual ballot that goes out in November. As few as a hundred members may thus by petition place a name on the ballot. For the first time, also, proposal of constitutional amendment is no longer confined to the Council or the business meeting. Not only these two, but any one hundred members may propose a constitutional amendment by petition. Such a proposal by petition, calling for restructuring and enlargement of the Council, will be considered by our business meeting tomorrow, along with an amendment proposed by the Council. The business meeting, however, does not act finally in such a matter, since any proposed amendment must now be accepted or rejected by mail ballot of the membership as a whole.

Such is our machinery at present. What are our problems? They fall into two general categories. One has to do with the representativeness of the management of the Association. The other embraces a wide variety of questions on what the Association ought to do, or what historians in general ought to be doing under present and future conditions. "Management" seems an unsuitable term in our circumstances; the first problem simply refers to the operating organs of the Association—the elected officers and Council, the executive secretary and his staff, the editor and editorial board of the *Review*, the nominating committee, the program committee, and all the other committees—and whether these operating organs represent or are responsive to the membership. The two sets of problems are connected. Presumably, if the operating organs were differently constituted or controlled, the activities of the Association and its priorities might be different.

I do not wish to minimize the problem of representativeness by saying that it is an old one. You can imagine my surprise, in the course of my

recent somewhat hurried researches, to discover a pamphlet entitled "Why the American Historical Association Needs Thorough Reorganization." It was privately printed in Washington in 1915. Its main author was Frederic Bancroft, who is remembered for the Bancroft Prizes in American History. He led a movement against what he called a "ring." He quotes phrases that he says were not new even in 1915: "The oligarchy does as it pleases." "We are run by a big-university trust." You have to "have the favor of the old guard." This old guard, he said, was composed of John Franklin Jameson, Frederick Jackson Turner, Andrew C. McLaughlin, George Lincoln Burr, Charles Homer Haskins, and a few other notables of the profession. It was charged that the men in this ring, really bossed by Jameson, jocosely referred to as the "dean," were entrenched in the editorial board of the *Review*, and chose themselves or their favorites in turn to be president.

These accusations were taken up by a special Committee of Nine, whose report was dismissed as a whitewash, but which produced a new constitution adopted in 1916. This is the constitution under which, with amendments, we still live. It was at this time that ex-presidents, instead of remaining as voting members of the Council for life, were limited to three years. This remained the rule until a year ago. Elected members of the Council, as distinct from officers and past presidents, were raised in number from six to eight. We still have this council of eight elected members that issued from this mild revolution of fifty-four years ago. It was also in 1916 that a nominating committee was first provided for, to be elected by and report to the members of the Association, and so to be completely independent from the officers and the Council. In the 1930s, by further changes, the eight elected Council members and the members of the nominating committee, instead of being elected at the business meeting, were elected by a mail ballot that preceded it. In 1969 this same principle was finally applied to the president, vice-president, and treasurer also.

It is a delicate question whether we have a ring or an establishment today. If we do, it is certainly no such tight little group as John Franklin Jameson seems actually to have once been able to lead. Our committees are not dominated by the Council, and their members come from many places and parts of the country, especially since the mid-fifties, when the Association for the first time had enough funds to pay travel expenses for its committees. A real effort is made to get a wide distribution of persons who serve the Association in various capacities. Yet among the officers, the Council, and the editorial board of the *Review* the predominance of persons from certain eminent universities can hardly escape notice. The trend is even increasing. Of presidents of the Association in the twenty-five years since 1946, fifteen have been from Harvard, Yale, Princeton, or Columbia. For the twenty-five years from 1921 to 1945 the corresponding figure was only ten. At present no member of our Council teaches at a college that does not have a graduate school. There were two such on the Council in 1940. Geographical distribu-

tion of elected Council members is at present good in that it corresponds fairly well to distribution of the membership at large. But half these eight councilors received their Ph.D.'s from Harvard, and none from any point west of Chapel Hill. In any case, it is surprising to discover that of the eight Council members elected in 1916, after the upheaval provoked by Frederic Bancroft, only one was at an institution east of the Alleghenies, and she was a woman, Lucy Salmon of Vassar. Only one had a Harvard Ph.D., and he taught at Indiana. In 1915 Chicago and Cornell were among the six universities that were said to dominate the profession of history. What has happened since then is a bit like the long-term drift of the Rhodes Scholarships. When these scholarships were first introduced, in the years following 1904, less than ten per cent of the awards went to students at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton; in the 1960s the proportion was one-third. One would have to be a very confirmed Ivy Leaguer to raise no eyebrows at such a development.

Many of our members today, and some who are not members but might be, feel that the Association does not represent them; they have little interest in it and think it has little interest in them. In one way the situation is as in Bancroft's time. In 1915 the Association had passed through a period of rapid growth, reaching a membership of almost 3,000, at which it leveled off for a period of thirty years. We have just passed through another such period of even greater expansion, reaching a membership of 18,000, four times as large as twenty years ago. But the problem now is more serious than it was in 1915. The rebellion of that time was apparently without ideological or educational significance. It was directed purely against oligarchy as such; between the rebels and the "ring" there was no difference on what the Association should be or do. Today the problem of representativeness is more closely related to the problem of what functions the Association should perform.

There are various reasons why people whose work is in history may lack interest in the American Historical Association. I have already touched on the geographical problem. Regional distribution of our membership has changed surprisingly little in fifty years. While there has obviously been a great growth on the West Coast, the only region to show a proportionate decline is New England, whose share in the membership, since 1920, has dropped from seventeen to eleven per cent. Even so, exactly half our members, not counting foreign and Canadian, still live in the Atlantic coastal states from Maine to Florida. While this fact explains the frequency of Eastern names in the affairs of the Association, it also suggests, since distribution of total population is different, that college teachers of history west of the Alleghenies may feel less inclination to join. The idea of an Eastern establishment is thus reinforced. There may be dissatisfaction also, East or West, among members and nonmembers who teach in small colleges, in junior colleges, and in large developing universities away from the older

and better-known institutions. Many of these persons in fact take part in the program of our annual meetings or other activities. There is another group who feel that the Association should not be merely a society of professors, but somehow bring history into the mainstream of public affairs. This group has always been present, though in the early days its inclination was to deal with prominent public men. Ex-president Rutherford B. Hayes was one of the forty-one persons who founded the Association at Saratoga in 1884; Theodore Roosevelt was elected president of the Association in 1912, though he laughed at it as a little circle of pedants; and Woodrow Wilson was chosen in the last year of his life. The demand for more contact with the public was heard again in the 1930s, when Conyers Read wished to use the radio to bring history to a wider audience, and Allan Nevins urged the Association to sponsor a popular historical magazine. In each case the more purely professional or professorial party prevailed, and the magazine *American Heritage* now flourishes without connection with the American Historical Association.

Today the demand for public involvement takes a different form, with political activists who think the Association too exclusively academic and certain members of the New Left for whom it is too conservative. The Vietnam War has kept the issue alive; black studies and urban studies will do the same. My own belief is that historians, as individuals, should deal with the most inflammatory issues if they wish to; but that the Association, as an organization representing all forms of history, should remain more neutral and indeed academic. Let me remark that W. E. B. Du Bois, Herbert Aptheker, and Howard Fast have all belonged to our Association; and I hope that activists who can produce such history as they did will always be among us. The presence of these three and others on our membership list, in the days of Senator Joseph McCarthy, caused trouble for the Association, which in 1953 was denounced as the "second most subversive" scholarly group in the country. The Association and its members were successfully defended against congressional investigation by our then executive secretary, Boyd Shafer, at considerable and then unknown tribulation to himself.

Two other kinds of persons may be alienated from the Association as it now exists. There are those who are interested primarily in the teaching of history and for whom the AHA is too much oriented to research, publication, or professional specialization. Second, there is the large category of the young. Though we lack vital statistics it seems likely that since well over ten thousand persons have joined the Association in little more than a decade, we must have a higher proportion of relatively younger persons among our members than we used to. In this as in other respects, the problems of the Association reflect the changes in the academic world and the surrounding society.

"Young" is a relative expression, but with apologies to both the young and the middle-aged, it may sometimes mean to be under forty. In its early

days our profession had more of a place for youth than it apparently has today. Frederick Jackson Turner was only thirty-two when he delivered his memorable paper on the frontier in 1893. Charles Beard was thirty-nine when he published his *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*. The main founder of the American Historical Association, Herbert Baxter Adams, was thirty-four at the time of the founding. The forty-one persons who organized the Association in 1884 have already been mentioned. Not all their ages can now be ascertained. But at least twelve were under forty. Four were under thirty. The youngest of all was John Franklin Jameson, then twenty-five, who had just acquired that new and exciting title, the Ph.D., and was an assistant in history at Johns Hopkins. That Jameson was attacked as the ringleader of the old guard thirty years later may incline the youth to feel some charity toward their elders. And note that Frederic Bancroft was fifty-five at the time of the 1915 explosion. Not everyone over forty is unduly conservative.

So much having been said, I think that the Council of the Association should be enlarged. It should be made more representative of the views and interests that exist in the actual membership. Something will be lost in convenience of doing business, and new difficulties can be expected. It is not easy to say what representation really is, or to get representatives that their own constituents will accept as such. There will be ticklish questions if we try to establish categories or draw boundaries between age groups, or between regional districts, or between kinds of institutions, such as small colleges and great universities. If the Council is to be larger and less homogeneous the work of the nominating committee will become far more complex. If our operating organs become larger and more complex, the cost to the Association will increase, and the dues may have to be raised. Nevertheless, I still favor some measures to enlarge the Council.

There remains the second general category of problems before the Association in 1970, the question of what functions it ought to perform. These functions, let it be said now only in passing, are subject to two serious limits, money and people. The need for money is obvious. As for people, we neither can nor wish to turn everything over to our central office, and there are limits beyond which we cannot expect our members to devote their time and energy voluntarily to the affairs of the AHA.

Some members have told me that there are only two basic activities of the Association in which they are interested, the publication of the *American Historical Review*, and the holding of an annual meeting. These are indeed basic, but I shall dispose of them briefly. Our *Review* is one of the great historical periodicals of the world, perhaps the most catholic and comprehensive. If much of it seems dry and very specialized, one can only reply that no one is expected to read all of it, that the editor is well aware of the problems, that it is by definition a learned journal, and that in any case it cannot rise above its source, which is, in general, what members of our Association

will write. The annual meeting, or convention, is the subject of a good deal of dissatisfaction. Of its unpleasant adjunct, the "slave market," I shall speak later. Of its business meeting I have spoken already.

As to its substantive content, the eighty-odd sessions that we hold each year, the program committee is experimenting with ways for loosening up the traditional forms of presentation. Some people feel that it is out of date for us to have subject matter sessions at all; that these are best handled in smaller organizations, such as the Conference on British Studies; and that at the annual meeting we should have only a few sessions on matters of broad professional interest. I would not go so far, but we might well move in this direction, as the American Political Science Association has done, with room made on its program for reports of the committee on the status of women, the committee on the status of blacks, for discussion of graduate education, or the role of the department chairman. Personally, I wish also that, in an age subject to the uncertainties of air travel, we could meet at some other time than midwinter, cramped between Christmas and New Year's. If we did, we might also extend the meeting beyond the traditional three days. In a recent referendum, however, the membership voted in favor of the traditional time of year, with those who had most recently joined the Association, that is, presumably the youngest, being most heavily in favor of the Christmas season. It is said also that our convention has become too large. That pillar of the establishment, John Franklin Jameson, rejected the same criticism long ago. "It would be hard," he said in 1909, "to persuade anyone who has attended a meeting of the American Historical Association and carefully watched what goes on, in and out of the formal sessions, that a gathering from which nine-tenths of the present attendants were absent would do as much good for the common cause." In 1970, as in 1909, the value of the annual meeting lies in bringing together people of different ages, interest, academic position, and geographical regions. It is a professionally enlightening experience, and they do not have to approve of everything that they see.

It is an old function of the Association to represent history in dealing with government agencies, foundations, and learned bodies, such as the American Council of Learned Societies or the International Committee on the Historical Sciences, which is now beginning to plan for the international congress to be held in the United States in 1975. Another ancient function is the award of prizes, a commendable if not central activity, very time-consuming for those who serve in this capacity. We have six prize committees at present. One such committee, for an award of $300 established sixty-six years ago, is expected this year to examine no less than seventy printed books that are cheerfully submitted by their publishers. This is more than we should ask of our members; the whole problem of prizes should be reviewed. We have twenty other standing committees, whose names can be found in the *Newsletter* of last February, and which suggest the present range of operations of the Association. We are at present being asked to do

something for oral history, and to take steps to preserve, assemble, and systematize the mass of television, film, and other documentary material beyond the written word. This would follow normally from the old function of the Association, incorporated in its charter long before the establishment of the National Archives, for the preservation of manuscript sources. As archival work has become more professionalized, the role of our Association has become more marginal. It may be that we should assist in the gestation of a similar profession for the custody of nonwritten sources. As for existing archives, we remain profoundly concerned with their availability to all qualified historians on a fair basis. For the past two years the Association has been involved in a particularly complicated case of alleged malpractice in this connection.

There are two broad areas to which, as I see it, the Association should address itself in the future. One has to do with conditions of employment, the other with everything suggested by the word "teaching." I assume that the Association will continue in its older activities, that it will remain an association of scholars, try to maintain quality in historical work, uphold professional standards, and favor research and publication. As usual in the academic world, we add without taking away. It is the new problems that require most attention. They are the ones that reflect the changes in the Association to which we must adjust. These in turn reflect the changes, and indeed the crisis, in higher education as a whole and in the society in which the American Historical Association is inevitably impacted.

It is partly a question of numbers. The present is a time, if not of mass higher education, at least of an expansion of schooling after the high-school age corresponding to the rise of the public high school itself in the early years of the Association. College enrollments, including junior colleges, have tripled in two decades. Enrollment in history courses, though recently declining, as noted by C. Vann Woodward on this occasion a year ago, has nevertheless greatly increased over the long run. Production of new Ph.D.'s in history, which rose for over a decade at about the same rate as the enrollment in the undergraduate courses that they were to teach, has in the last few years risen far more rapidly. The result is a crisis in the employment of new teachers of history. This problem of numbers of teachers merges into the problem of teaching itself, since undergraduate enrollments might be enlarged if teaching could be improved, or if the content of the history curriculum could be made more interesting to a larger number of students. Our trade-union interests here touch upon more philosophical problems of the value and nature of history itself.

The question is what the Association can or should do. The power in employment and in curriculum lies with individual departments in over two thousand colleges and universities. The Association can recommend and advise, it can gather and publicize statistics and make projections of future needs, it can survey the present state of affairs, and it can provide the means

of intercommunication for historians in the two thousand different institutions.

As for conditions of employment, one thinks first of all of the famous "slave market." This refers primarily to the job-seeking and interviewing that go on at the annual meeting and more generally to the catch-as-catch-can methods by which persons completing their Ph.D.'s receive their first positions. In the hope of organizing this chaos the Job Register, now called the Professional Register, was introduced about fifteen years ago. The idea was to set up a clearinghouse that both candidates and employing institutions could use. It was to get away from the private, friendly, and even mysterious arrangements by which new Ph.D.'s were placed, to create more equality of opportunity so that people would obtain jobs according to their actual abilities, and not because they did their graduate work at a big or eminent university or had studied with some particular professor. The Professional Register has only partly fulfilled these aims, and indeed has become tainted with the old atmosphere of the slave market itself, an atmosphere of confusion, anxiety, rivalry, humiliation, disappointment, and contempt for the system that is the most unfavorable possible introduction for a young person to his chosen profession. Various alternatives have been suggested, but none that I think would work. The Professional Register, or something like it, is the price we pay for the great size of the country, the huge numbers of candidates and of employing institutions, and the geographical and social mobility that we all prize. Probably it produces results more acceptable to Americans than any system now practiced in Europe. It is one of the problems that we must continue to work on.

The difficulty is not only in the mechanism but in the conditions of demand and supply. The Association should compile regular, annual, up-to-date, and comprehensive statistics on trends in college course enrollments, on admissions to the graduate schools, and on output of Ph.D.'s, broken down by fields—American, European, African, Latin American, and so on. If effective, this operation will mean more work for departmental chairmen in filling out annual questionnaires. Its real usefulness may be debatable. Eight years ago Dexter Perkins and John Snell, working with a committee of the American Historical Association, issued a report on graduate programs in which they made projections for the future. For 1969 they estimated that about 500 new Ph.D.'s would be needed. Actual production for 1969 was almost twice as many; it was about 880. If graduate schools had conformed to the Snell-Perkins projections we would have no problem of overproduction today. But it is hard, merely with a table of statistics, to discourage real people who want to do advanced work in history. It has been especially hard under conditions of the draft for a war whose necessity many of us have refused to accept. It is hard to persuade particular departments to limit their ambitions. If graduate schools are cutting back on admissions today, it is not only because of planning, but because federal money is less abundant.

There are other conditions that affect an individual for many years, and not merely in the finding of a first job. The Association could, for example, publish guidelines for salaries and for hours of classroom teaching, though with our multiplicity and independence of institutions I doubt if they would have any effect. We have begun to do something to improve the status of women in the profession, and could do the same for blacks or any others who have a special problem. Here again it is individual departments, their chairmen, and members who have the power to act; the Association can only assemble facts and recognize or dramatize the inequities that may exist. We have been asked to look into cases where the academic freedom of historians may have been violated, or where departments of history have been prevented from making appointments by the action of administrative officers or trustees. My impression is that fewer people are acutely concerned with this question, as an item of AHA business, than with most of the others that I am reviewing. I would think that, if we were to go into such matters, we would run into duplication or conflict with the AAUP, would have difficulty in setting up committees for fact-finding and visitation, or in gaining access to college officials; and that, in the present state of the world, we would have to redefine the kinds of academic freedom that the Association would be prepared to defend, on the spectrum from pure expression of opinion to violent and disruptive militancy on or off the campus. On these matters I doubt if our membership could be brought to agree.

Finally, under conditions of employment, there is the problem of finding the second or later job, and the whole system of qualifications for reappointment, promotion, and achievement of tenure. On the whole, I think that too much is made of research and publication for these purposes and that those are right who say that more attention should be paid to teaching in matters of appointment and promotion. But generalization is to be avoided; in the diversity of the American system there should be some universities and colleges in which serious publication is expected of their faculties and others in which classroom performance, or relations with students, are more highly regarded. The difficulty lies in the self-definition of the individual institution, which in turn goes back to a less admirable feature of the American system, that is, the race for status or prestige, by which an institution cannot be comfortable in doing what it can best do, or ought to do, but must try to work itself up to a presumably more eminent place on the academic ladder. But what I am really touching on is the problem of teaching.

Too little time remains to deal properly with this subject. I am convinced that it lies at the heart of our difficulties, although in my own case it was not the desire to teach, but a desire to engage in research and writing, that attracted me to the academic profession. The fact is that many join our ranks because they want to teach history. Probably this has always been so; the new thing is that more people are announcing it openly. There are not two mutually exclusive groups; the distinction, if any, is between those who

accept teaching, and may even excel at it, as a means of supporting a life of research and writing, and those who accept the need for research or writing, and may be good at it, yet are mainly devoted to their own students and to education.

There is supposed to be no contradiction. We have all heard, and in part believe, that teaching and research mutually strengthen each other. Yet there are undeniable tensions. One is in our Ph.D. programs, where young people who want to be teachers must go through a protracted training in research. Like others, I think that the program is too long; dissertations are now three times longer, and more complex, than when the American Ph.D. was invented. After the Ph.D. and the job are acquired there is tension in the allocation of one's time, whether it be the interruption of an afternoon at the desk or the taking of a year's leave of absence for further research, which can be very inconvenient for one's students. There is tension in the fact that the historian wants to teach his own specialty, whether or not it is useful for the student's education. And there is tension in the reward system, already mentioned, so far as appointment and promotion depend not on teaching effectiveness, which is hard to measure, but on publication, which can at least be seen.

What can or should the Association do? It can begin by remembering its own history. The Association originated in that great wave of the closing years of the last century in which the whole modern university as we have known it took form. There was a great to-do about science, method, professional rigor, contributions to knowledge, and all that came to be known as research. Yet from the beginning the Association was also concerned with teaching. Among its forty-one founders were two United States commissioners of education and the principal of the Hyde Park High School in Chicago. In 1896 it appointed a Committee of Seven, which did a great deal to codify the teaching of history in the high schools. These seven, who in 1896 were a youthful group from twenty-six to forty-six in age, included, in addition to the headmaster of the Hopkins Grammar School in New Haven, five men and one woman who all became luminaries of our profession. In 1897 a whole day in the three-day annual meeting was set aside for the subject. In 1898, according to the record, there was no topic "regarded with so general interest as that of the Committee of Seven on the teaching of history in secondary schools." In 1907 the subject was reviewed by a Committee of Five, and there were various other inquiries and planning groups in the following decades.

The Association has always had a committee on teaching, and at present has three, one on Ph.D. programs, one on undergraduate teaching, and one on the teaching of history in the schools. In addition, for two years we have been heavily involved in the History Education Project, financed by the United States Office of Education and sponsored by the American Historical Association. In this enterprise, in a dozen places throughout the country,

there are groups at work that are composed of historians from the local college or university, persons from its school of education, and teachers and supervisors in the neighboring public schools. They are now mainly engaged in the rejuvenation of history in the high schools, but it is well understood that problems of teaching interpenetrate at all levels.

In recent years the Association has lagged behind the efforts of its actual and potential members. There are a great many historians in colleges and universities, in many parts of the country, who on their own initiative, or in unrelated group operations, have long been concerned with problems of instruction, experimental courses, new approaches, new devices, new relationships between teachers and students. Not everyone need have such interests, but those who have should be encouraged. The Association can at least give them recognition, a sense of the legitimacy and importance of what they are doing; and it can provide them with means of communication, so that people with new ideas in history education may feel less isolated from one another, or from the profession as a whole.

One useful step would be to found a new journal devoted to the teaching of history, addressed to college teachers as well as to those in the schools. The *American Historical Review* is overloaded, and in any case has other aims. In England, France, and Germany there are serious journals on the teaching of history, apart from the purely learned journals of those countries. In this country the economists have recently launched a new *Journal of Economic Education*. Here again our Association has not recently been a pioneer. Textbooks are not reviewed in the *American Historical Review*, and I have agreed with that policy. But we need a place where textbooks can be described and assessed, where the flood of reading matter that publishers produce for the classroom can be evaluated, where books of the ordinary kind, monographs, special studies, or popular works, can be reviewed and criticized not for their contributions to knowledge, or their place in the general polemics of the subject, but for their real value, readability, or interest to the student and hence to the teacher, whether in college or in the schools. We need a journal that provides information and considered judgment on the use of films, documentaries, visual aids, and all the devices for projection and reproduction that are becoming available—if only as a protection against the claims of their sponsors. We need a clearinghouse for reports on new experiments with the curriculum. We need a forum in which larger questions of history, its place in education, its humane values, and its social utility can be explored. And such a journal should be published by the American Historical Association, as a sign of its commitment in these fields.

To conclude, I have tried in these remarks to avoid encroaching unduly on the agenda for the business meeting tomorrow, at which members of the Association will be able to express their own ideas on the topics that I have raised. Not wishing to turn the presidential address into a political speech,

I have not claimed to speak for the Council, and I have no wish to cause embarrassment for my successors. I have no reason to suppose, however, that there is any great difference of opinion. The Council has often discussed most of the problems that I have mentioned. Steps have already been taken toward the establishment of a new journal on the teaching of history. The Council will propose, for discussion tomorrow, a constitutional amendment for its own enlargement by the addition of four more elected members. I hope that this amendment will be adopted in the mail ballot to follow; if so, it will go immediately into effect. For the longer run, the Council will also announce a plan for a broad, fundamental, and independent review of the organization and activities of the Association. This, too, should be seriously considered tomorrow night. In a really thorough review every detail of our present arrangements should be carefully scrutinized. We must decide whether we want a wholly new constitution or to amend what we have from year to year. There is a value both in tradition and in innovation. But, while hesitating to deprive others of the pleasures of office, I would suggest that the presidency itself be re-examined, including the grounds and supposed qualifications upon which a president, if any, is to be chosen. And I would wonder, to tell the truth, whether the annual ceremony of a presidential address is anything that the Association really desires to perpetuate.

Finally, if, as I have said, we are in a state of crisis let us resolve it constructively. If there is to be a revolution let it be one of those metaphorical revolutions, a nonrevolution carried out by persuasion and understanding. The issues we face are of a kind that arise only once in a generation, or in a half-century, and I hope that we can deliberate upon them tomorrow in a farsighted spirit, keeping in mind not only the future of our Association, but the future of history itself.

Pride Goes before Avarice: Social Change and the Vices in Latin Christendom

LESTER K. LITTLE

In the age of the Commercial Revolution some European thinkers ceased to regard pride as the worst of all vices and bestowed this signal dishonor instead upon avarice. Between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries, in other words, when European society experienced a profound structural transformation that brought a commercial economy, an urban culture, and a widespread use of money, European thought registered a corresponding shift in values within the traditional scheme of the cardinal vices. This shift has been previously noted but it has not been either adequately documented or adequately explained.

Huizinga observed "a furious chorus of invectives against cupidity and avarice" in the literature of the expiring Middle Ages. He traced this indignant attitude back to the twelfth century, when people began to find the principle of evil in cupidity rather than in pride. The latter had been the characteristic sin of the feudal and hierarchic age, when property was for the most part not liquid and power was not yet predominantly associated with money. Starting in the twelfth century some fortunes were rooted in money, and these were not so firmly planted as those in soil. As the process of capital investment had not yet developed sufficiently to engage liquid wealth fully, the newly rich indulged in money directly, openly, and—still in Huizinga's judgment—primitively.[1]

But the vices were incidental to Huizinga's interests. The person who has worked most directly and fully with the subject is Morton W. Bloomfield, and anyone now wishing to explore the subject should take as his guide Bloomfield's masterful study, *The Seven Deadly Sins*. Bloomfield presented both an overall survey of the vices in Christian thought and a detailed analysis of particular points bearing directly on the development of medieval English literature. He included an examination of the origins of the list of vices, arguing that the list represented the remnant of an otherworld

[1] Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, tr. F. Hopman (Garden City, 1954), 27–28.

journey, perhaps a Gnostic soul journey, in which a soul encountered seven evil spirits sequentially.[2]

Bloomfield's book has drawn considerable attention and has generated further investigations since its publication in 1952, but many problems, some of them brought into view by that very book, still demand serious study. These include the scholastic analysis of the vices, the iconography of the vices, the relationship between thought concerning the vices and the actual administration of penance, the attitudes expressed in sermons and in catechetical works, and the histories of the individual vices.[3]

An alternate categorization of vice, quite different from the Seven Deadly Sins, is that of the Three Temptations, based on 1 John 2:15–16. This theme is less well known than that of the Seven Deadly Sins, but a study of the ways it identifies and relates vices and virtues corroborates what we learn from the more familiar theme. The Three Temptations—the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life—correspond to the three temptations of Adam in the Garden and of Christ in the Wilderness. In the course of medieval literature, they were made to correspond to various combinations of the vices.[4]

The counterpart to Bloomfield's book in the field of art history is Adolf Katzenellenbogen's *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art.* Katzenellenbogen divided his subject into categories of dynamic and static representations, the former consisting mainly of illustrations of Prudentius' *Psychomachia,* a fifth-century poem in which individually paired-off virtues and vices engage in fierce battles for the souls of men. Several recent studies, dealing usually with particular manuscripts or sculptural ensembles, have drawn heavily on Katzenellenbogen.[5] In this field as well as in literature scholars have brought into view a whole range of new problems. These literary analysts and art historians have opened a way to the general historian for exploring and gaining insight from the higher reaches of medieval culture. They have offered enough evidence of change to suggest methods of studying not only new ways of thought, but also new forms of behavior and new social and institutional developments. We shall therefore successively examine literary and pictorial evidence, economic and social contexts, and changing forms of religious expression.

[2] Morton W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature* (East Lansing, 1952), 12.

[3] Siegfried Wenzel, "The Seven Deadly Sins: Some Problems of Research," *Speculum,* 43 (1968): 1–22. Wenzel himself has written a detailed study of sloth, *The Sin of Sloth:* Acedia *in Medieval Thought and Literature* (Chapel Hill, 1967).

[4] Donald R. Howard, *The Three Temptations: Medieval Man in Search of the World* (Princeton, 1966).

[5] Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art: From Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century* (London, 1939). For more recent studies, see, for example, Rosalie B. Green, "Virtues and Vices in the Chapter House Vestibule in Salisbury," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 31 (1968): 148–58; Rosemond Tuve, "Notes on the Virtues and Vices," *ibid.,* 26 (1963): 264–303, and 27 (1964): 42–72; Folke Nordström, *Virtues and Vices on the 14th Century Corbels in the Choir of Uppsala Cathedral* (Stockholm, 1956); and references cited by Wenzel, in "Seven Deadly Sins," 14 n.59.

The most sensitive indicator of change in the traditional theme of virtues and vices is the notion of the chief vice. The various schemes for listing vices almost always single out the most important vice, either at the head of the list, at the end of the list, or apart from the list. A second critical indicator is the relationship among the vices, especially of the most important vice to the others. One cannot simply assume that the main vice is the root cause of all the others. John Cassian, for example, warned monks that for them the most dangerous vice was pride. But only after a monk had conquered all of the lesser vices would he become seriously susceptible to pride, and then it would be the most difficult of all for him to overcome.[6] In the scheme of the Three Temptations, order and relationship are similarly revealing; the arrangement usually implies an ascending psychological progression from suggestion to delectation to consent. This progression goes from a relatively innocent and gratuitous encounter with evil, passes via a fascination and delight with evil, and leads finally to an active and conscious embracing of evil.[7]

The practice of listing and assessing the relative qualities of the vices can be traced with certainty as far back as Evagrius of Pontus.[8] This fourth-century hermit placed pride at the end of a list of eight cardinal vices. His disciple Cassian explicated at length the eight vices listed by Evagrius, including a full rationale for making pride the most important. So great is the evil of pride, wrote Cassian, that unlike the other vices it does not have as its opponent an angel or a virtue, but, rather, its adversary is God Himself.[9] Cassian also introduced into the discussion an image that was to recur throughout the subsequent literature on the vices: the image of a tree and roots.[10] Moreover, he carried these Eastern traditions to the Latin West. St. Benedict perpetuated Cassian's influence by recommending in the final chapter of the Holy Rule that the monks take Cassian as one of their guides.[11]

Patristic theologians did not have complete freedom in designating the most important vice. These theologians were all to some extent biblical commentators, and the Bible had something to say on the subject. Ecclesiasticus 10:13 taught that "Pride is the beginning of all sin." Better known is what St. Paul taught in 1 Tim. 6:10: "Cupidity is the root of all evil things."[12] The Bible listed and castigated numerous other vices, but only

[6] *Conlationes* 5. 10 (*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum* [Vienna, 1866–] [hereafter *CSEL*], 13: 129).

[7] Howard, *Three Temptations*, 43.

[8] Discussed by Bloomfield, *Seven Deadly Sins*, 57–60.

[9] *De institutis coenobiorum* 12 (*CSEL*, 17: 204–31), especially 12. 7 (*ibid.*, 210).

[10] *Conlationes* 5. 10 (*CSEL*, 13: 129).

[11] *Regula monachorum* 73 (*CSEL*, 75: 164).

[12] The Greek term *philargyria* (love of money) was rendered by Jerome as *cupiditas*. Throughout this essay, "cupidity" and "avarice" are used to translate *cupiditas* and *avaritia* respectively, as they appear in texts. When free to employ either term, I have used "avarice." Where medieval writers were sensitive to a distinction between the two terms (as in a few cases mentioned later in this essay), they, like modern commentators, would seem to have preferred *avaritia* as the translation of St. Paul's expression.

pride and cupidity were so conspicuously singled out, and nowhere more forcefully than in these particular passages. There was never really any serious doubt, therefore, that either pride or cupidity had to be the chief vice.

Most of the early medieval writers chose pride. Cassian's choice and his influence on Benedictine monasticism have already been noted. Probably the most influential of the patristic moralists was Gregory the Great. In the *Moralia in Job* Gregory asserted firmly that pride is the chief vice. Rather than being merely one of the eight cardinal vices, pride is a uniquely important entity, standing apart from and above seven cardinal vices. "For when pride, the queen of vices," wrote Gregory,

> has completely taken over a conquered heart, she gives it over right away to the seven principal vices, as if to some of her generals, because, doubtless, there spring up from them burdensome hosts of vices. . . . The root of all evil is pride, of which it is said, as Scripture bears witness, "Pride is the beginning of all sin." But seven principal vices, as its first progeny, spring from this poisonous root, namely, vainglory, envy, anger, melancholy, avarice, gluttony, and lust.[13]

This order for listing the seven vices, with avarice in the fifth place, became generally accepted.

The *Moralia* itself was often copied and also often abridged, so Gregory's ideas on the primacy of pride persisted. His influence is evident in the works of Tayo of Saragossa, Defensor of Ligugé, Smaragdus of Saint-Michael, Ambrose Autpert, Alcuin, Jonas of Orleans, Rhabanus Maurus, Halitgar of Cambrai, and Hincmar of Reims.[14] The tradition remained unbroken in the monastic revival of the tenth century, when St. Odo, the second abbot of Cluny, wrote a shortened version of the *Moralia.* Odo cut away a large proportion of Gregory's wordy text, but pride survived the process as queen and ruler over the seven cardinal vices.[15]

Avarice, meanwhile, and particularly St. Paul's observation concerning it, did not go unnoticed in the early medieval period. Isidore of Seville, in striving for completeness more than consistency, repeated the standard assertions about both pride and avarice without attempting to reconcile them.[16] Hincmar also acknowledged St. Paul's remark, and he gave a unique listing of the vices, with avarice first, besides accepting Gregory the Great's interpretation of pride.[17] Siadhal the Scot, giving strong emphasis to a suggestion by St. Paul, regarded avarice and cupidity as indications of idolatry;[18] and John the Scot, while calling cupidity perverse and illicit, explained it

[13] *Moralia in Job* 31. 45 (Jacques Paul Migne, ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina* [Paris, 1844–55] [hereafter *PL*], 76: 620–21).

[14] René Wasselynck, "Les compilations des *Moralia in Job* du VII^e^ au XII^e^ siècle," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale,* 29 (1962): 5–32; *idem,* "Les 'Moralia in Job' dans les ouvrages de morale du haut moyen âge latin," in *ibid.,* 31 (1964): 5–31.

[15] *Epitome Moralium sancti Gregorii in Job* 31 (*PL,* 133: 475).

[16] *Sententiae* 2. 38. 2, and 2. 41. 4 (*ibid.,* 83: 639, 646).

[17] *Opusculum LV capitulorum adversus Hincmarum Laudunensem* 51 (*ibid.,* 126: 489); *De cavendis vitiis et virtutibus exercendis* 2 (*ibid.,* 125: 868–82).

[18] *In epistolam ad Ephesios* 5 (*ibid.,* 103: 206).

as an irrational motion of the free will.[19] St. Augustine had chosen to confront the apparent biblical contradiction directly. He juxtaposed the two texts and urged the reader to adopt a broad understanding of avarice, that is, as an inordinate desire for anything and not simply for money. Paul had intended the term "avarice" to express the general notion of wanting too much, Augustine explained. The devil had been made to fall by avarice, and everyone knows that this avarice consisted not in a love of money but in a love of power.[20] Gregory the Great also, the text previously cited notwithstanding, subjected avarice to pride.

> Avarice has to do not only with money but high position; it is rightly called avarice when prestige is sought beyond measure. If grasping for honor does not pertain to avarice, then did Paul say in vain concerning the only begotten Son, "He thought it not robbery to be equal with God" [Phil. 2:6]. Thus did the devil lure our parent into pride, exciting him to avarice of high position.[21]

This primacy of pride, whether by default or by the explicit subordination of avarice, was what Huizinga observed and ascribed to feudal and hierarchic thought. Bloomfield pursued a similar though not identical line, arguing that pride "is the sin of rebellion against God, the sin of exaggerated individualism. In a disciplined and corporate society, which the Middle Ages held as an ideal, exaggerated individualism, rebellion against the will of God, was considered particularly heinous." Thus, Bloomfield concluded, "to medieval order and discipline, pride appeared as the worst of all the sins and the root of all evil."[22] The facts concerning the early medieval primacy of pride appear indisputable, but the explanations, even if plausible, demand further reflection.

The shift of emphasis to avarice that began in the eleventh century also commands attention. One can see it already, for example, in Peter Damian, that harbinger of so many of the sensibilities and movements of generations to come. Peter quoted St. Paul and accepted his point of view without any attempt to explain away avarice as a subcategory of pride.[23] Lanfranc glossed the same familiar passage of 1 Timothy in a similar way.[24] Thomas the Cistercian specifically dealt with avarice as a material vice that contributes to the wretchedness of the poor.[25] John of Salisbury considered avarice the worst of vices, particularly among those charged with public office. "Although prodigality is clearly wrong, I think that there should be no place at all for avarice. No vice is worse and none more execrable, especially in

[19] *De divisione naturae* 5. 36 (*ibid.*, 122: 975).
[20] *De genesi ad litteram* 11: 15 (*CSEL*, 28: 347–48).
[21] *XL Homiliarum in evangelia libri duo* 1. 16 (*PL*, 76: 1136), cited by Howard, *Three Temptations*, 45.
[22] Bloomfield, *Seven Deadly Sins*, 74–75.
[23] *Epistolae* 1. 15 (*PL*, 144: 234).
[24] *Epistola Pauli ad Timotheum cum Lanfranci glossulis* (*ibid.*, 150: 359).
[25] *Commentarii in Cantica canticorum* 2 (*ibid.*, 206: 116).

those who are at the head of states or who hold any public office. Not only avarice itself but the very suggestion of it should be avoided." John had observed the high and mighty at close range, and so his warnings, even with allowances for rhetorical exaggeration, carried special force: "A person who deservedly incurs the suspicion of avarice in the minds of grave and circumspect men cannot be regarded as loyal to anyone or worthy of affection."[26] The identification and order of the Three Temptations also reveal something of this shift from pride to avarice. The basic triad, in ascending order of importance, had been gluttony, avarice, and vainglory—indulgence in the desires of the flesh, curiosity and seeking after things external to one's self, and the rational and arrogant assertion of one's self against all others. The triad of monastic virtue—chastity, poverty, and obedience—had been specifically and respectively set up to counter these three temptations. Over several generations, identification, definition, and order underwent many alterations, especially on the point of how to categorize honors and riches. In the mature reflections of the poet of *Piers Plowman,* the old triad reappeared as gluttony, pride, and avarice.[27]

Many of the sharpest denunciations of avarice occurred in attacks on simony, although simony did not necessarily involve money. The canonical definition of simony was rendered by Gregory I and it remained valid for several centuries.[28] Simony was an improper attainment of ecclesiastical office, wrote Gregory, whether it was secured by rendering undue services, by giving praise, by promising favors, or by making a monetary gift. This last alternative carried the further specification that the gift could either be one of actual cash or one simply calculable in monetary terms. The point is significant because in the precommercial era values were often expressed in monetary terms even though the money in question was usually money of account. The earliest attacks on simony, therefore, had no necessary connection with the problems of cash transactions or of avarice.

At the Lateran Synod of 1059 a provision was passed forbidding anyone "to receive a church from the hands of a layman, either gratis or for money."[29] By the later eleventh century attacks on simony came to include—and eventually to concentrate upon—attacks against money and avarice.[30] Bonizo of Sutri denounced the sellers of churches (*venditores ecclesiarum*) in the 1080s.[31] In 1139 the First Lateran Council condemned clerics who accept money for administering sacraments.[32] At Liège in the thirteenth century a

[26] *Polycraticus* 8. 4 (ed. C. C. J. Webb [Oxford, 1909], 2: 241).

[27] Howard, *Three Temptations,* 44–56, 170.

[28] *XL Homiliarum in evangelia libri duo* 1. 4 (*PL,* 76: 1091–92); see also *Decretum* C.1 q.1 c.114 (Emil Friedberg, ed., *Corpus juris canonici* [Leipzig, 1879–81], 1: 402–03).

[29] Giovanni Domenico Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Florence, Venice, 1759–98) (hereafter Mansi), 19: 898.

[30] See the development traced by Jean Leclercq, "Simoniaca heresis," *Studi Gregoriani,* 1 (1947): 523–30.

[31] *Liber ad amicum* 6 (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Libelli de lite* [Hanover, 1891–97] [hereafter *MGH, Libelli*], 1: 591).

[32] Mansi, 21: 526.

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butcher was said to act as intermediary in the sale of ecclesiastical benefices.[33] John of Salisbury reported the reaction of a man who had lost a case in the court of St. Peter's successor and who had candidly attributed that loss to his opponent's liberal use of money. "Peter has gone traveling," said the man, "and his house is in the hands of money-changers."[34] Rome of course attracted both the avaricious and their zealous critics, and the papal court in particular became a favorite target for merciless satirists. One tale stressed the pope's devotion to two saintly martyrs, Albinus and Rufinus, the names standing respectively for silver and gold. The only manner of gaining access to the papal court was to present relics of these beloved saints. And once inside the court, only these saints could command papal attention and favors. The pope is depicted ceremoniously depositing relics such as kidneys of Albinus and ribs of Rufinus in the treasure of St. Cupidity, next to the shrine of his sister the Blessed Greed, both of these close by the basilica of Avarice, their mother.[35] Satirists also paid honor to a Saint, or Saintlet, Money (*Sanctus Nummulus*),[36] besides writing the famous *Gospel According to the Mark of Silver*.[37] Walter Map wrote about Mistress Purse, who opens her wrinkled lips and "who, though she is not love, yet conquers all at Rome."[38] Hard reality lay at the core of this satire, as demonstrated by the complaints of those who sought earnestly to fulfill missions at the papal court.[39] And quite apart from simony and bribery, there were troublesome questions about the legitimacy of professional fees and the propriety of the large and very costly papal bureaucracy. For good reason, then, the sources dealing with ecclesiastical history register a torrent of literature on the problem of avarice.

Gerhoh of Reichersberg drew up a four-part scheme of Christian history in one of his later works, *On the Fourth Nightwatch*, written in 1167. The first period in Gerhoh's scheme lasted from Christ to Constantine, the second from Constantine to Gregory I, the third from Gregory I to Gregory VII, and the fourth from Gregory VII to the present. Each period had imposed an especially onerous burden on the Christian church, and these burdens, taken in order, were the persecutions, the heresies, the corruption of morals, and avarice. The relationship of the first two to their respective periods is self-evident. Gerhoh did not explain *corruptio morum* very fully, yet it was

[33] *Vita B. Odiliae* 1. 8 (*Analecta Bollandiana*, 13: 206), cited by Ernest W. McDonnell, *The Beguines and Beghards in Medieval Culture* (New Brunswick, 1954), 73–74.

[34] *Historia Pontificalis* 42 (ed. and tr. Marjorie Chibnall [Edinburgh, 1956], 85).

[35] *MGH, Libelli*, 2: 431. For many other examples of this type of literature, see John A. Yunck, *The Lineage of Lady Meed: The Development of Mediaeval Venality Satire* (South Bend, 1963).

[36] Edélestand Pontas Du Méril, ed., *Poésies populaires latines du moyen âge* (Paris, 1847), 89.

[37] Paul Lehmann, *Die Parodie im Mittelalter* (2d ed.; Stuttgart, 1963), 183–84.

[38] *De nugis curialium* 1. 23 (ed. M. R. James [Oxford, 1914], 34).

[39] On resident proctors at the papal court, see Robert Brentano, *Two Churches: England and Italy in the Thirteenth Century* (Princeton, 1968), 38–48, and Peter Herde, *Beiträge zum päpstlichen Kanzlei- und Urkundenwesen im dreizehnten Jahrhundert* (2d ed.; Kallmünz, 1967), 125–48.

against this, he said, that Gregory the Great had written many works, including especially the *Moralia in Job*. We can, then, cautiously infer that Gerhoh identified pride as the ranking evil of the third period. What is compellingly clear is Gerhoh's explicit identification of avarice as the major problem of the fourth period, the century introduced by Hildebrand.[40]

Alongside the new emphasis on avarice, a second group of texts can be cited in which the older view of pride's predominance continued to command respect. Hugh of Saint-Victor, for example, referred several times to the cardinal vices, consistently placing pride at the head of the list. Avarice he defined as an immoderate desire for having, without specifying the object of "having."[41] Stephen of Muret, though one of the radical initiators of a new spirituality, was described by his followers as a perpetuator of the traditional scheme of listing vices.[42] St. Bernard was another of the great innovators who kept the old scheme. His revolutionary insights into personal spiritual values are perhaps best seen in his writings on humility, but in the present context it should be observed that Bernard's preoccupation with humility was after all only the reverse side of a preoccupation with pride. In one sermon, though, he did alter the list of vices and he divided this list into two parts. Pride, vainglory, and envy were corruptions of the soul, while inquisitiveness, talkativeness, cruelty, and pleasure he considered corruptions of the body.[43] Caesar of Heisterbach incorporated the venerable list formulated by Gregory the Great into his *Dialogue of Miracles*, an influential work that long served as a basic handbook for Cistercian novices. Caesar's chapter on avarice stressed the general meaning of an immoderate craving for worldly things, and not necessarily for money.[44] Alan of Lille sought to give advice on suitable penances by proposing the active pursuit of virtues as antidotes to vices; thus a penance of charitable giving was counseled for the avaricious. At the head of his dual list Alan placed pride and humility.[45] This conservatism did not restrain his attack on the vice of avarice, which, he said, weakens friendship, generates hatred, breeds anger, plants wars, nourishes controversies, and ruptures family ties.[46] This list recalls the one formulated by Peter of Compostela, who called avarice the "seed of hate,

[40] *De quarta vigilia noctis* (*MGH, Libelli*, 3: 503–25), discussed by Peter Classen, in *Gerhoch von Reichersberg: eine Biographie, mit einem Anhang über die Quellen, ihre handschriftliche Überlieferung und ihre Chronologie* (Wiesbaden, 1960), 292–98, 426–27.

[41] *Expositio in Abdiam* (*PL*, 175: 401); Wenzel lists several other references in "Seven Deadly Sins," 4–5 nn. 12, 13.

[42] *Liber Sententiarum* 10. 2, 86. 2 (*PL*, 204: 1095, 1120).

[43] *Sermo LXXIV de diversis* (*ibid.*, 183: 695); *Liber de gradibus humilitatis et superbiae* (*Sancti Bernardi opera*, 3, ed. J. Leclercq and H. M. Rochais [Rome, 1963], 13–59); see also Bernard's *Sermones super Cantica canticorum* 37. 1 (*ibid.*, 2, ed. J. Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, and H. M. Rochais [Rome, 1958], 9). For a stimulating interpretation of the importance and subsequent influence of Bernard's spirituality of humility, see H. W. van Os, *Marias Demut und Verherrlichung in der sienesischen Malerei, 1300–1450* (The Hague, 1969), especially 79–100.

[44] *Dialogus miraculorum* 4. 2, 57 (ed. Joseph Strange [Cologne, 1851], 1: 173–74, 223–24).

[45] *Summa de arte praedicatoria* 32, "De poenitentia, seu satisfactione" (*PL*, 210: 174).

[46] *De planctu naturae* (*ibid.*, 465).

corruptor of morals, obstacle to peace, source of evil, mother of vices, she that gave birth to usury."[47]

In addition to those who placed special emphasis on either pride or avarice, other writers maintained the two on an even plane. Among these were Rupert of Deutz,[48] Werner of Kussenberg,[49] the pseudo-Hugh of Saint-Victor,[50] the pseudo-Bernard,[51] Peter Lombard,[52] Peter the Chanter,[53] James of Vitry,[54] and William Perrault.[55] The clearest balancing of the meanings and relative importance of the leading vices was given by William Perrault's Dominican colleague, Thomas Aquinas. St. Thomas explored the possible meanings of pride and cupidity, electing to give to each the narrowest possible definition. Neither has to take precedence over the other, he argued, because Ecclesiasticus refers to pride as a "beginning" and 1 Timothy to cupidity as a "root." Between the meanings of "beginning" and "root" Thomas found space to maneuver away from the charge of biblical inconsistency. Finally, Thomas placed cupidity at one end of the list of seven vices, and then, consistent with Gregory the Great, he portrayed pride as a monarch reigning over all the others.[56]

Simultaneous with this outpouring of written texts on the cardinal vices was a similar outpouring of pictorial representations. The vast store of iconographic materials on pride and avarice awaits thorough study by art historians. Yet, by surveying the information stored in the Index of Christian Art, we can anticipate some of the eventual results of such a study.[57] The

[47] *De consolatione rationis libri duo* 1 (ed. Pedro Blanco Soto, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, 8, pt. 4 [Münster, 1912], 79).

[48] *Commentaria in duodecim prophetas minores: in Habacuc prophetam* 2 (*PL*, 168: 617).

[49] *Defloratione SS. Patrum* 2 (*ibid.*, 157: 1164–65).

[50] *Summa sententiarum* 3. 16 (*ibid.*, 176: 114).

[51] *Liber de modo bene vivendi* 37, 44–45 (*ibid.*, 184: 1258, 1266).

[52] *Sententiae* 2. 42, *In epistolam ad Colossenses* 3, *In Epistolam I ad Timothaeum* 6 (all in *ibid.*, 192: 753–54, 280, 359 respectively).

[53] *Verbum abbreviatum* 20, 21 (*ibid.*, 205: 72–78). The figure of a bloodsucker with two daughters comes from Proverbs 30:15. The identification of the daughters as *luxuria* and *avaritia* can also be found in the commentary of Honorius Augustodunensis *Quaestiones et responsiones in Proverbia* 30 (*PL*, 172: 328). Though Peter said he was quoting Jerome, he seems instead to have been following a commentary by Bede. See *In Proverbia Salomonis libri III* 3 (J. A. Giles, ed., *Opera omnia Bedae* [London, 1843–44], 9: 165).

[54] *Sermones in Epistolas et Evangelia dominicalia* (Antwerp, 1575), 217; *Historia occidentalis* 1, 2 (Douai, 1597), 259–64.

[55] *Summae virtutum ac vitiorum* (Lyons, 1585), 2: *passim;* see also Antoine Dondaine, "Guillaume Peyraut: Vie et oeuvres," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 18 (1948): 162–236, especially 184–97.

[56] *Summa Theologiae*, 1–2, q. 84 (Blackfriars ed., 26 [London, 1965], 60–77). The text is discussed by Bloomfield, in *Seven Deadly Sins*, 87, and by Wenzel, in "Seven Deadly Sins," 7; for a lengthy discussion, see W. H. V. Reade, *The Moral System of Dante's Inferno* (Oxford, 1909).

[57] I wish to express my deep gratitude to the staff members of the Index of Christian Art, both at Princeton and UCLA, for their unfailing kindness and helpfulness. The basic task awaiting an industrious art historian, or, better, a team of such persons, is a cataloguing of all medieval representations of virtues and vices. Such a catalogue should include all individual virtues and vices as well as all pairings and larger groupings of them. This material should be cross-indexed by medium, location, date of execution, and patronage; other categories would undoubtedly come to mind. Distribution maps would perhaps prove useful. Such a study would most likely benefit from, or perhaps even require, the use of a computer. Ultimately the most

Index lists about ninety representations of pride.[58] Our calculation is crude, for it embraces the arbitrary principle that a single work, such as an illustrated manuscript of the *Psychomachia,* even if it contains six separate representations of pride, is counted once. There are only about five representations for each of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, and then over twenty for each of the following three centuries. This indicates not so much an increased concern of artists about pride as the increased number and activity of artists. It also conforms to the expected pattern for the survival of artifacts.

A study of representations of avarice yields a similar set of figures overall, but one in which the increase is more evenly progressive: for the ninth century there is one; for the tenth there are two; for the eleventh, ten; for the twelfth, twenty-eight; and for the thirteenth, thirty. The media include enamel, fresco, glass, manuscript illumination, metalwork, painting, and sculpture. Of these media, monumental sculpture offers a historian the simplest and most direct evidence of where it was executed; moreover, it gives assurance of having had a larger audience than any of the other media. Small, precious objects preserved and extended iconographic themes; they had their impact on a relatively small but highly influential audience, including artists, of course. But monumental sculpture had a vast public audience, particularly at major pilgrimage churches, which drew visitors from all of Western Christendom. Over half the sculptured representations of both pride and avarice are French, with the rest located in Germany, England, Scandinavia, and, in the case of avarice only, Spain and Italy. The Index lists no Italian or Spanish sculptured figures of pride. Both the limited value and the risks of such quantification should be immediately apparent. A roughly similar pattern for the two subjects, pride and avarice, exists nonetheless, with the slight chronological and geographical exceptions noted. Neither vice completely dominates the other; if avarice does not displace pride, starting in the eleventh or twelfth century, it holds its own well against that greatest of early medieval vices.

No meaningful quantification of the cases in which one vice dominates the other has been compiled, yet one can cite instances where, for example, either avarice or cupidity, rather than pride, is the chief vice. The illustrated encyclopedia of Lambert of Saint-Omer, produced in about 1120, sets in sharp contrast a good tree and an evil tree. A personified figure at the root of the good tree is identified as *karitas,* and similar figures, each representing a virtue, are shown on the branches of the tree. The inscription reads: "Just as many stems spring from one tree root, so many virtues are

meaningful observations will probably stem from stylistic analysis; therefore, such a study should include fresh, clear, color photographs of all the works in question.

[58] Charles M. Radding of Princeton University kindly did the initial work on pride for me at the Index. In thanking him here, I wish also to take full responsibility for any shortcomings in the way this material is used or explained.

generated by charity alone." Meanwhile the evil tree is autumnal, barren, and uprooted. The root and each of the twelve branches has a medallion but no personified figure. Each medallion represents a vice; the root stands for *cupiditas*. A very similar work from about the same period identifies the root of a tree of vices as *superbia*. Two Regensburg miniatures, dated 1165, contrast the daughters of Zion and Babylon, as well as several virtuous with several sinful men from ancient history and the Bible. Each figure is accompanied by a particular virtue or vice; the daughter of Zion is appropriately shown with charity while the daughter of Babylon stands before the enthroned figure of cupidity.[59]

The study of avarice need not be limited to works clearly labeled as representations of avarice. The theme of Lazarus and the rich man (Luke 16:19–31) is similarly instructive. Lazarus was the beggar who hoped to get crumbs from the sumptuous table of the rich man. Dogs licked at the sores on his wretched, diseased body. At his death, Lazarus was taken up into the bosom of Abraham, while the rich man went to face eternal torment in hell. Depictions of this theme began to have an appeal in the eleventh century as great as that of either pride or avarice, if one can judge by the more than eighty representations of the subject entered in the catalogue of the Index of Christian Art. Scenes depicting the personification of avarice sometimes appear along with Lazarus and the rich man, as on the west side of the magnificent and influential porch at Moissac.[60] The main characteristics of avarice-personified are often the same as, or similar to, those of the rich man. The two have in common the sacks and chests of money, the serpents who literally hang around their moneybags and necks, and the violence with which little devils yank out their souls after death. Avarice, moreover, is shown ignoring a pauper, while generosity ministers to the poor. This relationship between avarice and the pauper is reflected in the relationship between the rich man and Lazarus.

Without running the risks of a highly uncertain quantification, we can confidently assert that there is adequate representational material for use in a further investigation of the textual studies of Bloomfield and others. Perhaps Bloomfield was correct in criticizing Huizinga for magnifying unduly the shift from pride to avarice in the twelfth century. He can, after all, cite instances where avarice was stressed from earliest times, as well as instances where all the sins received greater emphasis in the twelfth century. But the persistence of tradition in literature and the visual arts was so great that anyone restricting his studies to those fields would probably not be able to conclude anything more precise than that pride remained consistently important while at a certain time avarice emerged from relative obscurity to share in this importance. Far greater precision can be gained from studying the development of spirituality in its economic and social context. Bloom-

[59] Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices*, 65–67, figs. 65, 66, p. 57, figs. 54, 55.
[60] Meyer Schapiro, "The Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac," *Art Bulletin*, 13 (1931): 503–08.

field in the end came back to a view not very different from Huizinga's. "The total impression remains," wrote Bloomfield, "that avarice is more violently and continually attacked than in the earlier period. And this is natural. The change in economic values from agrarian to mercantile and the increase in total national income would lead to a mounting appearance of cupidity, for cupidity could now be more easily measured."[61]

One may be inclined to accept almost implicitly that there is a connection between economic development and thought concerning the vices, but asserting that there is such a connection is not the same as demonstrating it. The extraordinary flowering of the European economy, starting in the eleventh century, is not in question. The main developments included the growth of commercial ties linking Byzantium with Venice and the Po Valley towns; the growth of industry in the latter region and in the Lowlands; a reaching out from Spanish, French, and Italian coasts into and eventually across the Mediterranean; the establishment of regular ties between northern Italy and the Lowlands via fairs, towns, and traveling merchants; a growing specialization that would integrate the European economy to such an extent that, for example, raw wool from Yorkshire could be made into cloth in Flanders and finished in Tuscany.[62] The same developments are inextricably bound up with important demographic change: an overall increase of about three hundred per cent between the early eleventh and mid-fourteenth centuries; the concentration of some of this population in urban centers; and, because population growth was slower in urban than in rural areas, a steady migration of country dwellers to the cities.[63] This economic development, finally, is most markedly characterized by the widespread introduction of money into transactions where previously it had been virtually or entirely absent. The far more general use of specie in society was accompanied by an increasing sophistication in the techniques of manipulating money. Banking—the money trade—gained independence from other kinds of trade.[64]

While economic historians have succeeded in convincing their colleagues that all these important changes occurred, historians generally have been

[61] Bloomfield, *Seven Deadly Sins*, 95.

[62] See *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, 2, ed. M. M. Postan and E. E. Rich (Cambridge, 1952), 119–354.

[63] On population generally, see J. C. Russell, *Late Ancient and Medieval Population* (Philadelphia, 1958); on the movement of people from countryside to town, see Johan Plesner, *L'émigration de la campagne à la ville libre de Florence au XIII^e siècle*, tr. F. Gleizal (Copenhagen, 1934), discussed by Lucien Febvre, in "De la ville à la terre, ou de la terre à la ville: en Toscane au XIII^e siècle," in his *Pour une Histoire à part entière* (Paris, 1962), 398–403; see also Georges Duby, *Rural Economy and Country Life in the Medieval West*, tr. Cynthia Postan (London, 1968), 128–29; David Herlihy, *Pisa in the Early Renaissance: A Study of Urban Growth* (New Haven, 1958), 40–42; Erich Keyser, *Bevölkerungsgeschichte Deutschlands* (Leipzig, 1938), 213; and Gino Luzzatto, "L'inurbamento delle popolazioni rurali in Italia nei sec. XII e XIII," in *Studi di storia e diritto in onore di Enrico Besta* (Milan, 1939), 1: 183–203.

[64] For two basic works, see Marc Bloch, *Esquisse d'une histoire monétaire de l'Europe* (Paris, 1954), and Carlo M. Cipolla, *Money, Prices, and Civilization in the Mediterranean World* (Princeton, 1956).

reluctant to group these changes under the rubric "Commercial Revolution." This reluctance seems not to have diminished after R. S. Lopez used the term pointedly in the *Cambridge Economic History*, volume 2, the most authoritative survey of medieval commerce to date.[65] Lopez argued that the term should be used analogously with the phrase "Industrial Revolution." Medievalists other than Lopez have of course written of a "Commercial Revolution" and historians working on the sixteenth century have also used this term for their period.[66] While the matter hardly seems to merit all-out historiographical warfare, I should like to mention, in this connection, that I use the phrase "Commercial Revolution" to identify the period between 1000 and 1350, when virtually all the basic structures of Europe's commercial economy developed. As for the period before 1000, surely one need not mention the existence of a few merchants in precommercial Europe every time one refers to the Commercial Revolution any more than one need mention pre–Industrial-Revolution industry with each reference to the Industrial Revolution. As for the period after 1350, marked first by contraction and then by painfully slow recovery, the eventual period of growth brought advances of a kind never known before. But these advances, stemming principally from the expansion of Europe into other parts of the world, were mainly quantitative. The structural elements—such institutions or professions or techniques as fairs, market towns, guilds, business partnerships, merchant companies, money changers, notaries, merchant law, marine insurance, and letters of credit—had all been introduced earlier. A significant exception to this pattern is the development of double-entry bookkeeping, which began only toward the close of the fourteenth century.[67] In that case

[65] Pp. 289–93.

[66] Prosper Boissonnade, *Life and Work in Medieval Europe (Fifth to Fifteenth Centuries)*, tr. Eileen Power (New York, 1927), 178; Raymond de Roover, "The Commercial Revolution of the Thirteenth Century," *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society*, 16 (1942): 34–39, reprinted in Frederic C. Lane and Jelle C. Riemersma, eds., *Enterprise and Secular Change: Readings in Economic History* (Homewood, 1953), 80–85; Jacques Le Goff, *Marchands et banquiers du moyen âge* (Paris, 1956), 9–11; Howard L. Adelson, *Medieval Commerce* (Princeton, 1962), 68; Frederic C. Lane, "Venetian Shipping during the Commercial Revolution," *AHR*, 38 (1933): 219–39, reprinted in a collection of Lane's papers, *Venice and History* (Baltimore, 1966), 3–24; Laurence B. Packard, *The Commercial Revolution, 1400–1776* (New York, 1927); Robert R. Palmer and Joel Colton, *A History of the Modern World* (3d ed.; New York, 1965), 94; Ralph Davis, *A Commercial Revolution*, Historical Association Pamphlet, no. 64 (London, 1967), in which the phrase refers to the period 1660–1776 and, on page 3, it exchanges the indefinite for the definite article. Georges Duby (*La société aux XI^e^ et XII^e^ siècles dans la région mâconnaise* [Paris, 1953], 331) prefers to see the development not as a revolution but as a renewal or an amplification, the latter term being borrowed from Renée Doehaerd, "Au temps de Charlemagne et des Normands: Ce qu'on vendait et comment on le vendait dans le bassin parisien," *Annales E. S. C.*, 2 (1947): 266–80. Even so, Duby, in his article "Economie domaniale et économie monétaire: Le budget de l'abbaye de Cluny entre 1080 et 1155" (*Annales E. S. C.*, 7 [1952]: 155–71), while using the term "renaissance" twice (pp. 156, 171), also refers to "the economic revolution" (p. 171).

[67] Raymond de Roover, "The Development of Accounting Prior to Luca Pacioli according to the Account-Books of Medieval Merchants," in A. C. Littleton and B. S. Yamey, eds., *Studies in the History of Accounting* (Homewood, 1956), 114–74; see also the same author's more general essay, "The Organization of Trade," in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, 3, ed. M. M. Postan, E. E. Rich, and Edward Miller (Cambridge, 1963), 42–118.

the contracting economy seems to have been a stimulating factor, for the margins of profit had become precariously narrow. The history of the later period, of course, saw the introduction of such major institutions as the joint-stock company and the public debt, but surely no one could argue that the history of European commerce begins in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. And similarly, no one working over an old problem like the Weber-Tawney thesis would any longer set up a straw man built of clichés about a rural subsistence economy and label it "medieval economy." The economic history of preindustrial Europe, from 1000 to 1800, even with its rich variety of internal variations and developments, has a remarkably solid and consistent structural unity. We are concerned here with the first phase of that history, a phase marked by slight yet steady expansion, from its beginnings early in the eleventh century until the multiple calamities of the mid-fourteenth century.

Agreements about economic history and disagreements about historiography aside, we must turn to an area that has received far too little attention: the social effects of the changes wrought by the Commercial Revolution. The first of these effects has to do with the size of communities in which men lived. Prior to the eleventh century most Latin Christians lived in small communities, communities with populations of only a few hundred people. The nearly total reliance on the land and the relative inefficiency of agricultural exploitation together helped to keep the population small and scattered. Whether in noble households, Benedictine monasteries, or peasant villages, individuals had face-to-face relationships with everyone else in their respective communities. One critical effect of the economic development that began in the eleventh century was that a small but significant minority of people now experienced life in communities of a few thousand rather than a few hundred persons. Even though they lived with large families and their neighborhoods were made up mainly of persons who had emigrated from the same village, these people often had to deal with, or at least to see, other people who were partial if not total strangers.[68]

A second social effect of economic change worthy of attention has to do with the substitution of money for certain personal relationships. The tie between lord and vassal, for example, was traditionally established on a deeply personal basis: man to man (the vassal was the "man" of his lord), hand to hand (the vassal placed his hands between those of his lord), and face to face (the ceremony of homage was sealed with a kiss of peace). Peasants, too, had close ties not only with one another but with the lord—or the lord's steward—for whom they worked. Such personal ties were weakened by the spread of the cash nexus. The commutation of old obligations of military service into money payments was the first step toward

[68] On the size of villages, see Duby, *Rural Economy*, 11–15; on urban population, see Russell, *Late Ancient and Medieval Population*, 102–07, 110–12; Robert Lopez, in *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, 2: 303; and H. van Werveke, in *ibid.*, 3: 37–40.

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substituting taxes and mercenaries for personally loyal retainers. The development of markets gave peasants an opportunity to benefit from surplus production and thus to purchase their way out of serfdom. Manorial workshops disappeared almost completely, to be replaced by the shops of urban craftsmen, who sold their wares in markets. In these and many other ways, older and more personal ties and obligations were being altered, or in some cases even abolished, by the money economy.[69]

These relatively new phenomena—living among strangers and using money—were closely associated because money is what makes it possible for strangers to cooperate; money, which Max Weber called "the most abstract and impersonal element that exists in personal life,"[70] can be thought of as a medium of exchange acceptable to strangers. It was also the instrument that made possible the high concentration of population. Wealth based on land and on its bulky products obviously takes up considerable space; but commerce, industry, and finance all require the concentration of wealth in small, durable, and standardized units, where it can be easily recognized, easily manipulated, and easily transferred. The technical effect of money on the enormous bulk of material goods in the economy of the eleventh century was not unlike the effect of computers on the bulk of information in our own society in that it meant a reduction in size, a standardization of measurement, and depersonalization. In both cases, rationalizing has rendered manipulation of the bulk feasible.

Money, then, was not only the convenient tool most characteristic of the new commercial society, but a substitute for some of the personal relationships basic to the precommercial society. The impersonal character of money would perhaps have created problems on its own, but, worse still, there existed no religious sanction for handling money. The earlier society had rendered sacred the vows and oaths that bound men together and had chosen to honor work done directly in the soil. Thus the relationships and activities of the old rural society found sanction. But the reverse of this traditional and prevailing morality was its explicitly anticommercial character. A letter of Pope Leo I, for example, announced that it is difficult to avoid sin in the course of buying and selling, and the point became firmly embedded in canon law and theology.[71] Such a morality had been formulated either in

[69] Duby, *Rural Economy*, 52–53, 91, 129–30, 180–81, 205–06, 208, 217–18; Herlihy, *Pisa*, 75; Herlihy, "Treasure Hoards in the Italian Economy, 960–1139," *Economic History Review*, 2d ser., 10 (1957): 1–14; J. O. Prestwick, "War and Finance in the Anglo-Norman State," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 4 (1954): 453–87; Marc Bloch, *French Rural History: An Essay on its Basic Characteristics*, tr. Janet Sondheimer (Berkeley, 1966), 92–93.

[70] "Religious Rejections of the World and Their Directions," in H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, eds. and trs., *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York, 1958), 331.

[71] Mansi, 6: 404; *Decretum, De poen.*, 5, c. 2 (Friedberg, *Corpus juris canonici*, 1: 1240). Knowledge of these legal and theological problems has been advanced immeasurably by the studies of John W. Baldwin. See his *The Medieval Theories of the Just Price: Romanists, Canonists, and Theologians in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1959); "The Medieval Merchant Before the Bar of Canon Law," *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters*, 44 (1959): 287–99; and *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of*

the early Christian period, when Christians did not benefit from the flourishing urban-commercial society in which they lived; or in the patristic era, when that urban-commercial society was crumbling, and theologians were investing intellectual and emotional capital in an unworldly city; or, finally, in the feudal era, when commerce and city life were moribund. What was utterly new in the eleventh century was that a thoroughly Christian society, a society, that is, whose political, intellectual, and spiritual leaders as well as its members were Christian, a society that, moreover, was built on an agrarian economy, started to become an urban-commercial society. When the guardians of tradition searched the old morality for guidance, they found only strong opposition to the life of commerce. The gap between new social realities and the old morality fostered disorienting anxieties. This gap might also be expressed in chronological terms as a lag, a lag in morals stretching from the beginnings of the Commercial Revolution, in Italy in the eleventh century, to the late twelfth century, when the school masters—soon followed by the friar-theologians—began to formulate a new Christian ethic suitable for the new society.

In the intervening period the outmoded, hostile morality probably did not restrain the rapid advance of commercial activity, but it raised problems of conscience for those who participated in that activity. Usury, moneylending, commerce, and money itself had not yet been fully sorted out; they were all guilty, as it were, by association with one another. The effects of the new commercial economy, therefore, went much further than a mere reminder of the growth of commerce would show. Acute problems of dislocation, impersonalization, and moral uncertainty had been raised. With an appreciation of these problems, we are perhaps better prepared to investigate the challenge of avarice to the exclusive superiority of pride.

The allegorical figure of pride appears in medieval representations as a mighty person seated on a horse. This person is usually armed with at least a sword, and the horse is sometimes wearing protective and decorative devices. The prototype for this figure originated in the text of Prudentius and in battle scenes depicted by ancient Roman artists; but once pride was liberated from the *Psychomachia,* that is, once pride was depicted on its own without any particular reference to Prudentius, it went right on appearing in the same guise.[72] In Prudentius manuscripts, several drawings

Peter the Chanter and His Circle, (Princeton, 1970). See also Gabriel LeBras, "Conceptions of Economy and Society," in *Cambridge Economic History of Europe,* 3: 554–75, and Le Goff, *Marchands et banquiers.*

[72] Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices,* 1, 5, 6, pl. 1. The figure of pride, though mighty, mounted, and sword-brandishing, is often a female. This is because Prudentius personified all the virtues and vices as females, owing perhaps to the exigencies of Latin grammar, and because Gregory the Great designated pride as the queen of all vices. The grammatical explanation is put forth by Edward K. Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928), 206; Katzenellenbogen, on the other hand (*Allegories of the Virtues and Vices,* 1),

appear in sequence. The magnificent figure of pride is shown riding hard, head high, when suddenly the horse stumbles and pride is thrown without ceremony but with great force to the ground. Then humility comes along, takes the sword offered by hope, and delicately lops off the head of pride.[73] Again, when pride appeared without any reference to Prudentius, and the artist was limited to showing the figure only once, the usual way to present to the viewer as much as possible at a single glance was to show pride as a rider plunging over the neck of his stumbling horse (fig. 1).

Here one recalls that Bloomfield identified pride as "the sin of rebellion against God, the sin of exaggerated individualism," and hence a rebellion against "a disciplined and corporate society, which the Middle Ages held as an ideal."[74] His personification of the Middle Ages at this point is so vague as to have virtually no meaning. The statement as a whole leaves unclear who was imposing upon whom this ideal of a disciplined social order and who was warning that the worst conceivable vice was pride as expressed in rebellion. Prior to the fourteenth century, peasant rebellion was not unknown, but neither was it the constant and ubiquitous social phenomenon so common in later centuries. Far more prevalent and threatening in the years between Louis the Pious and St. Louis was the lawlessness of knights. The more capable princes of those years were the ones who were able to eliminate or at least contain private warfare and attacks on defenseless persons. If the most spectacular success of Duke William of Normandy was his defeat of the English in 1066, the strength of his rule is perhaps better seen in his ability to control a large army through late August and most of September of that year, while awaiting the favorable winds that would carry them across the Channel. The chronicler William of Poitiers noted that Duke William provided generously for his men, meanwhile forbidding them to take anything from the countryside. Neither were the crops that awaited the harvest trampled by proud knights, noted William, nor did the weak and unarmed tremble at the sight of a swarm of soliders.[75] The expansion of the

argues that this is a classical tradition and that it is not dictated by grammar but, instead, by a desire to soften the appearance of fierceness and invincibility in the vices. In the *Hortus deliciarum* of Herrad of Landsberg, the different vices engage in battle with the virtues. Only pride is mounted (ed. Alexandre Straub and Gustave Keller [Strasbourg, 1879–99], pl. 48); she wears a turban and sits on a lion skin. At Notre Dame of Paris, ca. 1210, pride is carved as a falling rider (Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices*, 76); compare the sketch by Villard de Honnecourt, ca. 1235 (Hans R. Hahnloser, *Villard de Honnecourt* [Vienna, 1935], pl. 6). See also the stained glass figures at Lyons, ca. 1220 (Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices*, 83 n.1); and at Auxerre, ca. 1230 (*ibid.*); and the sculpture at Reims, ca. 1265 (*ibid.*, 82 n.2). A similar figure can be observed on the cathedrals of Amiens and Chartres. On the theme as it appears in Romanesque art, see René Crozet, "Nouvelles remarques sur les cavaliers sculptés ou peints dans les églises romanes," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 1 (1958): 27–36.

[73] Richard Stettiner, *Die illustrierten Prudentius-Handschriften* (Berlin, text: 1895, plates: 1905).

[74] Bloomfield, *Seven Deadly Sins*, 74–75.

[75] *Histoire de Guillaume le Conquérant* 2. 2 (ed. and tr. Raymonde Foreville [Paris, 1952], 150–53).



Fig. 1. Pride is shown as a rider in Roman garb plunging off his horse, who has stumbled. ca. 1225. Chartres Cathedral, south porch. Photograph: James Austin.

peace movement and widespread use of the crusade as a penance for brigandage also testify to this problem of controlling the abuse of power on the part of the powerful.[76]

The complaint was registered by monastic authors and monastic artists, who, like most monks, came from the knightly, fighting class. The writings about and pictures of pride, it would seem, suggest that attacks on this vice represent the self-criticism of the powerful. Society in the precommercial era was divided among those who prayed, those who fought, and those who worked.[77] All earthly power was vested in the second of these groups, the knightly ruling class, whose obligations included the protection of those who prayed and of those who worked. The greatest potential abuse in this society was an unrestrained attack by the powerful against the weak. Warnings against the sin of pride appear to be a device for checking such an abuse. A feudal contract always imposed obligations on both parties to the particular agreement in question. Hence there were legal restrictions against the arbitrary use of power. Moreover, the sacralizing of oaths placed religious restraint on the use of power. With the attacks on pride we see a moral restraint, directed to a similar end.

No one need deny the original and continuing influence of the Prudentius manuscripts in order to perceive representations of pride as depictions of feudal knights. Even when the falling rider retained most of the attributes of a Roman soldier, he was able at the same time, if on a different level, to stand for a contemporary knight. In feudal society the horse was both the chief symbol and chief instrument of power. When the bishop of Limoges excommunicated some knights for violating the peace in 1031, he also anathematized their weapons and their horses.[78] A knight, as the term in various European languages suggests (*eques, caballarius, cavaliere, chevalier, caballero, Ritter*), was a man who rode a horse, and any depiction of a mounted soldier, no matter how many levels of interpretation

[76] Georges Duby, "Les laïcs et la Paix de Dieu," in *I laici nella "Societas Christiana" dei secoli XI e XII*, Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali, 5 (Milan, 1968), 453–54; Etienne Delaruelle, "La vie commune des clercs et la spiritualité populaire au XI^e siècle," in *La Vita comune del clero nei secoli XI e XII*, Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali, 3 (Milan, 1962), 1: 167–78; see also Roger Bonnaud-Delamare, "Fondement des institutions de paix au XI^e siècle," in *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen* (Paris, 1951), 19–26; Paul Rousset, "L'idée de croisade chez les chroniqueurs d'occident," in *Relazioni del X Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche*, 3 (Florence, 1955), 547–63, especially 552; and H. E. J. Cowdrey, "The Peace and the Truce of God in the Eleventh Century," *Past and Present*, no. 46 (1970): 42–67.

[77] Adalbero of Laon *Carmen ad Robertum regem francorum* 297–98 (*PL*, 141: 781–82): "Triplex Dei ergo domus est, quae creditur una;/Nunc orant alii, pugnant, aliique laborant." (Thus the Lord's house, which is thought to be one, is really threefold: while some pray, others fight, and still others work.) On the general currency of this division, see Paul Guilhiermoz, *Essai sur l'origine de la noblesse en France au moyen âge* (Paris, 1902), 370–73, and Jacques Le Goff, "Note sur société tripartie, idéologie monarchique et renouveau économique dans la chrétienté du IX^e au XII^e siècle," in Tadeusz Manteuffel and Aleksander Gieysztor, eds., *L'Europe aux IX^e–XI^e siècles: Aux origines des Etats nationaux* (Warsaw, 1968), 63–71.

[78] Ludwig Huberti, *Studien zur Rechtsgeschichte der Gottesfrieden und Landfrieden*, 1 "Die Friedensordnungen in Frankreich" (Ansbach, 1892), 214, text cited and discussed by Duby, "Les laïcs et la Paix de Dieu," 454.

the artist intended, would have been seen as a knight. A complete transformation of pride from a traditional Roman soldier to a twelfth-century knight did, however, take place at the Benedictine monastery and pilgrimage church of Sainte Foy at Conques.[79] On the Last Judgment tympanum of that church the leading figure among the damned is pride, shown as a falling rider (fig. 2). He is fully clothed in a suit of chain mail; both his head and the horse's head are about to hit the ground. One little devil assists the force of gravity by pulling the knight down, while another, standing above, drives a pitchfork deep into his back. On the same tympanum the leading virtue, placed immediately at the right hand of the Savior, is humility.[80]

No less remarkable than this twelfth-century carved knight is an eleventh-century monastic text that relates stories of the miracles of Sainte Foy. These miracle stories were written down in about 1020 by Bernard of Angers, a former student at Chartres. The stories formed an essential part of the culture common to all associated with the monastery and were therefore surely known to the designer of the tympanum. One of the stories tells about a knight named Rainon, who had often been in conflict with the monks of Sainte Foy and had accordingly been excommunicated by them. He happened upon a group of these monks one day and decided on his own to attack them. He bolted from his entourage and, filled with pride and fearing neither God nor His saint, drove his spurs into the flanks of his horse and bore down on the defenseless monks. Just as he was almost upon them, divine vengeance intervened by causing the horse to stumble. Rainon shot forward with such force that his neck was broken and his skull fractured into several pieces.[81]

Our erudition leads us to see the shadow of Prudentius lurking behind this story, but Bernard of Angers' erudition, while it led him to think of Prudentius, only made the story more real for him. What a remarkable experience for a student, he commented, to confront pride, not in one's imagination, as when reading the *Psychomachia* by Prudentius, but in corporeal reality. Here, then, was an explicit association of an ancient text with a contemporary, or nearly contemporary, happening. A century later these would in turn be associated by a sculptor with the theological and iconographic programs of the vices. Bernard finished this tale with a reminder for those whose hearts were filled with pride to take a lesson from

79 Such a transformation is in accordance with Panofsky's "'principle of disjunction': wherever in the high and later Middle Ages a work of art borrows its form from a classical model, this form is almost invariably invested with a non-classical, normally Christian, significance; wherever in the high and later Middle Ages a work of art borrows its theme from classical poetry, legend, history or mythology, this theme is quite invariably presented in a non-classical, normally contemporary, form." Erwin Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (Stockholm, 1960), 84.

80 Auguste Bouillet and Louis Servières, *Sainte Foy: vièrge et martyre* (Rodez, 1900), 130–37; Louis Bousquet, *Le Judgement dernier au tympan de l'église Sainte-Foy de Conques* (Rodez, 1948), 39–46, pl. 8; Christoph Bernoulli, *Die Skulpturen der Abtei Conques-en-Rouergue* (Basel, 1956), 62–71.

81 *Liber miraculorum sancte Fidis* 1. 5 (ed. Auguste Bouillet [Paris, 1897], 24–26).



Fig. 2. Pride is here depicted as a twelfth-century knight, falling off his horse with the aid of two devils. On the right, this scene overlaps with the depiction of pleasure, which is the next in a series of vices carved on this tympanum of Sainte Foy at Conques. ca. 1140. Photograph: Auguste Allemand.

this example. Equally pointed were the warnings carved on the tympanum at Sainte Foy. The inscription above the damned says: "In such a way are perverse men plunged into hell"; the one below says: "O sinners, unless you change your ways, know that you will face a harsh judgment."

Avarice is never depicted riding a horse. He is usually seen at a counting table, sorting out and counting his coins. He places them in sacks and chests (fig. 3). Sometimes he has a sack attached to his belt; sometimes sacks or chests are under the table. The chests of money belonging to the rich man in the Lazarus sequences appear both under his banquet table and under his deathbed (fig. 4).[82] This figure of avarice related to a new element in society, one not included in the tenth-century triad of those who pray, those who fight, and those who work. Depictions of avarice give us some of our earliest glimpses of the merchant class. The characteristics of avarice are transferred not only to the rich man and to merchants, but also to that most vile of all merchants, Judas, as well as to Jews more generally (fig. 5).[83]

The small, crouching figure of avarice is markedly different from the tall, magnificent figure of pride. Avarice is a compulsive accumulator; he clutches his sacks with tight fists and an attitude of grim desperation (fig. 6). He is often paired with generosity and thus his characteristics are all the more clear, since generosity has relaxed muscles and open fists, and is usually shown dispensing liberally the contents of moneybags and treasure chests.[84] At Vézelay and Autun avarice is a wretched little figure, shown squatting.[85] His vast mouth is open wide and in each fist he grasps a bulging sack of coins (fig. 7). He consists mainly of alimentary canal, open at the receiving end and closed at the other. The decaying matter is stored not in his intestines so much as in those moneybags. Innocent III observed that both the avarici-

82 These traits of avarice and the rich man were observed in virtually all the representations studied at the Index of Christian Art. On the transfer of avarice's characteristics to Dives, see Meyer Schapiro, "From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos," *Art Bulletin,* 21 (1939): 315, 325–27; see also Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices,* 58.

83 These observations are made on the basis of a study of more than 175 representations in the Index of Christian Art. In the *Hortus deliciarum* (ed. Straub and Keller, pl. 60), Judas appears as a merchant, labeled "Judas mercator," and the accompanying text explains that "Judas mercator pessimus significat usurarios. . . ." The previous reference and further discussion can be found in Schapiro, "From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos," 327 n.23. See also Wilhelm Porte, *Judas Ischarioth in der bildenden Kunst* (Berlin, 1883), 73, and Bernhard Blumenkranz, *Le juif médiéval au miroir de l'art chrétien* (Paris, 1966), 88–95. On the relationship of Jews to the problems of commerce and money under discussion here, see my essay "The Function of the Jews in the Commercial Revolution," in *Povertà e ricchezza nella spiritualità dei secoli XI e XII,* Atti dell' VIII Convegno storico internazionale del Centro di Studi sulla Spiritualità Medievale (Todi, 1969), 271–87.

84 In the *Psychomachia,* lines 573–628 (ed. H. J. Thompson [Cambridge, Mass., 1949], 1: 318–23), Prudentius has *Operatio* (Good Works) triumph over *Avaritia* and then distribute the latter's treasures to the needy. The figure placed opposite *Avaritia* is sometimes *Caritas* but more often *Largitas* or *Generositas.* Regardless of the name, this figure has remarkably consistent attributes and activities, particularly the distribution of whatever *Avaritia* has been hoarding. On charity and its relationship to avarice and other vices, see R. Freyhan, "The Evolution of the Caritas Figure in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 11 (1948): 68–86, especially 81.

85 Denis Grivot and George Zarnecki, *Gislebertus, Sculptor of Autun* (London, 1961), pls. 19a, 19c; Francis Salet, *La Madelaine de Vézelay* (Melun, 1948), pl. 31.

ous man and hell eat but do not digest; each of them receives but does not give back.[86] The comparison was apt; hell is usually depicted as a gaping mouth (figs. 8, 9).

This disgust and contempt for the figure of avarice is shown further in his frequent association with slimy serpents, wicked devils, and those debased replicas of men, mocking apes. By the early fourteenth century the extraordinary pictorial theme of men and apes defecating coins appeared. In one manuscript drawing, a worried-looking ape, with his right paw under his chin and his left paw under his knee, defecates three coins into a golden bowl (fig. 10); in the same work a hybrid man is shown defecating gold coins into a bowl held by an ape (fig. 11). The preoccupations of the artist are clearer still when we see on another page that he depicts what could be either a harsh enema or a method for breaking the bank; the drawing shows a unicorn, head down, charging full speed at the rear of a crouched-over monkey (fig. 12). A similar notion of money as filthy and disgusting waste, while not anal in imagery, is seen in the picture of a monster-head vomiting gold coins into a golden bowl.[87] This foul money of gothic marginalia presents a sharp contrast with the precious royal and imperial coins that decorate the borders of Carolingian and Ottonian books of the gospels.[88]

If pride was the greatest vice of those who held power in precommercial society, then avarice held a corresponding place in connection with the rich people of commercial society.[89] The horrors of feudal or private war-

[86] *De miseria humane conditionis* 2. 14 (ed. Michele Maccarrone [Lucca, 1955], 49–50).

[87] MS, Oxford, Bodleian, Douce 6, f. 157^{v}. See Lillian M. C. Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (Berkeley, 1966), 84. For the ape as *figura diaboli* and/or the devil as *simia Dei*, see H. W. Janson, *Apes and Apelore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (London, 1952), 13–27.

[88] Amédée Boinet, *La miniature carolingienne, ses origines, son développement* (Paris, 1913), pl. 41; Albert Boeckler, *Das goldene Evangelienbuch Heinrichs III.* (Berlin, 1933), pls. 8, 9. For this observation and the references I am grateful to Professor Carl Nordenfalk.

[89] While the argument is made above that the critics of pride came from the same class as those most likely to be proud, a parallel argument about avarice is not satisfactory. Meyer Schapiro ("The Sculpture of Souillac," in William R. W. Koehler, ed., *Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter* [Cambridge, Mass., 1939], 2: 359–87) suggests (p. 383) that the special emphasis on avarice and unchastity betrayed a concern over the growing strength of secular interests, in particular of the rising burgher class (avarice), and of the higher feudal nobility with their aristocratic, libertine culture (unchastity). But such an argument requires that some impersonal, classless, disinterested institution, "the church," make the decisions about what is sinful and how the standard should be publicized. The argument that comes closest to the one given in the present essay is found in Jacques Le Goff, *La Civilisation de l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 1964), 309–13. While Le Goff does not name those who rail against pride, he says that the writers and artists who attack avarice work for the traditional directing classes. But many of the scathing representations of avarice appear in connection with the new cathedrals and hence appear under the sponsorship of the successful urban merchants. This problem is highly complex and would require an entirely separate study. The attacks on avarice cannot be attributed simply to the merchant class in the way that those against pride can be attributed almost exclusively to the (knightly) monks. For a judicious handling of a similar problem in connection with the sponsorship of temperance between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, see Lynn White, Jr., "The Iconography of *Temperantia* and the Virtuousness of Technology," in Theodore K. Rabb and Jerrold E. Seigel, eds., *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Memory of E. H. Harbison* (Princeton, 1969), 197–219.

fare had their counterparts in the miseries of involuntary poverty. In one age those without power were at the mercy of rampaging knights; in the other, those without wealth were at the mercy of ruthless usurers. If the precarious condition of the weak was steadied by the growth of strong government, the relative economic stability of the poor was shaken by the growth of a capricious money economy. The development in vulnerability was from a fear of force to a fear of foreclosure. The greatest social danger evolved from an uncontrolled desire for power on the part of the strong to an uncontrolled desire for money on the part of the rich.

A change in the notion of the chief vice, then, clearly took place, and ample evidence shows that far more was involved than the mere existence through time of two abstractions, with one or the other in ascendancy, or the two neatly reconciled. If the theme of the vices itself had already transcended several centuries and gained a quasi-independent existence, the alterations of the theme as it passed from a precommercial to a commercial age were firmly rooted in social realities. A final confirmation of the point could presumably be found by examining the highest states of life provided by society. Prior to the thirteenth century the highest ideals and aspirations of Latin Christian society were embedded in the religious life. This notion of the religious life was technical, limited to those special people—set apart from everyone else—who fulfilled the religious function for all society. The notion did not of course die out in the thirteenth century, but it was then challenged by an increasingly widespread belief that laymen could lead lives as good, as Christian, or as religious as those of monks or priests. As long, though, as the religious life remained the closed preserve of a relatively small elite, the evolution of the ideals of the religious life itself indicated historical development with revealing clarity. One indeed finds in this same evolution confirmation of the shifting importance of pride and avarice.

The accepted and nearly exclusive mode of the religious life up to the eleventh century was Benedictine monasticism. A Benedictine monk took a vow of total obedience and thereby surrendered his will utterly to his abbot. The chief virtue of a Benedictine, and, hence, the guarantor of his obedience, was humility.[90] The degrees of humility remained a consistent theme of Benedictine authors. With the appearance of hermits in Italy at the start of the eleventh century, there began a movement that was to provide considerable variety in the available forms of the religious life.[91] That movement, after it passed via numerous eremetic, monastic, and clerical reform groups as well as various lay evangelical brotherhoods, some of which were declared heretical, culminated in the establishment of the great mendicant

[90] *Regula monachorum* 5, 7, 58 (*CSEL*, 75: 35–52, 138).

[91] The single basic work is a collection of essays, *L'Eremitismo in Occidente nei secoli XI e XII*, Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali, 4 (Milan, 1965).



Fig. 3. Avarice is here shown as a female, seated by a strongbox handling coins. This carving belongs to the same series as the depiction of pride in fig. 1. Photograph: Bildarchiv Foto-Marburg.

Facing page

Fig. 4. The rich man on his deathbed. While a serpent slithers about the moneybags underneath, devils above remove the rich man's soul with tongs. Early 12th cent. sculptured capital. Church of La Madeleine at Vézelay. Photograph: James Austin.



Fig. 5. Judas receiving the silver from a group of Jews. The pointed hats identify all these men as Jews. 13th cent. manuscript illumination. New York, Morgan Library, M756, f. 7^{v}. Photograph: The Pierpont Morgan Library.





Fig. 6. Avarice clutches two moneybags, while a serpent with a catlike head taunts him. ca. 1113. sculptured capital. Crypt of Saint Parize-le-Châtel. Photograph: Auguste Allemand.



Fig. 7. Avarice clutching moneybags. Early 12th cent. capital. Now in the chapter room of the cathedral at Autun. Photograph: Auguste Allemand.





Fig. 8. Deaths of Lazarus and the rich man. Two angels solemnly prepare to carry the soul of Lazarus to heaven, where it will be taken to Abraham's bosom. Just below, a devil gleefully pokes the rich man and his cohorts into a cavernous hell-mouth. ca. 1145. From the frieze, façade of Lincoln Cathedral. Photograph: Courtauld Institute of Art.

Facing page

Fig. 9. The punishment of avarice. In the center, avarice is weighted down with three money-bags and a strongbox, while a devil pulls avarice's teeth with pincers. To the right, the sinful are boiled in a cauldron. To the left, they are jammed by devils into the gaping jaws of hell. ca. 1200. Relief sculpture, west exterior of the Church of Maria Assunta, Fornovo di Taro. Photograph: Foto Tosi (Parma).

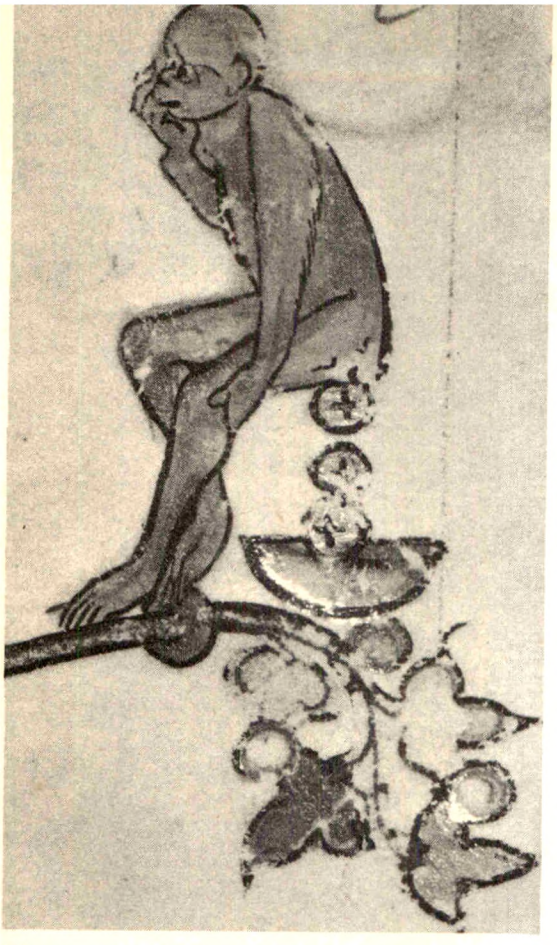
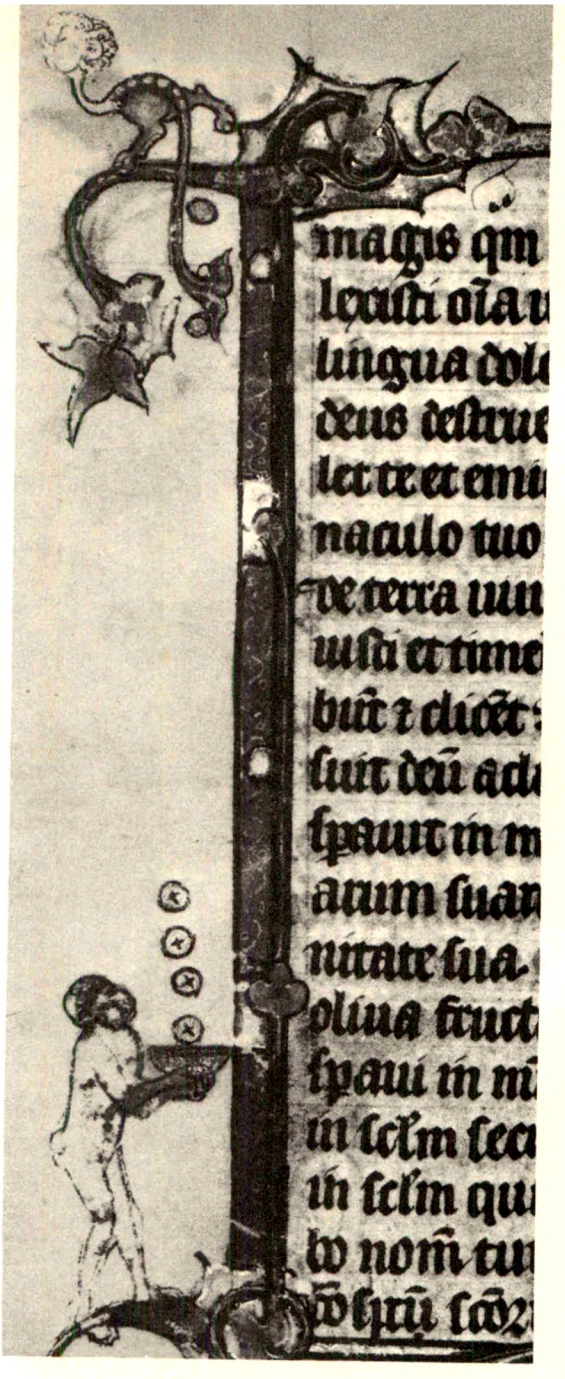


Fig. 10. Ape defecating coins into a bowl. Early 14th cent. manuscript illumination. London, British Museum, Add. 29253, f. 410^{v}. Photograph: The Trustees of the British Museum.

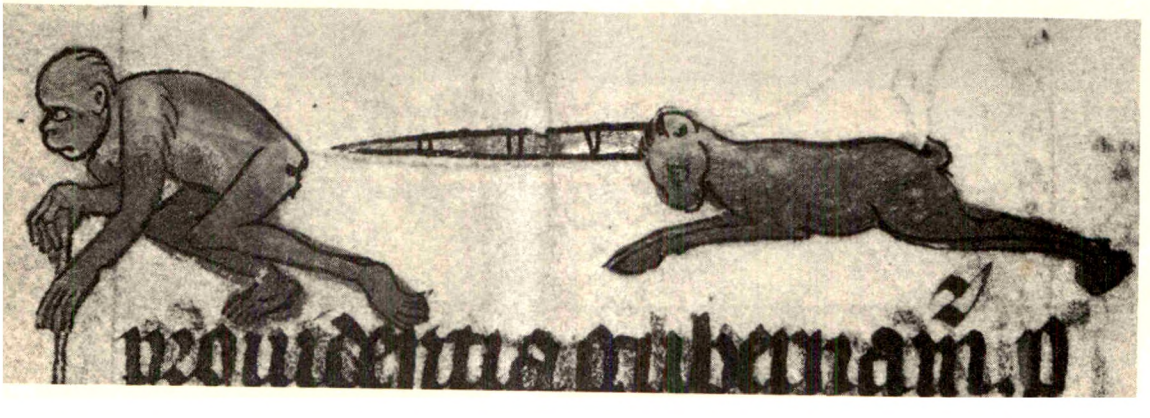
Right

Fig. 11. Hybrid figure defecating coins into a bowl held by an ape. From the same manuscript as fig. 10, f. 41^{v}. Photograph: The Trustees of the British Museum.



Below

Fig. 12. Unicorn charging at an ape. From the same manuscript as fig. 10, f. 255^{v}. Photograph: The Trustees of the British Museum.



orders early in the thirteenth century.[92] The members of these new orders, the friars, did not insist on obedience in the way the Benedictines had. Instead the friars regarded their rules as existing only for the convenience and smooth operation of their respective orders. A violation of such rules was considered a matter in need of correction but not a fault that would weigh on the conscience.[93] The chief virtue of the friar was, of course, not humility but total and literal poverty.[94]

No one will deny that a monk was supposed to be poor or a friar humble. The distinction is partially a matter of emphasis. Yet the poverty of the friars cannot simply be equated with that of the monks, for the very meanings of *paupertas* and of *pauper* were not static. To be poor in the age prior to the Commercial Revolution meant principally to be without power.[95] Benedictine monks, the ones whose spirituality articulated the highest religious ideals of the precommercial period, had generally come from knightly, wealthy families. When they entered the monastic life, they left behind their horses and weapons. At the same time they also abandoned their wealth, with the difference that they abandoned it usually to the very monasteries they joined. If a monk no longer had control over his former wealth, he continued to enjoy its benefits within the collective comfort of his adopted

[92] M.-D. Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West,* tr. Jerome Taylor and L. K. Little (Chicago, 1968), especially the essays entitled "Monks, Canons, and Laymen in Search of the Apostolic Life," 202–38, and "The Evangelical Awakening," 239–69. See also Herbert Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter* (2d ed.; Hildesheim, 1961), and Giovanni Miccoli, "Ecclesiae Primitivae Forma," in his *Chiesa Gregoriana: Ricerche sulla Riforma del secolo XI* (Florence, 1966), 225–99.

[93] For the Franciscans, see Francis of Assisi *Opusculum commonitorium et exhortatorium* (ed. Heinrich Boehmer, *Analekten zur Geschichte des Franziskus von Assisi* [Tuebingen, 1904], 53); for the Dominicans, see Humbert of Romans *Opuscula de vita regulari* (ed. J. J. Berthier [Rome, 1888–89], 2: 46).

[94] M. D. Lambert, *Franciscan Poverty: The Doctrine of the Absolute Poverty of Christ and the Apostles in the Franciscan Order, 1210–1323* (London, 1961); R. F. Bennett, *The Early Dominicans* (Cambridge, 1937), 31–51; W. A. Hinnebusch, "Poverty in the Order of Preachers," *Catholic Historical Review,* 45 (1959–60): 436–53.

[95] Michel Mollat, "Pauvres et pauvreté à la fin du XII^e siècle," *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique,* 41 (1965): 305–23; *idem,* "La notion de la pauvreté au moyen âge: position des problèmes," *Revue de l'église de France,* 52 (1966): 5–23; Georges Duby, "Les pauvres des campagnes dan l'occident médiéval jusqu'au XIII^e siècle," *ibid.,* 25–32; Michel Mollat, "Le problème de la pauvreté au XII^e siècle," in *Vaudois languedociens et Pauvres Catholiques,* Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 2 (Toulouse, 1967), 23–47; J. M. Bienvenu, "Pauvreté, misères et charité en Anjou aux XI^e et XII^e siècles," *Le Moyen Age,* 72 (1966): 389–424, and 73 (1967): 5–34, 189–216; Jean Devisse, "*Pauperes* et *Paupertas* dans le monde carolingien: ce qu'on dit Hincmar de Reims," *Revue du Nord,* 48 (1966): 273–87; Régine le Jan-Hennebicque, "*Pauperes* et *Paupertas* aux IX^e et X^e siècles," *ibid.,* 50 (1968): 169–87; Jean-Claude Dufermont, "Les Pauvres d'après les sources anglo-saxonnes du VII^e au XI^e siècles," *ibid.,* 189–201; G. Penco, "Per la storia della povertà religiosa nel Medio Evo," *Rivista di ascetica e mistica,* 2 (1968): 173–82; Karl Bosl, "Potens und Pauper. Begriffsgeschichtliche Studien zur gesellschaftlichen Differenzierung im frühen Mittelalter und zum 'Pauperismus' des Hochmittelalters," in Alexander Bergengruen and Ludwig Deike, eds., *Alteuropa und die moderne Gesellschaft: Festschrift für O. Brunner* (Göttingen, 1963), 60–87. Just as "poor" meant to be without power, so "rich" meant to be powerful. In commenting on the depiction of Charlemagne in "The Song of Roland" as a "rich emperor," George F. Jones, in *The Ethos of the Song of Roland* ([Baltimore, 1963], 57), says: "The word *riches,* which was derived from Old High German *rihhi,* was cognate not only with *rich, riche,* and *reich,* but also with *Reich* and *rex*; and its basic meaning was rule or power rather than wealth."

community. He could no longer use his old weapons either directly or vicariously, though it may be that he unconsciously redirected much of his old combativeness into the bellicose monastic liturgy of the time.[96] What a man really abandoned for good when he joined a Benedictine monastery was not his wealth but his power.

Religious reformers of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries almost all attacked the Benedictines for their wealth, pointing to glaring contradictions between their wealth, both landed and of the newer, liquid sort, and their profession of poverty. The eremetic reformers had a common point of departure in their distaste for the ease and comfort of Benedictine life. The more noted of them, men such as Romuald of Ravenna, John Gualbert, Peter Damian, and Bernard of Tiron, all experienced that life and rejected it in favor of the simpler, poorer hermitage. Ivo of Chartres expressed concern over the scathing attacks against monks by one Reginald the Hermit. Reginald replied with a brief lesson on evangelical poverty and perfection, adding: "You know as well as I that cenobitic cloisters rarely or never include this standard of perfection . . . because they exclude as much as possible the poverty that Christ the pauper preached."[97]

The Benedictines themselves of course could not accept this kind of criticism, because they saw no contradiction between their own wealth and their own poverty. What they meant by poverty was poverty of spirit, or humility.[98] Bede, echoing a sermon of St. Augustine, defined a wealthy person as one who has riches and is thereby inflated, or as one who does not have wealth but wishes he did simply in order to be exalted. Similarly a poor person is one who has nothing and wishes for nothing, or else he is one who has much but acts as if he did not. The latter point is clearly critical and unfortunately remains unexplained by Bede. He goes on to give assurance, however, that when the day of judgment comes God will examine not one's wine cellar or coffers, but rather one's conscience.[99] The test of poverty

[96] Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Feudal War and Monastic Peace: Cluniac Liturgy as Ritual Aggression," to appear in *Viator*, 2 (1971).

[97] Germain Morin, "Rainaud l'ermite et Ives de Chartres: un épisode de la crise du cénobitisme au XI^e^-XII^e^ siècle," *Revue Bénédictine*, 40 (1928): 101.

[98] Odo of Cluny, for example, wrote a biography of St. Gerald, Count of Aurillac, which is interesting in this connection (*PL*, 133: 639–704). Gerald was both wealthy and powerful, and he successfully maintained both conditions. He is frequently praised by Odo for his generous benefactions, for he spent great sums on certain extraordinarily elaborate gifts. Yet a major theme of the biography is Gerald's exemplary poverty of spirit. He was a fierce combatant, for if persuasion failed to soothe an enemy, he was not afraid to break the teeth of the wicked (Ps. 57:7). This tough behavior stemmed not from love of violence but from love of the poor, defined by Odo as those not able to protect themselves. See *Vita Geraldi* 1. 8 (*PL*, 133: 646). See Johannes Fechter, *Cluny, Adelund Volk: Studien über das Verhältnis des Klosters zu den Ständen (910–1156)* (Stuttgart, 1966), especially 60–64. Peter Damian reports an interview St. Romuald had with Henry II, successively listing the "violence of the powerful" and the "oppression of the poor" among the topics discussed. See *Vita Romualdi* 65 (ed. Giovanni Tabacco [Rome, 1957], 108). For examples of early medieval statements that define poverty as poverty of spirit, hence as humility, see Leo the Great *Sermones* 95. 2 (*PL*, 54: 461–62) and Gregory the Great *Moralia in Job* 6.22; 16.46; 21.16; 26.27 (*ibid.*, 75: 750, 1149; 76: 205, 378).

[99] *In Lucae evangelium expositio* 4.14 (*PL*, 92: 515); *In psalmorum librum exegesis, in psalmum XLVIII* (*ibid.*, 93: 734). The likely Augustinian source is *Sermones de vetere testa-*

would be a state of mind and not an inventory of worldly goods. By arguing in this way, Benedictines could be wealthy and still consider themselves the poor of God.[100] Indeed the precise point on which they criticized the new form of eremetic life was pride; the monks argued that a hermit lacked opportunities to exercise fraternal charity and to experience fraternal correction, and that he therefore courted the dangers of spiritual pride.[101]

The Benedictines exchanged polemics with monastic reformers as well as with hermits. The barbed comments of St. Bernard on the immoderate grandeur of Cluny are only the best known of these polemics; he asked the Cluniacs rhetorically, and with help from a line of Roman poetry: "Tell me, you poor men (if, indeed, you are poor men), what is this gold doing in your sanctuary?"[102] What Bernard made so vividly explicit was quietly implicit in the simpler, more ascetic ways of life established by new monastic groups like the Camaldoli, the Vallombrosians, the Carthusians, and the Cistercians.[103]

Another sector of the religious transformation then in progress was the canonical reform, a program largely instigated by Hildebrand and his immediate cohorts on behalf of a regular, canonical life for priests, with strict adherence to complete poverty in imitation of the Apostles.[104] The regular canons also had their battles with the monks, raising questions about their relative age and spiritual dignity, about the active life versus the contemplative, and about the association of one or the other group with such venerable figures as Mary and Martha, Michael and Peter, or Augustine and Gregory. One monastic writer respectfully placed the canons below the monks on the basis of the relative status of their patrons: "We do not scorn the blessed Augustine, but we confidently place before him Martin, bishop and monk, and even more Gregory, apostle [that is, pope] and monk."[105] The main point of disagreement between monks and canons was their interpretation of the apostolate. A standard claim of the canons read: "The incontrovertible verdict of the fathers of the church decides solemnly that the order of canons should be by every right placed above all others. This is not astonish-

mento 14 (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina [Turnhout, 1961], 185–91). There Augustine asks why he should praise a poor man who is humble, since he has nothing that should make him proud. "Praise the rich man who is humble," advises Augustine, "praise the rich man who is poor."

100 Michael von Dmitrewski, *Die christliche freiwillige Armut vom Ursprung der Kirche bis zum 12. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1913), 68–70.

101 Ivo of Chartres took up the Benedictine position in arguing against Reginald; see his *Epistolae* 256 (*PL*, 162: 260–62).

102 *Apologia ad Guillelmum S. Theodorici abbatem* 12.28 (*Sancti Bernardi opera*, 3: 104).

103 For a compact and highly suggestive study of monastic constitutions, see David Knowles, *From Pachomius to Ignatius: A Study in the Constitutional History of the Religious Orders* (Oxford, 1966).

104 Charles Dereine, "Vie commune, règle de Saint Augustin et chanoines réguliers au XI^e siècle," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 41 (1946): 367–406; John C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and Their Introduction into England* (London, 1950); collection of essays in *La Vita comune del clero nei secoli XI e XII* (Milan, 1962).

105 *Epistola Roberti ad Liezelinum canonicum* (*PL*, 170: 667).

ing, since it carries on the work of Christ and the Apostles in preaching, baptizing, and administering the other sacraments of the church."[106] The basis of this canonical claim, in turn, was that their adherence to apostolic poverty qualified them for the apostolate. Peter Damian, in helping to shape some of the earliest expressions of canonical reform, made explicit this critical connection between poverty and preaching: "The only men fit for the office of preaching are those who lack the support of earthly riches and who, because they possess nothing whatever of their own, hold everything in common."[107]

Arnold of Brescia, too often remembered as a heretic and too seldom as a regular canon, lectured briefly on the scriptures in Paris. Only students so poor that they had to beg came to hear him, and the reason, according to John of Salisbury, was that Arnold "said things that were entirely consistent with the law accepted by Christian people, but not at all with the life they led. To the bishops he was merciless on account of their avarice and filthy lucre. . . ."[108] Arnold's contemporary, and fellow regular canon, Gerhoh of Reichersberg, argued that all priests should follow the apostolic rule of voluntary poverty; only those who did so could properly be considered *pauperes Christi,* the poor men of Christ.[109] In his four-part historiographical scheme, mentioned earlier, Gerhoh specified those groups that kept the vigil in each of the stormy periods of Christian history. In the age of the persecutions it had been the martyrs; in the age of heresies, the confessors; in the age of corrupted morals, the holy fathers; and in the present age, that of avarice, it was the disciples of Christ, those who renounced all worldly possessions.[110] Finally, after these many reformers—eremetic, monastic, and canonical—the Poor Men of Lyons, or Waldenses, who in their preaching emphasized the dangers of accumulating wealth,[111] and Francis, the Poverello of Assisi, whom later tradition had take as his bride Lady Poverty, articulated the new spirituality in its best known and most advanced forms. The handsomely endowed Benedictine corporations did not wither away because of competition from these various reform groups, but on account of that competition they declined in quality, for they could no longer attract the brightest, most sensitive, most creative young men of the day.

A review of the highest ideals of the Christian life shows that when a man

[106] A. Carrier de Belleuse, ed., *Coutumier du XI^e siècle de l'ordre de S. Ruf.* (Sherbrooke, 1950), 97.

[107] *Contra clericos regulares proprietarios* 6 (*PL,* 145: 490).

[108] *Historia Pontificalis* 31 (ed. Chibnall, 63–64).

[109] *De aedificio Dei* 45 (*PL,* 194: 1306). The first part of a thorough study of this question has appeared; see Anna Lazzarino Del Grosso, "Povertà e ricchezza nel pensiero di Gerhoch di Reichersberg," *Annali della Facoltà di Guirisprudenza dell'Università di Genova,* 8 (1969): 146–93.

[110] *De quarta vigilia noctis* (*MGH, Libelli,* 3: 509–10).

[111] Durand of Osca *Liber antiheresis* (ed. Kurt-Victor Selge, in his *Die ersten Waldenser* [Berlin, 1967], 2: 8, 72, 75, 96, 104–09).

became a Benedictine, he definitively abandoned his worldly power, and in so doing he sought the surest available protection against the sin of pride. On the other hand, when a man became a hermit, or later on, when a man became a regular canon or a friar, he just as definitively abandoned all of his material wealth, and thereby sought the surest protection against avarice. The theme of the vices underwent a far more pronounced shift in the institutions and ideals of the religious life than in literature or in the visual arts. It is, then, in the advent of the *pauperes Christi* and the waning of the Benedictines that we see the chief expression of the encroachment of avarice on the pre-eminence of pride.

Social Welfare in Calvin's Geneva

ROBERT M. KINGDON

Between 1520 and the end of the sixteenth century a number of Western European governments made significant new provisions for dealing with social problems. Municipal governments took the lead in this wave of welfare reform. Reforms whose wide influence has been particularly well documented are those of the cities of Nuremberg in Germany (1522), Ypres in the Low Countries (1525), and Lyon in France (1531–34).[1] The welfare ordinances of these three cities were published, in several editions and in several languages, and pamphlets were issued further explaining and justifying them. These reforms, moreover, influenced the policies not only of other cities, but also of royal governments. The imperial edict on poor relief in the Low Countries, promulgated in 1531 by the government of Charles V, was based on preliminary study of the municipal reforms of Mons, Ypres, and Audenaerde, and it in turn stimulated the reforms of other cities such as Brussels.[2] The English statute on poor relief, promulgated by the government of Henry VIII in 1536, was based on a draft very likely prepared by the man who translated the Ypres ordinance into English.[3] And

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[1] See, in particular, Otto Winkelmann, "Die Armenordnungen von Nürnberg (1522), Kitzingen (1523), Regensburg (1523) und Ypern (1525)," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte,* 10 (1912–13): 242–80; J. Nolf, *La réforme de la bienfaisance publique à Ypres au XVI^e siècle,* in *University of Ghent, Recueil de travaux publiés par la Faculté de philosophie et de lettres,* 45th fasc. (Ghent, 1915); Natalie Zemon Davis, "Poor Relief, Humanism, and Heresy: The Case of Lyon," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History,* 5 (1968): 217–75.

[2] See Paul Bonenfant, "Les origines et le caractère de la réforme de la bienfaisance publique aux Pays-Bas sous le règne de Charles-Quint," and "La création à Bruxelles de la Suprême Charité," in *Hôpitaux et bienfaisance publique dans les anciens Pays-Bas, des origines à la fin du XVIII^e siècle* (Brussels, 1965), 118, 149 ff.

[3] The translator was William Marshall, a propagandist of Protestant sympathies who worked for Thomas Cromwell. This is the plausible hypothesis presented by G. R. Elton in "An Early Tudor Poor Law," *Economic History Review,* 2d ser., 6 (1953–54): 65–66. Elton does not, however, discover close parallels between the Ypres ordinance and the draft act he attributes to Marshall. See also W. K. Jordan, *Philanthropy in England, 1480–1660: A Study of the Changing Pattern of English Social Aspirations* (London, 1959), 84–85.

the royal edicts and ordinances on poor relief of the French crown from 1543 to 1599 reflect the experience of such reforming municipalities as Paris and Lyon.[4]

Two essential principles characterized almost all of these reforms: laicization and rationalization. Practically every reform law vested most of the control of social welfare in the hands of laymen. In some areas this constituted a dramatic break with the current practice of leaving welfare programs in the hands of the Church, but in more areas it simply marked the culmination of a centuries-long shift in the control of welfare from ecclesiastical to secular hands. Practically every reform also established some sort of new institution to centralize and coordinate welfare. Such new institutions sometimes replaced a network of welfare organizations created over the centuries, but more often they simply controlled, coordinated, and supplemented the activities of already existing institutions.

The spread of this movement for laicized and rationalized welfare reform coincided almost precisely with the spread of the Protestant Reformation. Like the Protestant reformers, it challenged practices and institutions dear to many orthodox Catholics. Its spokesmen, the most prominent of whom was the great Spanish Catholic humanist Juan Luis Vives, were men vitally interested in religious reform. In consequence, many scholars have claimed that welfare reform and the Protestant Reformation were connected. Welfare reforms, however, were not limited to areas that became or were to become Protestant. They were adopted not only in Catholic Ypres and Lyon, in countries where Protestant influences were pervasive and strong, but also in cities of Catholic Italy and Spain where Protestant influences were weak. This complication has led to a good deal of debate among historians and has provoked some lively polemic.[5]

In order to unravel the connections between Protestantism and welfare in the sixteenth century, it should be useful to examine an extreme case, one in which the pressures for both kinds of reform were particularly intense and effective in changing institutions. Geneva is an obvious example. Under the leadership of John Calvin this city developed a most thorough and uncompromising reform in church organization. And with Calvin and his associates as spokesmen, it powerfully encouraged governments all over Europe to make similar changes. This encouragement was not without its effects in many countries, including English-speaking lands, and Geneva became a sort of Protestant Rome. A study of social welfare in Calvin's Geneva should, therefore, provide more than simply another example of how social problems were handled in one relatively small and comparatively backward sixteenth-century city. It should also provide a

[4] Jean Imbert, "L'Eglise et l'Etat face au problème hospitalier au XVI[e] siècle," in *Etudes d'histoire du droit canonique dédiées à Gabriel Le Bras* (Paris, 1965) 1: 577–92.

[5] A useful summary of the earlier stages of this exchange can be found in Bonenfant, "Les origines et le caractère de la réforme," 115 ff. For a thoughtful recent contribution to the debate, see Davis, "Poor Relief, Humanism, and Heresy."

model of how early Protestants reformed the administration of social welfare, a model that may have had some influence in the period, and that, in any case, should be useful to modern scholars for purposes of analysis.

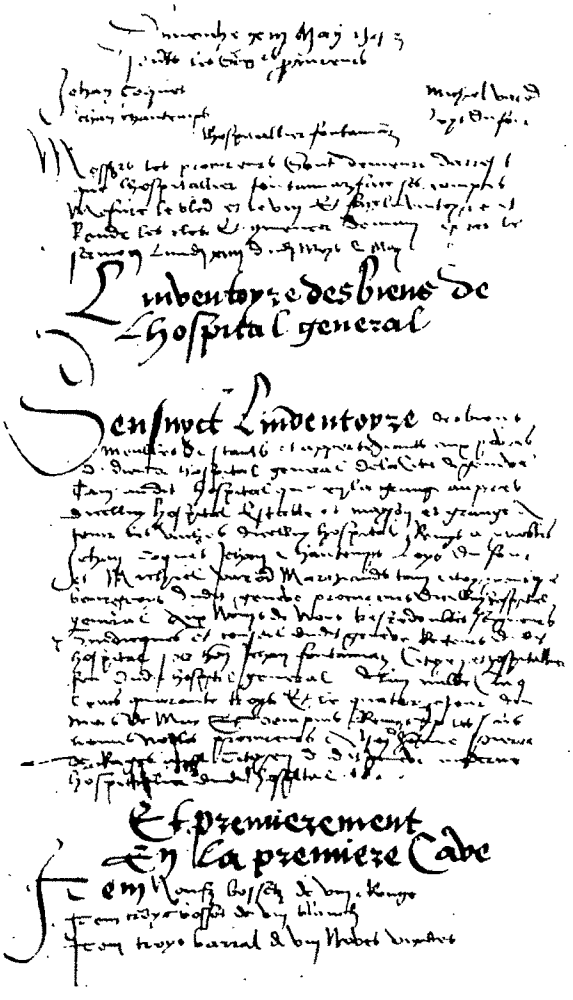
A study of social welfare in Calvin's Geneva must focus on a single institution, the Hôpital-Général, or General Hospital. It was much more than a "hospital" in the modern sense of the term. It was rather an all-purpose institution that provided "hospitality" to all sorts of people who were recognized to possess needs that they could not meet with their own resources. It maintained a large building in the center of Geneva that housed several dozen children—most of them orphans or foundlings—and a smaller number of older people who were too old, too sick, or too badly crippled to care for themselves. It distributed bread every week to poor households throughout the country and provided shelter and food every evening to visitors who had just arrived in Geneva and could not pay for their own accommodations.

Fortunately a study of this institution is possible. Extensive manuscript records of the operations of the General Hospital of Geneva still survive, particularly for the period after Calvin's definitive return to power in 1541. These records, carefully preserved and beautifully classified in the Geneva State Archives,[6] have been studied by several local historians,[7] but they deserve further study.

The Geneva General Hospital was a creation of the Reformation, but it was not a creation of Calvin. It was established in 1535 in one of the series of measures by which Geneva broke all connections with the Roman Catholic Church and established a Protestant regime. The movement toward social reform and the movement toward Protestantism thus coincide exactly in Geneva. In 1535, however, Calvin had not yet arrived in Geneva. The city was witnessing the culmination of a period of radical ferment stirred by the inflammatory preaching of William Farel. The General Hospital was actually established by the pious laymen who later invited Calvin to Geneva and then protected his Reformation against formidable pressures from many directions. In establishing this new institution, the Gene-

[6] These manuscript records are briefly described by Gustave Vaucher, "Archives hospitalières aux Archives de Genève," in *Mélanges offerts par ses confrères étrangers à Charles Braibant* (Brussels, 1959), 528–29. There is a more detailed manuscript inventory in the Archives d'Etat de Genève (hereafter AEG).

[7] Notably by Léon Gautier and E. Joutet, *L'Hôpital-Général de Genève de 1535 à 1545 et l'Hospice Général de 1869 à 1914* (Geneva, 1914). See also [Jean-Jacques-Louis] Odier-Cazenove, *L'Hôpital de Genève, depuis son origine jusqu'en 1842: recherches historiques* (Geneva, 1862), a study largely of the management of the Hospital's financial resources, containing several petty errors and lacunae; and Alice Denzler, *Jugendfürsorge in der alten Eidgenossenschaft: ihre Entwicklung in den Kantonen Zürich, Luzern, Freiburg, St. Gallen und Genf bis 1798* (Zurich, 1925), a study of the care of children by the Hospital and similar institutions in other Swiss cities.



A page from the Archives Hospitalières, Aa1 (1542–50), fol. 48v. Courtesy Archives d'Etat de Genève.

van community endorsed the two principles that had characterized the movement for welfare reform since 1522: rationalization and laicization. The General Hospital replaced a number of different and competing earlier institutions with a single, rationally organized institution, and the direction of this institution was entrusted entirely to laymen drawn from the group of relatively prosperous merchants who ruled the city-state. Both principles of organization were innovations in Genevan practice and merit further analysis.

Trends toward rationalization and laicization of the administration of social welfare can be discerned in Geneva before the Reformation. In 1535 there were at least eight institutions devoted primarily to coping with social problems in the city. Seven of them were called "hospitals," while the eighth was named Pyssis Omnium Animarum Purgatorii, or Box for All

Souls in Purgatory.[8] We know nothing about the establishment of the hospital that was evidently created first, but we do know that all the rest were founded and maintained primarily by the gifts or legacies of wealthy individuals, who were anxious to provide both for the welfare of the poor and the repose of their own souls. Control of these hospitals was vested in different bodies. The one apparently founded earliest, before 1288 and probably before 1269, was supervised by the Geneva cathedral chapter. Another was founded in the fourteenth century by the convent of Great Saint Bernard;[9] two were founded by the city government; one by a lay confraternity; one by the founder's heirs; and one either by a lay confraternity or by trustees of some sort—the record is unclear. Actual administration of each hospital was in the hands of a rector, or *procureur,* named by the governing body. In five of the hospitals the *procureur* seems usually to have been a secular priest who saw to it that mass was regularly said in a chapel attached to the hospital and who administered the hospital's property. In the hospital controlled by the lay confraternity the elected lay prior assumed the functions of the *procureur.* In the remaining hospital, members of the city council assumed those functions.[10] Both of these hospitals directed by laymen arranged for the priests of nearby chapels to minister to the spiritual needs of their inmates. Each *procureur* was usually assisted by a *hospitallier*—a man, woman, or couple—who supervised the actual care of the poor. The *hospitalliers* seem to have been invariably selected and supervised by the city councils and seem also invariably to have been laymen.

It is significant that the two hospitals with lay rectors were, in 1434 and 1452, the last to be created before the Reformation, thus revealing a pronounced trend toward laicization in the mid-fifteenth century. A step toward community-wide, rational direction of these institutions had also been taken with the creation by 1452 of the Box for All Souls in Purgatory. This was a municipal foundation probably established, as its name suggests, to collect money to pay for the saying of masses for the souls of all Genevans in purgatory. But it quickly became an institution concerned primarily with social problems. It controlled two of the hospitals for the city, provided funds for another, and even helped support a fourth hospital in a suburban village outside the city of Geneva. It also provided services supplied by no other institutions: placing foundling children in private homes

[8] For an extended analysis of each of these institutions, see J.-J. Chaponnière and L. Sordet, "Des hôpitaux de Genève avant la Réformation," *Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Genève,* 3 (1844): 165–471. This study also covers certain related institutions not located within the city itself, notably the pestilential hospital built for Genevans suffering from contagious diseases.

[9] Respectively, the Hôpital de Nôtre-Dame du Pont and the Hôpital Saint-Bernard, founded before 1376. See *ibid.,* 178–207, 239–47.

[10] Respectively, the Hôpital de l'Eucharistie ou des Pauvres Honteux, by far the best endowed of the seven hospitals, and the Hôpital de la Magdeleine, de Saint-Antoine et de Saint-Sébastien. See *ibid.,* 247–70.

and paying for their support and arranging for burial of the poor. In order to support all these activities, the Box collected money and invested surplus funds. The institution was administered by a board of *procureurs,* who, elected by the city government, were apparently all laymen.[11]

The most decisive steps toward laicization and rationalization, however, were taken during the Reformation. Some step of some kind had to be taken at that particular time. Lay confraternities and institutions concerned with purgatory had been discredited by the new theology. All the priests who administered five of the hospitals apparently left Geneva, no doubt partly—as the city councilors had charged—to make off with some of the property that had been in their custody,[12] no doubt also to escape the continuing abuse and physical assaults to which many priests had been subjected, and finally because they strongly disapproved of the religious changes being adopted by the city. Meanwhile, during these same months, the social problems to which these hospitals ministered had almost certainly grown more acute as Geneva fought off armed raids into her hinterland and braced herself for an actual siege from neighboring powers hostile to the Reformation. Something had to be done. The city councils decided to take the drastic step of consolidating all these services. All seven hospitals and the Box for All Souls were abolished. The properties of these institutions were turned over to a new General Hospital. Other properties were also allocated to the support of the new institution, most of them properties confiscated from churches, convents, and confraternities, which had earlier been earmarked for pious uses. They were now turned over, so say the council registers, to "this, the most pious of all uses."[13] One of the most substantial of these new properties was the former convent of Sainte-Claire, a large building that became the headquarters of the new General Hospital. The orphans and other poor people supported completely by the city were housed and fed in its rooms; the loaves of bread granted weekly to the deserving poor who remained in their own homes were doled out from its doors; the cows, work horses, and field equipment belonging to the Hospital were lodged in its stables.

The direction of the General Hospital was turned over entirely to laymen. A full-time *hospitallier* was hired. He was required to move into the headquarters building with his family,[14] and the free room and board

[11] *Ibid.,* 341–60.

[12] This charge was made in the text of the act by which the General Hospital was established, November 14, 1535. For copies of this act, see Emile Rivoire, Victor van Berchem, and Frédéric Gardy, eds., *Registres du Conseil de Genève* (Geneva, 1900–40), 13: 351–52; Emile Rivoire and Victor van Berchem, *Les sources du droit du canton de Genève* (Aarau, 1927–35), 2: 302–04; and Gautier and Joutet, *L'Hôpital-Général,* 12–14.

[13] Rivoire, van Berchem, and Gardy, *Registres du Conseil de Genève,* 13: 352; Rivoire and van Berchem, *Les sources du droit,* 2: 303; Gautier and Joutet, *L'Hôpital-Général,* 13.

[14] A detailed set of regulations defining the position was adopted May 12, 1553, at the time Jullian Boccard was named *hospitallier.* It is published in Rivoire and van Berchem, *Les sources du droit,* 3: 13–16, based on AEG, Pièces historiques (hereafter PH) no. 1533. Another manuscript copy can be found in AEG, Archives hospitalières (hereafter Arch. hosp.) Aa2, insert between fols. 39 and 40.

that this arrangement provided the *hospitallier* made the position an attractive one.[15] A number of assistants and servants worked under the direction of the *hospitallier*—one, normally a barber-surgeon, was charged with providing medical care to the poor; another, usually a theology student preparing for ordination as a pastor, was charged with educating the children in the Hospital.[16] The *hospitallier* was in turn responsible to a board of *procureurs*. The principles governing the choice of these *procureurs* and regulating their activities seem to have developed rather casually during the first few years following the establishment of the Reformation. This is at least suggested by the fact that references to them in the municipal records of the period are occasional and brief, and no regular records of their deliberations have survived. By the time Calvin returned to Geneva in 1541 to take full charge of the ecclesiastical establishment, however, the role of the *procureurs* seems to have been fixed. Perhaps it was fixed by some of the reforms that accompanied his return, but this cannot be demonstrated, at least not yet. From 1542 on we have quite detailed records of the deliberations of these *procureurs*[17] and fuller information on how they were selected.

After 1541 these men were chosen in precisely the same way as most other officials of the Genevan Republic. Every February, at the time of the general municipal elections, the retiring small council, the institution that possessed real sovereign power in Geneva, nominated a slate of four or five *procureurs* for the Hospital. This slate normally included two men who would be sitting on the incoming small council and two men who were members of the less important council of sixty and council of two hundred. The slate of nominees, often headed by one of the four syndics who were to be reigning magistrates in the city for the coming year, was then presented to the council of two hundred and to the general council of all citizens for election. These elections were generally pure formalities, however; the real choice was obviously made by the twenty-five members of the ruling small council. The *procureurs* of the Hospital were eligible for re-election and were often, in fact, re-elected, even for several years in a row.

The *procureurs* of the Hospital thus came to constitute a kind of standing committee or department of the city government and were fully equivalent, legally and constitutionally, to the standing committees that supervised the city's accounts, served as courts for adjudicating civil and criminal

[15] Among the men who agreed to take on the office during Calvin's lifetime were at least three who also served the city as syndics: Anthoine Chicand, 1540–41; Pierre Jean Jesse, 1550–53; Pernet des Fosses, 1560–61. Other *hospitalliers*, such as Jean Collondaz, 1557–60, and Pierre Sommaretta, 1560, rose to positions on the small council. Several of these men were elderly at the time of appointment and may have looked on the position as a step toward retirement.

[16] A detailed set of regulations on the entire operation of the General Hospital was adopted on March 10, 1552. Duplicate copies can be found in AEG, PH no. 1507 and Arch hosp., Aa2, fols. 1v.–6. Article 35 provides for the appointment of a surgeon; article 38 for the appointment of a teacher.

[17] AEG, Arch. hosp., Aa1, 1542–50; Aa2, 1552–57, 1558–60; Aa3, 1562–63.

cases, and oversaw the city's defenses. The *procureurs* were also fully equivalent to the elders of the consistory, that special court for the supervision of Genevan beliefs and morals that was Calvin's pride and joy and easily the most controversial institution created by the Calvinist Reformation. This fixed constitutional position was not achieved immediately by the *procureurs,* however. The first year in which I find evidence that they were elected in the regular February elections is 1541.[18] Only from 1544 on did the election of hospital *procureurs* become a regular feature of these annual elections, and even then it was not one of the more prominent elections.[19] In fact, in February 1547 the city councils forgot to elect Hospital *procureurs* and had to be reminded in April that something needed to be done.[20] Only from 1552 on did it become customary to choose a syndic as the presiding officer of the Hospital *procureurs,* and even then this did not become an invariable rule. From 1548 on, the selection of the *hospitallier* was ratified at the same time that the *procureurs* were elected. One can generalize by concluding that by 1550 it became an accepted fact of Genevan political life that members of the city's power structure, men from the small group of merchant families who controlled the city, were prepared to take regular turns in personally supervising the single institution that cared for all the city's poor.

This willingness to serve the poor becomes a bit surprising when one discovers just what these *procureurs* of the Hospital had to do. Their most persistent obligation was to attend a weekly meeting on Sunday mornings at 6:00 A.M., before the sermon. In this session the *procureurs* heard the *hospitallier*'s report on his work for the week, decided on every proposal he made for special expenditures, and made a decision on every single request from every poor family applying for a weekly ration of bread.[21] This last burden was lightened a bit when it became customary for each of the city's *dizainiers* to screen the requests from the poor in his own *dizaine.* The *dizainiers* were city officials in charge of the subunits into which the city was divided for purposes of defense, and consequently they were in a good position to judge the real needs of the poor families in their own neighborhoods. But the final decision on each grant of bread remained in the hands of the *procureurs.*

The *procureurs* also had many special duties. They were responsible for the care of all the considerable properties allocated to the Hospital. This meant arranging for the cultivation, either by work crews supervised by the *hospitallier* or by lessees, of all of the widely scattered fields and vineyards belonging to the Hospital.[22] It meant collecting rents from lessees of agri-

[18] AEG, Registres du Conseil (hereafter RC), vol. 35, fol. 64v., Feb. 9, 1541.

[19] Recorded every year in AEG, RC, on date.

[20] AEG, RC, vol. 42, fol. 75v., Apr. 4, 1547.

[21] The *procureurs'* obligations are outlined in some detail in the set of regulations adopted in 1552, described in note 16 above. They are illustrated in copious detail in the registers described in note 17 above.

[22] For a list of these properties as of 1542, see Gautier and Joutet, *L'Hôpital-Général,* 37–40.

cultural property and of town houses and loaning cash funds belonging to the Hospital that were not needed immediately.[23] The *procureurs* also had to approve a great variety of legal instruments and contracts. They had to secure approval of legacies bequeathing property to the Hospital, sometimes over the strenuous legal opposition of family heirs.[24] They had to arrange for contracts of apprenticeship, establishing the conditions under which boys in the care of the Hospital were apprenticed out to master craftsmen to learn trades,[25] and they had to approve and finance marriage contracts, setting up the dowries that made it possible for girls in the care of the Hospital to marry.[26] They also were required to represent the interests of the Hospital before the small council, to recommend new appointments of staff members, and to draft new regulations. Above all they had to beg, repeatedly, for supplementary grants of cash to finance adequately all the social programs sponsored by the Hospital.[27]

These obligations, furthermore, were not the only ones the *procureurs* of the Geneva Hospital had to meet. They were all very busy men. Most were merchants with businesses to direct and families to support, and as members of the city's ruling elite they had other governmental obligations. Those on the small council had to attend the almost daily meetings of that body. Many of the *procureurs* were also elected to other standing committees of the city government. From one to three of them, for example, were usually members of the consistory and were therefore obliged to attend that body's weekly meetings and to join in the often venomous tongue-lashings of assorted suspected fornicators, wife-beaters, idolators, and heretics, which constituted the consistory's main activity.

Further reflection on these duties of the Geneva Hospital's *procureurs,* however, suggests rather concrete reasons why, after an initial period of difficulty, it became quite easy to persuade members of the city's power elite to take on these chores. The *procureurs'* management of large amounts of property belonging to the Hospital no doubt brought them information of considerable value to shrewd businessmen. I am not suggesting corruption, for I found no evidence of any.[28] I am merely suggesting that the knowledge of opportunities for good investments and other business deals that came to the *procureurs* as a matter of course may have occasionally proved personally useful to them. Their control of every government ra-

[23] Copies of two loan agreements can be found in AEG, Arch. hosp., P, liasse 27, no. 563.

[24] Records of two such legal proceedings can be found in *ibid.*, liasse 56, nos. 1218, 1219.

[25] Copies of apprenticeship contracts were often inserted into the registers of the *procureurs'* deliberations. See, for example, AEG, Arch. hosp., Aa1, fols. 26–29, May–July 1542; and Aa3, fols. 120v., 123v., July 1563.

[26] See, for example, copies of such contracts in AEG, Arch. hosp., Aa3, fols. 7, Apr. 1562; 86v., Mar. 1563; and 100v., Apr. 1563.

[27] AEG, RC, *passim.*

[28] In 1545 the *procureurs* were accused by the city treasurer of mismanaging the Hospital's funds and grain supply, but the accusation was never proved. See E. William Monter, *Calvin's Geneva* (New York, 1967), 139; and Jean-François Bergier, "La démission du trésorier Amblard Corne," in *Mélanges offerts à Paul-E. Martin* (Geneva, 1961), 456–57, 461–62.

tion of food to every poor family in the city must also have given them considerable political leverage. Although the city's form of government was basically oligarchic, there remained some democratic elements in it. When it came time in the annual elections for all citizens to vote for certain offices in which they could exercise a limited choice—in the election of syndics, for example—a man who had been Hospital *procureur* no doubt had certain advantages over some of his opponents.

It would be possible to demonstrate with considerable exactness the degree to which the *procureurs* of the Hospital were integrated into the ruling class of Geneva, for the Genevan constitution was extremely precise and extremely hierarchical. The surviving records make it quite simple to reconstitute the membership of the interlocking councils that ruled the city and of the standing committees that actually administered that rule, year after year, particularly after the stability following Calvin's return to power in 1541 led to better record keeping. One could establish very precise correlations among memberships in all of these bodies and record the changes over a period of time in these correlations. This work might require the use of statistics, perhaps even of machines, but I doubt that it would prove to be extremely complex, given the small numbers of people involved. Such a study is clearly beyond the scope of this article. Even without it, however, I am reasonably certain that almost all of the *procureurs* of the Hospital were members of Geneva's power elite and that they tended to be more prominent and better entrenched members of that select group as the Reformation regime became consolidated.

Nothing has been said so far about the role of Calvin and other pastors of the Reformed Church in Geneva in the foundation and operation of the General Hospital for the very good reason that there is practically no evidence in any of the voluminous manuscript records of the Hospital that the pastors were involved in its operation in any significant way. One occasionally finds a notice that Calvin or some other pastor had referred a poor man to a *procureur* for consideration for help,[29] but even a notice of this sort is very rare. And one occasionally finds a reference to a request from one of the pastors to borrow equipment from the Hospital—some horses and a wagon, for example[30]—but requests of this sort are even more rare and invariably trivial.

Calvin does, to be sure, occasionally mention the *hospitalliers* and the Hospital *procureurs* in his own writings, most notably in the ecclesiastical ordinances, which he drafted for the city of Geneva in 1541 shortly after his triumphal return from Strasbourg as a constitution for the Reformed

[29] See, for example, Calvin to *procureur* Michel Varro, 1542, in Wilhelm Baum, Eduard Cunitz, and Eduard Reuss, eds., *Calvini Opera* (Brunswick, 1863–1900), 11: 482.

[30] See, for example, the request of Pastor de la Faverge, AEG, Arch. hosp., Aa3, fol. 74, Jan. 27, 1563.

Church he was to direct. These ecclesiastical ordinances distinguish four types of ministry within the Church, the fourth being that of the deacons. Calvin further distinguished two types of deacons: those who gather alms for the poor and those who distribute these alms. The *procureurs* of the Hospital filled the first of these functions in Geneva, the *hospitallier* the second. Calvin's ordinances then laid down the method of selection of the *procureurs,* fixed the number of deacons at four *procureurs* and one *hospitallier,* and provided for periodic review of their activity by the pastors and elders of the Church.[31]

Calvin, furthermore, develops principles pertaining to deacons in a number of his writings. There are passages in the *Institutes of the Christian Religion* devoted to the diaconate,[32] and additional comments in some of his other writings, notably in certain of his New Testament commentaries,[33] that help to fill out our knowledge of his views. These statements demonstrate that Calvin felt the diaconate should be a lay ministry devoted solely to aiding the poor. This seemed to him to be the clear sense of the key texts in the Pauline epistles and in the Acts of the Apostles that describe the beginnings of this institution. Calvin frequently coupled his definitions of the diaconate with characteristically vigorous attacks on the Roman Catholic Church for corrupting the institution in its typical way—by making deacons into apprentice-priests and giving them sacramental as well as charitable duties, thus distracting them and the Church from the proper fulfillment of its charitable obligations to society. In developing his definition of the diaconate, Calvin made it quite clear that he believed the key Biblical proof texts revealed that God intended the Church to establish two kinds of deacons: those who would collect alms for the poor and those who would use these alms in helping the poor. It seems quite probable to me that Calvin was thinking of the Genevan arrangement when he developed this distinction. In one of his sermons on 1 Timothy he even uses Genevan language, defining the deacons as "*hospitalliers* and *procureurs* of the poor."[34]

It should be noted that most of these passages were written later in Calvin's career, in the later editions of the *Institutes* and the commentaries, after he had established himself definitively in Geneva and after the Geneva General Hospital had been operating smoothly for many years. I see no evidence that Calvin's arguments had any effect on the creation of this particular Genevan institution. I think, in fact, that there may be some truth

[31] For published copies of the relevant parts of these ordinances see Robert M. Kingdon and Jean-François Bergier, eds., *Registres de la Compagnie des Pasteurs de Genève au temps de Calvin* (Geneva, 1962—), 1: 7–8; Rivoire and van Berchem, *Les sources du droit,* 2: 383–85; and *Calvini Opera,* 10a: 23–25.

[32] Particularly 4.3.9, also 4.4.5, 4.5.15, 4.19.22, 4.19.32, of the 1559–60 editions.

[33] See, for example, the commentary on Philippians (*Calvini Opera,* 52: 7–8); on 1 Timothy (*ibid.,* 53: 289–94, 301–03); on Acts of the Apostles (*ibid.,* 48: 122); and 1 Corinthians (*ibid.,* 49: 507).

[34] *Ibid.,* 53: 291.

in the reverse proposition: that when it came to deciding how the Christian community should institutionalize its obligation to help the poor, it was not Calvin who influenced Geneva, but rather Geneva that influenced Calvin.[35]

As for Calvin's role in the later development of the General Hospital, I suspect it was profound but extremely indirect. While he did not in any sense create or direct this institution, he did consecrate it. By making the *procureurs* and *hospitalliers* into deacons he made them into lay ministers of the Christian Church, different in function but not in dignity from the ordained clergy. He presented a warrant for this definition, furthermore, from the Word of God, from the Bible. This consecration of the office may well have had a powerful effect on the members of Geneva's ruling elite. It may well provide yet another explanation for the willingness of a good number of them to take on the chores associated with running the Hospital.

The preceding may seem to provide support for an argument that has found much favor in recent years particularly among conservative churchmen and scholars, an argument that holds that Calvin never entered directly into the political arena, that his energies were concentrated entirely upon preaching the Word of God, and that this constitutes a model that modern pastors would do well to emulate. One can certainly find powerful evidence for this argument in studying the relations between the first Calvinist pastors and the General Hospital, the one institution charged by the Genevan community with meeting all the internal social problems it had to face. This conclusion, however, is not one that really satisfies me. To understand fully the relations between Calvin and the General Hospital in Geneva, one needs to place them in context by looking also at the relations between Calvin and other Genevan institutions. One rather instructive comparison can be gained by examining Calvin's relations with the consistory. This ecclesiastical court was composed partly of elected lay elders who were chosen every February in the same way that the Hospital *procureurs* were chosen. Consequently the consistory could be regarded as yet another standing committee of the Genevan municipal government. But it also included the ordained preachers of the Genevan Church. These preachers, led by Calvin, certainly exercised their right to attend consistory meetings. Calvin was almost always in attendance himself, except when illness or travel kept him away. And he was often one of the most active members, administering the scoldings that were stock punishment with a polemical skill that reduced most of those accused of incorrect belief or immoral behavior to tears and repentance but provoked a few to outright rebellion.

Calvin insisted, furthermore, on a voice in the selection of the lay elders

[35] See also the similar conclusion of J. K. S. Reid, in his "Diakonia in the Thought of Calvin," in James I. McCord and T. H. L. Parker, eds., *Service in Christ: Essays Presented to Karl Barth on His 80th Birthday* (London, 1966), 106.

who sat on the consistory. To do this he had to intervene in the Genevan elections, and he did not hesitate to do so. Every February, at the meetings for the annual elections, Calvin was invited to open the ceremonies with prayer. Under the general rules of election, since he was never a voting citizen of Geneva, this might have ended his participation in these meetings. But there were special rules governing the election of elders contained in the ecclesiastical ordinances that Calvin had drafted for the city. These rules provided that the small council, when it drew up its slate of nominees for elders every year, should consult with the city's pastors. They also provided that the elders should normally be re-elected every year, but that such re-elections should be subject to annual review.[86] If an elder's performance was judged satisfactory, he could be re-elected; if not, he was replaced. These provisions gave Calvin extensive rights in the election of elders, rights both to be consulted about, and, in effect, to veto, nominations. It may have taken him some time to make good these rights; the election records are not as precise as they might be on this point. It is clear, however, that "the ministers" were consulted on the selection of elders in 1546 and 1547; that "the ministers . . . through their spokesman, M. Calvin" were consulted in 1552; that Calvin, again representing the entire corps of pastors, was consulted in 1556, 1557, and 1558; that two other pastors reported on the wishes of the company in 1559; and that from 1560 on, the entire company of pastors was invited to the council session at which the year's slate of elders was drawn up.[87] The innovation of 1560 was adopted at the request of Calvin and Pierre Viret.[88] At the same time these two accomplished yet another breakthrough in the selection of elders by persuading the council to nominate a few elders who were not native-born citizens of Geneva but immigrants. The first of these was the Marquis Galeazzo Carracciolo, a prominent Italian convert to Calvinism. This not only marked a rather significant departure from the fixed Genevan constitutional rule that the city offices be limited to native-born citizens; it also increased Calvin's power and maneuverability since many of the immigrants were among his most zealous supporters.

There is no evidence that during all these years Calvin and the other pastors took any similar interest in the annual election of deacons. This was not for lack of legal warrant, since the ecclesiastical ordinances provided that deacons be elected in the same way as elders. But in spite of these provisions, and in spite of the fact that the deacons were technically min-

[86] Kingdon and Bergier, *Registres de la Compagnie des Pasteurs,* 1: 7; Rivoire and van Berchem, *Les sources du droit,* 2: 383; *Calvini Opera,* 10a: 22–23.

[87] AEG, RC, vol. 41, fol. 9, Feb. 8, 1546; vol. 42, fol. 17v., Feb. 11, 1547; vol. 46, fol. 151v., Feb. 11, 1552; vol. 51, fols. 7–7v., Feb. 12, 1556; vol. 53, fol. 7v., Feb. 11, 1557; vol. 54, fol. 77, Feb. 8, 1558; vol. 55, fol. 4v., Feb. 9, 1559; vol. 56, fol. 4v., Feb. 8, 1560; vol. 56, fol. 147, Feb. 13, 1561; vol. 57, fol. 5, Feb. 12, 1562; vol. 58, fol. 5, Feb. 11, 1563; vol. 59, fol. 3v., Feb. 10, 1564.

[88] For the request, see *Calvini Opera,* 21: 726–27, Jan. 30, 1560; for the edict granting the request, see *ibid.,* 727–28, Feb. 1, 1560. For the record of the election itself, see AEG, RC, vol. 56, fol. 4v., Feb. 8, 1560.

isters of the Church, they still seem to have been elected in the same way as the supervisors of the fortresses and the members of the chamber of accounts. Not until 1562 do the annual election records reveal any change in this procedure. In that year the pastors finally intervened openly in the election of deacons, but there is no evidence that Calvin himself was involved in this intervention. In 1560 he and Viret had persuaded the council to consult on elections with the pastors as a body rather than allow Calvin to act as their representative.[39] As he became increasingly distracted by developments in his native France and by problems with his own health, Calvin tended to allow his colleagues to take his place in dealings with the city councils.

In 1562, then, the record reveals that the pastors appeared in a body before the small council to protest that the ecclesiastical ordinances were not being strictly observed in the election of the Hospital *procureurs*. Taking this protest into account, the small council then proceeded to review the performance of the incumbent *procureurs* before proceeding to the election of new ones.[40] A similar review in consultation with the pastors preceded the elections of 1563 and 1564, the last years of Calvin's life.[41] This clerical intervention in the selection of deacons had one very visible, practical result; it meant that more of the same men tended to get elected to both the consistory and the group administering the Hospital. In each of the yearly elections before 1562, from one to three out of the total four or five *procureurs* were also elected elders. Only in 1556 were more than one-third of the total number of deacons also elders. After the 1562 intervention three of the four *procureurs* were elders, constituting a clear majority. The pastors had succeeded in consolidating a power elite of lay supporters; a small group of laymen completely devoted to the pastors held almost all the lay offices in the Church.

It may still be argued that Calvin intervened in politics only when he felt that matters of belief were at stake, that he tried to control elections to the consistory because it controlled religious belief in Geneva, but that he kept hands off the General Hospital because it only ministered to men's bodies. It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that Calvin took no interest in problems of social welfare. This can best be demonstrated by looking at the history of yet another institution created in Geneva during the Refor-

[39] *Calvini Opera*, 21: 726–27; AEG, RC, vol. 56, fol. 4v.

[40] AEG, RC, vol. 57, fol. 5v., Feb. 12, 1562. The specific protest by the pastors was that the council had been ignoring the ecclesiastical ordinances by selecting five *procureurs* rather than four, the number specified by the ordinances. A precedent for consultation with the pastors in the selection of a deacon had been established in 1561. When Pernet des Fosses resigned as *hospitallier*, the small council voted to consult the pastors about his replacement. AEG, RC, vol. 56, fol. 196v., May 29, 1561. Perhaps even earlier precedents could be found in pastors' appeals to the small council to name or replace a *hospitallier*, beginning with Farel's plea, shortly after Claude Salomon's death, that a replacement be chosen quickly. Rivoire, van Berchem, and Gardy, *Registres du Conseil de Genève*, 13: 414, Jan. 28, 1536.

[41] AEG, RC, vol. 58, fol. 5, Feb. 11, 1563; vol. 59, fol. 3v., Feb. 10, 1564.

mation, the Bourse française.[42] One social problem, which the General Hospital was not prepared to handle, was how to help the dozens of poor refugees who were now moving into Geneva from other countries as a result of the spread of the Reformation. The Hospital's programs were intended to meet only the problems of native Genevans and transients planning to spend a single night in Geneva. It was not ready to handle the needs of refugees who wanted to settle in Geneva more or less permanently. This created a considerable gap in the Hospital's coverage that Calvin sought to remedy with the Bourse française, which was essentially a large fund of cash. The money was collected from wealthy French refugees to Geneva—from printers like Robert Estienne, lawyers like Germain Colladon, and businessmen like Laurent de Normandie—and distributed to poor French refugees who because of illness, family problems, or the loss of property at home were having trouble supporting themselves. The Bourse française, unlike the Hospital, was a private institution. It was run by laymen bearing the title of deacons, who were elected by the contributors. These deacons collected the money, doled it out, and kept accounts of both receipts and payments. In these respects the Bourse française was much like the Hospital, but it differed in that it attracted Calvin's interest and powerful personal support from the beginning. In fact he may well have founded it. The accounts reveal that in the earliest years he was almost invariably the most generous single contributor, no doubt drawing from his rather large Geneva salary for this charitable purpose.[43] On at least one occasion the deacons of the Bourse française even met in Calvin's house to elect officers for the coming year.[44]

When one considers this wider context, one must conclude, I feel, that Calvin was neither indifferent to the needs of the poor nor unwilling to enter politics to advance a cause he valued. He simply selected with care the particular arenas in which he deployed his formidable energies. If he did not work hard to resolve Geneva's social problems personally, it was probably because he thought they were already being handled by men of competence whom he trusted. I am led to this conclusion partly by a study of the men who actually became *hospitalliers* and *procureurs* of the Hospital.[45] While one can find among them representatives of almost every shade of Genevan political opinion, the great majority and the most active of them were especially devoted to Calvin's leadership. A few examples will help to illustrate this contention. Among the very first *procureurs* of the General Hospital, who were commissioned first to close down the earlier institutions and then to superintend the new one, the man who was easily the most

[42] The best study of this institution of which I know is Henri Grandjean, "La bourse française de Genève (1550–1849)," in *Etrennes Genevoises, 1927* (Geneva, 1927), 46–60.

[43] AEG, Arch. hosp., Kg12, fol. 1, Oct. 1550; fol. 7, Nov. 1550; fol. 11, Dec. 1550.

[44] *Ibid.*, Kg15, fol. 1, July 1554.

[45] See Robert M. Kingdon, "The Deacons of the Reformed Church in Calvin's Geneva," in *Mélanges d'histoire du XVI^e siècle offerts à Henri Meylan* (Geneva, 1970), 81–90.

active was Claude Bernard.[46] Bernard was also one of the key lay leaders of the entire early Reformation. He had been converted to Protestantism early, probably by his brother, a former priest. He was an enthusiastic supporter of Farel and even provided Farel and Viret with lodgings in his own house during the period when the preaching of these two firebrands was persuading Geneva to abandon Roman Catholicism. Bernard was involved in many of the specific moves that culminated in the break with Rome, and he supported Farel and Calvin strongly when they were established as the principal pastors of the new Reformed Church.[47]

The most active *procureur* of the Hospital in the next few years was Jean Chautemps. Like Bernard, he was also one of the first to renounce Roman Catholicism, having been converted to Protestantism by Farel. He had helped to engineer the break with Rome and supported Farel and Calvin against local opposition. As one of the group who arranged for Calvin's return in 1541,[48] he rose to political power and became a member of the small council in 1542. Throughout the bitter internal controversies that followed he continued to support Calvin.[49]

The leading *procureur* of the Hospital in Calvin's last years was Guillaume Chicand. He had been a particularly active lay member of the consistory since 1546, working closely with Calvin.[50] He vigorously supported Calvin against his last local enemies, the Perrinists, in 1555. Soon thereafter he won positions of considerable political power, joining the small council in 1556 and becoming syndic in 1557.[51] With men like these running the Hospital, Calvin hardly needed to intervene directly in its operations.

A final evaluation of the Geneva General Hospital should attempt to judge its success. I have not studied this problem in any detail, but the evidence that has come to my attention suggests that it suffered considerable growing pains until about 1547[52] and was a considerable success from then on in meeting the social problems faced by the Genevan community. There were, to be sure, occasional complaints about its operation. In 1584, for example, the city's pastors demanded a thorough investigation of the Hospital and suggested a number of reforms in its administration.[53] But complaints of this sort never, in fact, led to a major change in the institution.

[46] See the repeated references to Bernard's appeals for the Hospital in Rivoire, van Berchem, and Gardy, *Registres du Conseil de Genève*, 13: *passim*.

[47] AEG, MSS, Louis Sordet, "Dictionnaire des familles genevoises," 1: 92–93; *Calvini Opera*, 21: 224–25, Apr. 20, 1538.

[48] *Calvini Opera*, 21: 282, Sept. 9, 1541.

[49] AEG, Sordet, "Dictionnaire," 1: 243.

[50] *Calvini Opera*, 21: 400, Mar. 21, 1547; 402, Apr. 15, 1547; 527, Nov. 15, 1552. AEG, Registres du Consistoire, *passim*.

[51] AEG, Sordet, "Dictionnaire," 1: 255.

[52] Repeated complaints from Calvin and the other pastors about the operations of the Hospital in 1547 led to a general review by the small council and the selection of new *procureurs* for 1548. *Calvini Opera*, 21: 404–05, May 24, 1547; 414, Sept. 26, 1547; AEG, RC, vol. 42, fol. 354, Nov. 28, 1547. For the elections, see RC, vol. 43, fol. 13v., Feb. 7, 1548.

[53] Monter, *Calvin's Geneva*, 220.

A final evaluation of the Geneva General Hospital should also attempt to judge its uniqueness and influence. This would require extensive comparative studies. A preliminary survey of published studies of welfare reform in other cities, however, already suggests to me the conclusion that the Genevan reforms were different not in kind but in degree from those of most other contemporary municipalities. They were more thorough, more radical in their break with the past. It was probably Geneva's uncompromising brand of Protestantism that made this radicalism possible.

In many contemporary cities enlightened laymen took the lead in engineering welfare reforms. Their actions were often provoked by famine in the area around their city, famine that was particularly reflected by a sharp increase in begging as starving peasants from the hinterland came into relatively better-supplied cities in a last desperate attempt to stay alive. The welfare reforms in Lyon and Venice, for example, can be related directly to famines in the immediately preceding years.[54] But the lay reformers' actions were also stimulated by altruism, as they sought to do something in a practical way to resolve problems the existing social institutions could no longer handle. The councilors of Geneva were thus following a pattern established elsewhere when they assumed the sole right to organize and direct charity in their city.

The Genevans did not, however, have to face the opposition to reform that the lay leaders of other cities did, opposition that came mostly from the orthodox Catholic clergy. The mendicant orders protested particularly vehemently since attempts to outlaw begging and substitute secular, institutionalized charity threatened their very existence. But opposition also came from bishops, particularly after the Council of Trent later in the century vested all supervisory powers over charitable institutions in the hands of bishops. Thus the burghers of Catholic Ypres had to face attacks from members of the mendicant orders who complained that their welfare reforms smacked of heresy and Lutheranism. The burghers were able to limit such attacks only by an appeal to that bastion of Catholic orthodoxy, the theological faculty of the University of Paris, which gave conditional approval to their reform.[55] And the welfare reformers of Lyon had to face the indifference of the archbishop and the outright hostility of the local inquisitor, who again smelled heresy in their proposals.[56] In Geneva this block to change did not exist. The Catholic clergy and many of its supporters had been expelled from the city before welfare reform was adopted. Their Protestant successors, as we have seen, warmly supported the changes.

[54] Davis, "Poor Relief, Humanism, and Heresy," 228–29; Brian Pullan, "The Famine in Venice and the New Poor Law, 1527–1529," *Bollettino dell'Istituto di Storia della Società e dello Stato Veneziano*, 5–6 (1963–64): 141–202.

[55] Nolf, *La réforme de la bienfaisance publique à Ypres*, xlviii–lx.

[56] For the indifference of the absentee archbishop and the inquisitor's attack, see Davis, "Poor Relief, Humanism, and Heresy," 236, 238, 259–62.

This is not to say that the welfare reformers were invariably Protestant. Sometimes they were and sometimes they were not. There was occasionally some fire behind the smoke of their opponents' accusations, but not always. Welfare reform in the German cities seems often to have developed as it did in Geneva. It was the work of Protestant sympathizers active in a city government at a time before that government had actually committed itself to the Lutheran form of Protestantism, which came to prevail in most of Germany. This seems to have been the case at least in Nuremberg. There welfare reform was enacted in 1522 by a city council that included many humanists of Lutheran sympathies and whose clerk was Lazarus Spengler, a particularly devoted follower of Luther. And welfare reform in Nuremberg became effective partly because it was supported by the provosts of the two parish churches, whose Lutheran sympathies were reflected most strikingly in their choice of Lutheran preachers for their pulpits in these same years.[57] This may also have been the case in Strasbourg. There the welfare reforms were adopted in 1523 and 1524 on the basis of recommendations made late in 1522 by a committee of laymen, two of whom were known for their Lutheran sympathies. These recommendations had been drafted at a time when the community was obviously moving in a Protestant direction, before Martin Bucer, Wolfgang Capito, and Matthias Zell, the three reformers who really made the city Protestant, began to preach in the city.[58]

It seems plausible that these German models influenced the development of welfare reform in other countries. One cannot prove direct influence, however, partly because so many of these other countries remained Catholic and hence would deny or disguise influence that might be labeled Lutheran. The welfare reformers in the Netherlands, for example, acknowledged no German inspiration. Yet the reforms in that country followed so closely on the reforms in Germany, and resemble the German measures so much, that it seems at least possible that the Netherlanders modeled themselves after the Germans. In particular the seminal reforms in Mons and Ypres, adopted in 1525, resemble the Strasbourg reforms of 1523–24.[59] We know that the Strasbourg reform excited the admiration of at least one prominent Dutch humanist in 1526.[60] There were no doubt others like him. Similarly, the re-

[57] See Harold J. Grimm, "Luther's Contributions to Sixteenth-Century Organization of Poor Relief," to be published in the *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* (1970). Professor Grimm kindly lent me a draft of his article.

[58] Miriam Usher Chrisman, *Strasbourg and the Reform: A Study in the Process of Change* (New Haven, 1967), 275–83. See also Otto Winckelmann, *Das Fürsorgewesen der Stadt Strassburg vor und nach der Reformation bis zum Ausgang des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1922).

[59] This was the argument of Otto Winckelmann, developed most fully in his article, "Über die ältesten Armenordnungen der Reformationszeit (1522–1525)," *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, 17 (1914–15): 187–228; 361–400. It was carefully evaluated and cautiously endorsed, in a modified form, by Bonenfant in "Les origines et le caractère de la réforme," 140–43. It was thus supported by two of the most eminent specialists in this field.

[60] This was Gerard Geldenhouwer of the circle of Vives. See his letter of August 21, 1526, in Henry de Vocht, ed., *Literae virorum eruditorum ad Franciscum Craneveldium, 1522–1528* (Louvain, 1928), 515; noted and quoted by Marcel Bataillon in "J. L. Vives, réformateur de la bienfaisance," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 14 (1952): 144.

forms in Venice, adopted in 1528 and 1529, followed soon after the reforms in Germany. There were extensive commercial relations between Venice and Nuremberg, and in 1505 Nuremberg had copied Venetian wardship laws. It seems at least possible that Venice returned the compliment when economic crisis forced its government to reform her welfare legislation.[61]

It is hard to stretch the chain of German influence directly to Geneva. While Calvin was personally influenced deeply by the ecclesiastical reforms he observed in Strasbourg, he was not responsible, as we have noticed, for the fundamental change in Geneva's welfare program. It seems much more likely that the merchants of Geneva were influenced by the establishment, in 1531–34, of the Aumône-Général in Lyon. Geneva's merchants were in constant commercial contact with Lyon, and the Aumône-Général was founded just before the Geneva General Hospital and exercised many of the same functions.

In some contemporary cities, intellectuals assumed a role in welfare reform similar to Calvin's in Geneva. In other words, rather than initiating change, intellectuals often justified the changes engineered by the practical business leaders of the community. This is most strikingly the case with Juan Luis Vives, whose *De subventione pauperum* was the most eloquent single plea for the reform of poor relief published in the early sixteenth century. But it was published in the Low Countries in 1526, the year after reform had already been adopted in the cities of Mons and Ypres.[62] It may thus be regarded, like Calvin's *Ecclesiastical Ordinances,* as more a consecration of reform already under way than an impetus to new reform. There are, however, exceptions to this pattern. The most striking that have come to my attention are the eloquent pleas made in Lyon by two crusading Catholic clergymen, Jean de Vauzelles, a humanist priest and doctor of laws, and Santo Pagnini of Lucca, a humanist Dominican theologian. These men were among the leaders in the campaign for the establishment of the Aumône-Général in Lyon.[63] Only more extensive comparative studies can demonstrate which pattern was the more common.

In few cities, however, were the welfare reforms as radical as in Geneva. While laymen were granted the real power of direction everywhere, a role was often reserved to the clergy. Sometimes it involved only exhorting the people to support the new institutions of charity and calling the attention of the lay authorities to poor individuals deserving assistance, as in Ypres;[64] sometimes it meant actually administering the new charities, as in Venice.[65] Rarely was the management of charity reserved to the laity to the same de-

[61] Pullan, "Famine in Venice," 143–44.

[62] Bonenfant, "Les origines et le caractère de la réforme," 119–23; Bataillon, "J. L. Vives," 141–48.

[63] Davis, "Poor Relief, Humanism, and Heresy," 231–36.

[64] Bonenfant, "Les origines et le caractère de la réforme," 122, 125. See also references to articles 10 and 11 of the 1525 ordinance in Nolf, *La réforme de la bienfaisance publique à Ypres,* xxx, 23.

[65] Pullan, "Famine in Venice," 173–74.

gree as in Geneva. Similarly, while all of these cities created new institutions to rationalize the administration of charity, they seldom abolished all of the older ones, as was done in Geneva. Thus the large Mehrere Hospital and other medieval charitable institutions in Strasbourg survived the reforms of 1522–24;[66] three hospitals in Ypres continued to function after the creation of the Bourse commune in 1525;[67] the Hôtel-Dieu, or hospital of Lyon, already under municipal management, survived the creation of the Aumône-Général in 1531–34.[68] The new institution, therefore, often supplemented and coordinated existing programs. Most often it provided external relief to the poor in their homes, a provision frequently linked with the outlawry of begging. Assistance to the poor without homes, which was also provided by the Geneva General Hospital, was often reserved in other cities to hospitals that were medieval foundations.

The greater radicalism of the Genevan reforms may help to explain their greater permanence, for the Geneva General Hospital proved to be a remarkably durable institution. It continued in operation until the late nineteenth century with only one major interruption, which was caused by the French Revolution. In 1869 it was reorganized and converted into a new institution called the Hospice-Général, with headquarters in the same neighborhood as the old General Hospital. The Hospice-Général is still standing and ministering to the problems of the poor in Geneva in ways that have not changed substantially since 1535. It would appear that there are times in history when radical reform, however painful it may seem at the time, proves to be more permanent than moderate reform.

[66] Winckelmann, *Das Fürsorgewesen der Stadt Strassburg*, 122–67.
[67] Nolf, *La réforme de la bienfaisance publique à Ypres*, xli-xlii.
[68] Davis, "Poor Relief, Humanism, and Heresy," 240–43; Imbert, "L'Eglise et l'Etat," 579–80.

Gymnastics and Sports in *Fin-de-Siècle* France: Opium of the Classes?

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Despite Huizinga's classic essay, the distance between *homo sapiens* and *homo ludens* seems to grow no smaller. The strange suspicion, or even antipathy, that men of pen and study still show for research in the more vulgar manifestations of physical activity deserves a study in itself. While we await a dissertation on such a promising topic, this disinclination leaves us ill informed on activities that have always taken up a good deal of public attention—not least in the past century.

Grandfather clocks, balloons, and potatoes have benefitted from historical studies that games and sports still lack. Journalists, psychologists, sociologists, and sportsmen themselves have written about sport; historians have paid it only incidental attention. To be specific, no professional historian seems to have traced the cat's cradle of athletic activities rising and spreading in France in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Significantly, Antoine Prost's excellent *Enseignement en France, 1800–1967* (Paris, 1968) ignores the topic, while the 268 pages of Paul Gerbod's *Vie Quotidienne dans les lycées et collèges au XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1968) devote nine lines to gymnastics and none to other exercises.

Yet physical exercise and the role that men attribute to it, that society envisages for it, can document times and mentalities as suggestively as can their industrial enterprises; and physical training always begs the question: training for what? The question is answerable, even if the answer remains tentative. After Prussia's defeat at Jena, Friedrich Ludwig Jahn's *Turnkunst* trained to withstand the French and, in due course, forge German unity. German gymnasts—*Turner*—were to rediscover the heroic qualities of their race and help create their still virtual nation. In England there was no defeat to avenge, no nation to forge for the future, but there were schoolboys to tame and civilize. Their physical development presented no great problem, but their wild, sometimes brutal play had to be disciplined. After the 1830s this was done by enlisting high spirits in regulated games and by turning poachers into gamekeepers.

Thus, where physical education on the German model appears as a device to create national or civic sense and to revivify the young, games on the English model first emerged to serve specific ends. The one model addressed itself to the whole nation, the other to a limited educational system. The ideals behind the two approaches sound similar. For Jahn, physical exercise imparted a taste for effort and adventure, taught that the most effective discipline was self-imposed, and developed the moral character of the *Turner* along with his body. For Thomas Hughes, half a century later, games spurred patriotism, a sense of self-reliance, and a tempering of character and body. Both stressed the importance of freedom, of voluntary emulation, and of the pleasure offered by exercise. Both saw their enterprises as harnessing young energies and instincts to social ends. But where the Jahn tradition deliberately turned to service of the nation (and the state), that of English games, stressing character over discipline, team or individual over abstract collectivities, was elitist. Gymnastics lent themselves better to routine and to mass applications, while their social uses appeared more evident. Games were a kind of conspicuous consumption: they evolved in exclusive schools; they were costly in terms of space, time, and facilities and aristocratic in inspiration and implication.

This very rough distinction was recognized in most of nineteenth-century Europe. For example, as the century ended, the Swedish labor movement "would not at first accept the sports movement, which was characterized as 'an invention of the Anglo-Saxon upper class.' "[1] In some countries the distinction remained academic, with one or the other of the two approaches clearly predominant. The Anglo-Saxons paid little heed to physical training, regarded as a poor substitute for livelier organized play.[2] Germans, on the other hand, remained faithful to gymnastics both in and out of school, communicating their enthusiasm for them to neighbors like the Czechs, whose Sokols borrowed both the mass exercises and the patriotic mystique of the *Turner*. And when, at the century's end, young Germans rebelled against the constraints and corruption of society, their thirst for purity and action was stilled less by team sports than by return to nature and to romantically "primitive" sources of regeneration.[3]

The interesting aspect of the history of sports in France is that the competitive presence of physical education and play both stressed and clarified the difference between them and between their advocates. First to appear, physical education was adopted by the state to serve national purposes.

[1] C. G. Andrae, "Popular Movements in Sweden," *Social Science Information*, 8, pt. 1 (1969): 75.

[2] In an article in the February 1884 *Journal of Education*, the author could not understand "that men who know and have tasted the powers and pleasures of play should yet in cold blood drive children into this dead and barren routine." Quoted in P. C. McIntosh, *Physical Education in England since 1800* (London, 1968), 58. In the United States, John Dewey omitted gymnastics from his curriculum for the excellent reason that "children do not like it."

[3] Interestingly enough, the major exception that confirms the rule appeared in workers' sporting clubs sponsored after the 1880s by the banned Social-Democrats as front organizations that held the faithful together and helped to collect funds.

Games—here also recognized as Anglo-Saxon upper-class inventions—appeared and remained for a long time the preserve of the privileged few. They provided training, indeed, whether to bear the burdens of privilege or to face the challenge of the unprivileged many; but they also provided play for the game's sake and for the player's satisfaction—gratuitous, self-sufficing, without ulterior purpose.[4] The possibilities of the topic are clearly vaster than the limited area of sporting history. The following pages attempt to furnish some preliminary information on how sports came to France and whom they were meant to serve. These pages are meant to open the subject rather than to cover a vast, unexplored territory. But they may suggest that, far from standing apart, sports were integrated and integrating activities, part of the contemporary scene, reflecting social and ideological preoccupations, and very likely affecting them in turn.[5]

Organized physical activities, which England and Germany had known through the nineteenth century, came to France only late and quite *sui generis*. They came first of all to serve a patriotic purpose that consisted partly in slamming the stable door after the horse had been stolen. And they approached the self-imposed task of national revivification from several directions. Thus, born in 1874, its founders still "under the impact of their patriotic grief," the Club Alpin Français sought to provide "a school of physical energy and moral vigor," training French youth to be "more virile, more apt to bear military life, more prepared to face a long conflict without discouragement. . . ."[6]

Despite relatively high dues that restricted membership to the upper and middle classes, the Club Alpin counted some seven thousand members by the end of the century. But less exalted and less expensive local walking, climbing, and touring clubs subscribed to the same cause. Witness the Société des Marcheurs touristes de France, set up in Bordeaux in 1885. Its end, proclaimed its statutes, was "both patriotic and scientific, since it favors the study of our country and since, at the opportune moment, excellent guides for our armies might be recruited in its ranks."[7]

[4] And thus evocations—wistful or purposive—of passing or menaced values. Thus, Charles Péguy, speaking of work well done and the sense of workmanship for its own sake among the workers of his youth in the 1880s, compares it to the sporting spirit: "Ce que nous nommons aujourd'hui l'honneur du sport, mais en ce temps-là répandu partout. Non seulement l'idée de faire rendre le mieux, mais l'idée, dans le mieux, de faire rendre le plus. Non seulement à qui ferait le mieux, mais à qui en ferait le plus, c'était un beau sport continuel, qui était de toutes les heures, dont la vie même était pénétrée." "L'Argent," in *Oeuvres en Prose, 1909–1914* (Paris, 1957), 1051–52.

[5] For more detailed discussion of these social and ideological aspects see E. Weber, "Pierre de Coubertin and the Introduction of Sport in France," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 5 (1970): 3–26.

[6] Club Alpin Français, presidential address, Apr. 3, 1879, in *Annuaire* (Paris, 1880), not paginated.

[7] Archives départementales (Gironde), Sociétés sportives, unclassified. (Hereafter AD, followed by the name of the French department and the collection.) The name of another walking club, l'Éclair russe, founded at Bordeaux in 1892, commemorated the Franco-Russian Convention that *revanchards* found so encouraging.

Most specific of all these enterprises, and most clearly directed to premilitary training, were the gymnastic societies founded in great numbers "pour rendre aux français des muscles." Physical training would, and should, contribute to national preparedness. Shooting clubs and gymnastic societies, declared a pamphlet of 1886, were the seedbeds where the young soldiers of the future could be nurtured and trained. "Your societies," Octave Gréard, vice-rector of the Académie de Paris reminded the Association of Gymnastic Societies of the Seine in 1898, "were born, nearly all, under the impact of our disasters . . . all imbued with the same duty."[8]

Everyone knew that Prussian schoolmasters had been the real winners at Sedan and, somehow, Father Jahn's gymnastics seemed easier to imitate than the playing fields of Eton. So, after 1871, rifle clubs, gymnastic societies, and enterprises devoted to premilitary training spread to fulfill their patriotic mission. In Besançon they sported names like La Française, La Patriote, La Vaillante. In 1887 Bordeaux counted ten of them with titles like Patriotes bordelais and Jeunesse patriote de la Gironde, the earliest founded in 1872, the total active membership nearly eighteen hundred.

The great idea inspiring all such clubs, at least in their inception, was that of national unity and *revanche*. Most, however, soon degenerated into semisocial societies open to those who could afford not only their moderate dues, but also the costly costumes they adopted, which consisted as a rule of body-length tights, special trousers and jacket in blue or white, sports shoes, and a yachting cap or some other suitably martial headgear. By the 1880s many who joined such gymnastic societies did so in the hope of losing weight or, more simply, because they provided convenient occasions for members to meet, wives to chat, and children to admire their fathers' prowess. Workingmen might occasionally be offered a separate society of their own, like La Fraternité in Bordeaux; but men who worked, when they worked, eleven or more hours a day for six or seven days a week had little time (or strength) left over for self-imposed exercise.

The champions of national revival soon realized that the campaign for physical development had to begin elsewhere, notably in the schools, where gymnastics could be taught to large numbers of the country's youth. Gymnastics had been talked about well before that time. On August 13, 1793, the Convention had approved a motion of Lepeletier de Saint-Fargeau, supported by Robespierre: "During the course of National Education, the children's time shall be divided between study, manual labor, and gymnastic exercises. If the week belongs to labor, it is good and proper that youth should rediscover corporal exercises during the days of rest." One hears of no practical implementation of such unimpeachable sentiments.

The 1830s and 1840s had seen some desultory official gestures toward

[8] Lermusiaux and Tavernier, *Pour la Patrie* (Paris, 1886). Octave Gréard was vice-rector of the Académie de Paris from 1879 to 1902. Antoine Prost called him the "grey eminence" of all successive ministers of public instruction during this period. *L'Enseignement en France, 1800–1967* (Paris, 1968), 224.

introducing physical training into the curriculum, and the Second Republic actually passed a law on March 14, 1850, placing gymnastics among the optional subjects of primary schools. But these schools lacked the resources, let alone the room, for such activities. Other optional subjects, like drawing and singing, could be taught in the classroom. But games and gymnastics required space and equipment, and most schools had only narrow playgrounds. In the 1880s, as in the 1960s, a good urban primary school in Orléans boasted a yard thirty yards long and twenty-seven yards wide.

In 1853 physical training became a compulsory part of the secondary curriculum, but the new requirement was respected largely in the breach. Of seventy-seven *lycées,* thirteen had no premises available for gymnastics; thirty had some kind of gymnasium, but half of these were useless. Pursuing the principle of *la fuite en avant,* Victor Duruy's decree of February 3, 1869, made gymnastics a required subject in primary schools. But the sunset years of the Second Empire did not see the new measures progress very far. "The urgency and even the utility of gymnastic instruction," noted one local authority, "do not yet seem evident." In the provinces many reacted as skeptically as the Conseil général of the Nièvre, which alleged the diminished respect that children would bear teachers who "engaged in exercises where the dignity of the man associated to the child can suffer cruel failures." Teachers should not be asked to step off their podium onto a playing field where they could be outrun by their charges or splashed with mud.[9]

This spirit began to change after the war. The ministries of war and of public instruction discussed ways and means of avoiding a break in continuity between gymnastic training at school and in the army. A law of January 27, 1880, made gymnastic training compulsory in all public boys' schools: four half-hours of physical training and military exercises every week. "C'est une oeuvre patriotique que nous poursuivons," stressed Jules Ferry's Circular No. 400, March 29, 1881. Despite enduring reserves—as in Bordeaux, where municipal councilors preferred to equip a local school with a workshop rather than a gymnasium[10]—the approval of the *conseils généraux* and a swarm of newborn gymnastic societies seemed to endorse Ferry's assertion.

On July 6, 1882, a presidential decree set up *bataillons scolaires* for military and gymnastic training in all teaching establishments. The civic and patriotic instruction the schools dispensed was to be furthered in premilitary

[9] Paul Gerbod, *La Vie quotidienne dans les lycées et les collèges au XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1968), 18; AD (Nièvre), Conseil général, Aug. 28, 1869. Compare this with an entry of 1862 in the diary of Edward Thring, the famous headmaster of Uppingham: "I could not help thinking with some pride what headmaster of a great school had ever played a match at football before. Would either dignity or shin suffer for it? I think not." Quoted in David Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning* (London, 1961), 220.

[10] See Albert Saubeste, *L'École Pélégrin* (Bordeaux, 1912), 215. The governors of the school felt that "[A workshop] would go much farther than any gymnastics course in satisfying the children's need for movement and physical exercise." Besides, "and above all," such a policy would avoid the risks of training "future mechanics, carpenters and masons" for positions above their station. L'École Pélégrin was an *école primare supérieure de garçons.*

training units that would be its concrete expression. Such *bataillons* would also suit the prevailing taste for military music and display. "C'était l'époque douce où, au dimanches soirs, / La grand'ville éclatait de légères fanfares . . . ," recalled Francis Jammes of that time when, in the 1880s, he had been a student of the Lycée de Bordeaux. But, while Sunday tattoos met with appreciation, the attempt to provide premilitary training was destined to only partial success.

Approved by patriotic Republicans, the initiative identified with the secular and *revanchard* politics of men like Gambetta evoked little enthusiasm in conservative circles. Not only did teachers no longer lead the children to Mass, the Catholics complained, but "thanks to the *bataillons,* to gymnastics, etc., they prevent them from attending Catechism." Besides, argued the ultramontane *Univers,* even if the government taught all Frenchmen arms drill and somersaults, such methods could not forge a military force, let alone a nation. "Corporal-instructors and perfect acrobats" did not an army make.[11]

The sartorial expense involved when the *bataillons* sought to outfit themselves with uniforms,[12] the cost of equipping the little corps with approved rifles, and the difficulty of finding retired soldiers capable of training them discouraged good will. The ragged results were often more evident in the provinces. On May 15, 1883, Senator Jules Steeg wrote the prefect of the Gironde to ask why Bordeaux was so slow in setting up its *bataillons*: "A Paris, c'est une fête lorsque tous les jeudi matins notre jeunesse parcourt les boulevards avec ses clairons et ses tambours: tous se précipitent pour les voir et acclamer." A decade later, in the wake of the Boulanger crisis, the *bataillons* were quietly faded out: "une erreur patriotique," as a sporting enthusiast would describe them in retrospect.[13]

Whether for *bataillons* or for straightforward gymnastic instruction, *moniteurs* and *professeurs* were recruited in haphazard fashion and hired at cut-rate salaries: from 300 to 700 francs a year in *collèges* and 1,200 to 1,800 francs a year in *lycées.* Economically, such men were less well off than contemporary miners (1,300 to 1,500 francs a year) or village postmen (1,100 francs a year); they did not even benefit from the local prestige of village schoolteachers, whose annual salaries after 1905 ran between 1,100 and

11 *Bulletin de la Société d'Education et d'Enseignement,* Dec. 15, 1883; *L'Univers,* Jan. 27, 1882.

12 The *Manuel général de l'instruction primaire,* July 22, 1882, described the "ensemble commode et élégant" of Paris detachments participating in July 14 festivities that year as dark blue tunic and trousers and a sailor's cap with a red pompom. It was in this uniform that the apprentice soldiers could be admired by readers of illustrated magazines (see *Le Monde Illustré,* May 6, 1882), and in a number of paintings exhibited at the salon of 1885. See also Mona Ozouf, *L'École, l'Église et la République* (Paris, 1963), 126–28.

13 AD (Gironde), Bataillons scolaires 1881–92; Philippe Tissié, *L'Education physique* (Paris, 1901), 6. In a less convincing version, a witness told the Royal Commission on Physical Training (1903) that the *bataillons* had been abandoned because children learned not only drill "but also habits of spitting and swearing in true barrack-square manner." P. C. McIntosh, *Physical Education in England since 1800* (London, 1968), 151.

2,200 francs. Their meager wages had to be supplemented by some other job. Fireman, janitor, shopman, or petty artisan, the *professeur de gymnastique* was obviously the social inferior of his charges. Whether he took this out on them or dazzled them with acrobatic exhibitions, the few hours spent in his company left little impression. Contemporary evidence suggests that most physical training instructors were retired noncommissioned officers, some of whom had attended a three-month course at the army physical training school at Joinville. Almost all lacked any real teaching method, and their dim figures pass unrecorded but for the boredom or the pranks they aroused.[14]

Avarice could mitigate enthusiasm and affect achievement on other fronts as well. One aspect of the physical exertions involved in gymnastics as in sports was the unusual need for washing they created. This raised difficulties in a France where "at least until 1914 people wash practically not at all, they are not in the habit of washing."[15]

At Sceaux, near Paris, Lakanal, which had been designed as the model *lycée* of the Third Republic, could pride itself on facilities that permitted its boarders to enjoy a footbath every week and a shower every month. But this was exceptional, and most *lycées* marched their boarders to a public establishment: once a term at Orléans, once a month at Louis-le-Grand in Paris. Most *externes,* especially outside the capital, were no better provided, since few private homes were equipped with bathrooms. The soiled and sweaty heroes of playing field or gymnasium could present perplexing problems.

Sporting clubs tried to provide showers on the premises for a membership who often lacked such facilities at home. One reason why, in 1889, the Bordeaux Université Club agreed to merge with the Stade Bordelais was that the latter had showers and proper changing rooms. But such luxuries called for means beyond those of most societies and beyond the credits that municipal councils or the ministry of education would make available to the schools. The fact that gymnasiums had to be endowed with showers, therefore, made for greater cleanliness; it also restricted the number of gymnasiums and playgrounds undertaken by public and local authorities. The public health law of February 5, 1902, led to the appearance by about 1908 of departmental public health services concerning themselves with setting up public washplaces and showers. But as late as 1916 the inspector of health services in the Nièvre complained that "no playgrounds exist, no sporting institutions for adolescents, no one thinks of sports . . ."—certainly

[14] For salaries, see *Revue des jeux scolaires et d'hygiène sociale,* Oct. 1908, pp. 142, 144. Raoul Blanchard (*Ma Jeunesse sous l'aile de Péguy* [Paris, 1961], 147) recalls the occasion in 1896 when Charles Muller, the future author of *A la Manière de . . . ,* presented the ritual good wishes of the *cagne* of Louis-le-Grand to their gym instructor in a speech ending: *"SURSUM CORDA! Tout le monde en haut des cordages,"* and the instructor's delighted rejoinder: "Bravo! I didn't know that's what it meant." *Si non e vero. . . .*

[15] Guy Thuillier, "Pour une histoire de l'hygiène corporelle," *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale,* 46 (1968): 233, *passim.*

not for long, once they became aware of the costs involved. Nevertheless, it is worth remembering that, especially in backward regions like the Nièvre, the patriotic efforts of the 1880s and 1890s produced the first and for a long time the only opportunities for physical activity and hygiene.

Such ends were subordinate to that of national revival. The great Republican educational reformers were also great patriots. In 1881 Paul Bert, the minister of public instruction in Gambetta's short-lived cabinet, appointed Paul Déroulède to preside over the commission of military education of the ministry of public instruction. Its mission was to teach young Frenchmen the cult of the flag, a taste for arms, respect for discipline, and pride in being French.[10] It was Déroulède who organized the national shooting competitions out of which in 1886 there arose the Union des Sociétés de Tir de France. In 1885 Jean Macé, another prominent progressive figure who had begun his teaching career at Beblenheim, in lost Alsace, wrote the preface to a *Manuel de tir à l'usage des écoles primaires.* Like his ally Fernand Buisson, the founder of the Ligue de l'enseignement had abandoned his pacifism to encourage the *bataillons scolaires* that drilled in schoolyards with their condemned rifles.

This aspect of physical education went on riding the preparedness wave up to the eve of 1914, when we can find a man like Jaurès' friend, Charles Andler, socialist and patriot, referring to the rivalry between Greek cities and their athletic and artistic jousts: "The need to be constantly ready for the final and vital struggle, tempers a humanity of rare physical integrity, sober, well-trained, nervous, muscular, all made for action." In Andler's mind, as in the pages of an anonymous pamphlet of 1898, *Ludus pro patria,* the need to be prepared provided the ulterior justification of activities that —ideally—are their own ends.

There was little of play and less of ludic exuberance about such officially sponsored enterprises. French sport did not grow out of the *bataillons scolaires.* It grew out of a rival impetus championed by men with very different ideas, like Pierre de Coubertin, whose name remains linked to the Olympic Games he was responsible for reviving in 1896. Coubertin and his friends saw athletics as a means of freeing French youth from deadening disciplines, including physical training or physical education. The divergence between official initiatives and the new wave that Coubertin represented is what concerns us here.

The first gymnastic society had been founded at Guebwiller, in Alsace, before the end of the Second Empire. Sports, on the other hand, entered France via England. For the *fin de siècle,* the very term "sport" carried an

[10] See Paul Déroulède, *De l'éducation militaire* (Paris, 1882). Shortly thereafter, Déroulède himself placed his greatest hopes in the "jeunesse des écoles, gymnastes français, fils d'ouvriers ou de bourgeois, toute la France adolescente et déjà virile. . ." (*Le Drapeau,* July 14, 1883). Gymnastic societies provided some of the strongest supporters of the Ligue des patriotes, which had been founded in a Paris gymnasium whose owner, Jules Sansboeuf, vice-president of the Association of French Gymnastic Clubs, was one of Déroulède's leading lieutenants in the Ligue.

equivocal sound. Littré had described it as an English word and warned: "In France one often confuses sport and turf; but turf (racing) is only one kind of sport." Nevertheless, to most people, the two terms remained interconnected with the "vulgar and unpleasant" overtones of horse racing, race courses, and betting.[17] *Le Sport,* "Journal des gens du monde," first published in 1854, had been chiefly devoted to racing and hunting. The fashionable Société sportive de Bordeaux concerned itself solely with horse-racing. Until the turn of the century, a sportsman was usually a man who owned, rode, or betted on horses. Thus, when Léon Blum joined Tristan Bernard to launch a regular "Critique de Sport" in the *Revue Blanche* of 1894, their very first article largely equated "sport" and horse racing. And the same confusion was to reappear (though slightly mitigated) in an 1897 passage of Blum's *Nouvelles Conversations de Goethe avec Eckermann.*[18]

On a less literary or esthetic plane, contemporary publications mirror this prejudice. Louis Baume's *Moeurs sportives* (1895) deals with racing, betting, and the race course public. Jacques Lozère's *Sport et Sportsmen* (1896) consists of racing chronicles. That same year the only reference to sport in Henri Rochefort's *Aventures de ma vie* was a comparison between the "turf" of 1865 and that of his old age, ruined by the introduction of *pari mutuel.* When in 1899–1900 Baron de Vaux published two large, magnificently illustrated volumes on *Le Sport en France et à l'étranger,* the first volume (334 pages) was devoted to shooting, fencing, and the sporting activities of crowned heads; the second volume (442 pages) to riding, hunting, falconry, and "athletics." This last section, seventy-three pages long, mixed pell-mell boxing and wrestling, golf, tennis, skating, running, discus throwing, and football.

There were other sports, recognized leisure activities more or less athletic according to mood and circumstance, whose names proclaimed their English origins. The Rowing Club de Paris had been set up in 1853. The Bordeaux Athletic Club would be founded in 1877 by fourteen British residents of the port. There were also *le yachting* and *le footing.*[19] These activities were not taken very seriously. "It was the fashion in those days to scoff at sports," writes Guillaume Apollinaire revealingly in 1907 about the mood of the 1880s.[20] At least rowing, riding, and yachting were familiar,

[17] "Les 'sports athlétiques,' mots nouveaux, mots hostiles et barbares contre lesquels se hérissèrent les préjugés d'un Comité mal informé, enclin à ne retenir de ce terme de 'sport' que son acception vulgaire et déplaisante." Georges Bourdon, *La Renaissance athlétique et le Racing Club de France* (Paris, 1906), 126. Written by a founder-member of the Racing, Bourdon's book is one of the few authoritative sources for the events of these years.

[18] *Revue Blanche,* Jan. 1894; *Oeuvres de Léon Blum* (Paris, 1954), 1: 204–06. I am indebted for the indication to Professor Annie Kriegel.

[19] "La marche, qui se contente de ce substantif quand les personnages qui la cultivent sont de condition moyenne ou inférieure, prend le nom de *footing* quand ceux qui la pratiquent appartiennent au high-life." Crafty [pseud.], *Paris sportif* (Paris, 1896), 23. The word *rowing* was also steadfastly preferred over native terms like *aviron* or *canotage.* See categories of that name in *Les Sports athlétiques,* or even provincial publications like *Midi-Football* (Toulouse, 1908). The Cyclist Club Lillois, founded in 1893, also bears the mark of English influence.

[20] "Maupassant athlète," *La Culture physique,* no. 52, Mar. 1907.

while the new games continued to seem strange. In his memoirs Pierre de Coubertin remembers how, in the 1890s, *le Gaulois* referred to "the long flat mallets" with which one played football. For the Bonapartist *l'Autorité,* football was played with racquets and small, hard balls. And Francisque Sarcey in *l'Echo de Paris* praised holidays spent at *jeu de paume*: "journées pleines de charme même quand on les décore du nom anglais de football."[21] By that time, as we shall shortly see, football of one sort or another had been played in France for twenty years. It would remain a quasi-confidential enterprise as long as most people continued to ignore games or regard them as fit only for children.

If press and public gradually became more knowledgeable about different sports, it was probably because of one particular pastime that would become particularly French, a sport that, though partly inspired by English ventures, may well be counted a French creation: "Cours, vélo, cours dans ta lumière/ Le progrès chevauche sur toi!" sang Deckert's "Ode au Véloce." The tone had hardly changed since the first modern sporting publications had sprouted in Paris and in the provinces around 1868–69, all devoted to cycling, symbol of "moral and material progress," means of regenerating man by physical exercise. Edouard Seidler has briefly traced the rise of a French sporting press from uncertain beginnings to 1894, when the weekly *Bicyclette* printed twenty thousand copies and the daily *Vélo*, founded three years earlier, boasted sales of eighty thousand.[22] By that time France boasted 132,000 velocipedes of one kind or another. The sporting press that catered to their owners had discovered and would reveal the close relationship between a certain kind of sporting activity, publicity, and circulation.

The first long-distance cycle race, from Paris to Rouen, was held in 1869. The 1870s and 1880s saw a great number of competitions, with the same race involving tricycles, penny-farthings, and other models then in existence. Almost all were amateur competitions, and all were dominated by English cyclists. Thus when the oldest of the great road races still in existence, Bordeaux-Paris, was first run in May 1891, four Englishmen led the winners.[23] It soon became apparent that, properly handled, such enterprises helped to sell newspapers and also cycles. It was *le Petit Journal* that promoted the great Paris-Brest-Paris race in 1891, and the second great sporting daily, *l'Auto,* launched the Tour de France in 1903 to promote its sales.

21 Pierre de Coubertin, *Une Campagne de 21 Ans, 1887–1908* (Paris, 1909), 85; M.-Th. Eyquem, *Pierre de Coubertin* (Paris, 1966), 59.

22 *Le Sport et la Presse* (Paris, 1964), 14–35.

23 Incidentally, the *Véloce Sport* of Bordeaux, organizers of the race, convinced that no man could pedal 572 kilometers at one go, organized a dormitory at Angoulême, 132 kilometers from the start. None of the twenty-eight runners stopped. By September 1891, 211 competitors faced twice the distance: the 1,200-kilometer stretch from Paris to Brest and back. That race was won by Frenchmen.



Fig. 1. Departure of the Paris-Roubaix race, 1896. Photograph: Touring Club de France.

For a long time cycling remained an expensive pastime. The bicycle itself was likely to cost five hundred francs or more, equivalent to two months of a lieutenant's pay or three of an *instituteur*'s. Regarded as a luxury, it was first subjected to direct tax; after 1900 the bicycle was taxed indirectly through the requirement of a license plate. Characteristically, the first prophets, champions, and practitioners of the new sport were *fils de famille*: the racer and future trainer, Paul Ruinart, was the son of a wholesale wine merchant; Tristan Bernard, who undertook the management of the Vélodrome Buffalo in 1892, was the son of a builder and real estate man. A few years later Henri Desgranges, who took over the new velodrome at the Parc des Princes in 1897 and launched *l'Auto*—destined to become France's major sporting daily—was a notary's clerk, representing another social group. His humbler origins reflect the relegation of the bicycle from luxury object —one with which an arch-esthete like Robert de Montesquiou did not disdain being photographed—to solid investment accessible to middle- and lower-middle-class budgets. The change had been swift.

Between 1889 and 1891 John Boyd Dunlop's pneumatic tires had begun to replace solid rubber ones, inner tubes permitted André and Edouard Michelin to develop detachable tires, cycle prices began to fall,[24] and cycle racing to attract more popular attention. After 1891, cherished and publicized by the press, cycling became the most popular of sports. The winner of the Paris-Brest race, national champion Charles Terront, had a place of

[24] Baudry de Saunier shows an advertisement for a cheap model selling at 375 francs. A good quality model cost fifty francs more. *L'Art de bien monter en bicyclette* (Paris, 1894), 21.

honor reserved for him at the Opera at the gala performance honoring the visiting Russian sailors in 1893. By 1897 H. de Graffigny's *Manuel pratique du constructeur et du conducteur de cycles et d'automobiles* estimated the number of cyclists in France at three hundred thousand. Graffigny exaggerated, but what a Paris paper had once sneered at as *imbéciles à roulettes* had become part of the landscape.

A young schoolteacher starting out in the Normandy countryside remembers seeing his first cyclist in 1890 and yearning for the machine that would put the surrounding world within easier reach than walking, which was all he could afford. But "in 1895 bicycles were still very rare, in 1897 their price was still inaccessible for me." Finally, in 1898 help from his farmer father, a loan from an uncle who was a village mason, and fifty francs in savings enabled him to buy a second-hand bicycle. It took five years to repay the loan, but it was worth it. "Henceforth I was king of the road, since I was faster than a horse." But he was one of the privileged few: "perhaps the only one of my class to own an iron steed."[25]

The concrete economics of a major purchase indicate why bicycles remained thin on the ground, but also how—and why—they ceased to count as objects of conspicuous consumption. It is interesting to compare the original membership of the Club vélocipédique de Bordeaux, founded in 1892, an obviously upper-middle-class group, with that of the Cyclistes girondins, founded in 1897, several notches below the middle of the middle class.[26] It was scarcely a coincidence that the first auto club in Bordeaux appeared in 1897, the very year when cycling publicists like Baudry de Saunier abandoned velocipedes for automobiles. Those who could afford it were turning to more exclusive activities. Where in 1891 the first sporting daily had squarely entitled itself *Vélo,* its rival ten years later hedged by setting out as *Auto-Vélo* and had shed the second term by 1903.

The cycle was no longer in the forefront of progress. The late 1890s saw it become a sport for shop assistants, whose kind accounted for fifteen out of twenty-seven founder-members of the Cycle Club de Bordeaux and nine out of twenty-one Cyclistes girondins. We witness the appearance of clubs like the Société des cyclistes coiffeurs-parfumeurs (1896) or the Union cycliste des postes et des télégraphes (1897).[27] Figures given by Jean Fourastié suggest a vertiginous fall in prices. The cheapest bicycle of 1893 cost the equivalent of 1,655 hours' wages of a factory hand in the provinces. By

[25] Autobiographical sketch quoted in Jacques Ozouf, *Nous les maîtres d'école* (Paris, 1967), 122–23. A sound social historian, Pierre Pierrard, finds workingmen beginning to use bicycles in 1914. *Lille et les Lillois* (Paris, 1967), 249.

[26] AD (Gironde), Sociétés sportives, Bordeaux. The Club vélocipédique counted five wholesale merchants, three university professors, a doctor, a dentist, a chief engineer, a builder, and a shopkeeper; Les Cyclistes girondins, presided over by the owner of a bicycle store, listed a printer, six shop assistants, three *coiffeurs,* and a student, but also a *cafétier,* a *nickeleur,* a baker, an ironmonger, a stationer, a sergeant-major, and an armorer-corporal.

[27] One may note that in Bordeaux, at any rate, the postmen's union was set up in 1905, eight years after the founding of the cycling club.

1911, with hourly wages up and bicycle prices down, a cheap model cost only the equivalent of 357 hours—almost half the price of a sewing machine, and hence accessible for bachelors of the working class. The evidence suggests that, for the masses, cycling remained a spectator sport.[28] Yet, even so, its influence upon the fate of other amateur sports was great. It first suggested the pursuit of sport for pleasure in social circles where this was not normally envisaged; numerically important clubs not appealing exclusively to middle and upper classes were formed around it; last but not least, especially in the provinces, cycling enthusiasts contributed some of the first officers and experienced members to the foundation of more broadly oriented clubs.[29]

Though touching smaller numbers, the great sporting revolution of the eighties and nineties was less concerned with cycling or with traditional sports than with organized open-air games of the kind associated with English public school education, particularly running and ball games. And, once again, the English influence is apparent from the start.

The first Club des coureurs, founded in 1875 by two young Parisians (one of them English), died within only a few months. In 1877 André Berthelot (1862–1938), then at the Lycée Saint-Louis, gathered a few friends eager to race each other and play football in the Bois de Boulogne. Apparently passers-by assumed that they were French-speaking Englishmen. This group also did not last very long. In 1880 the future arctic explorer, Jean Charcot, son of the great neurologist, then a fourteen-year-old pupil at the École Alsacienne, started organized games at his school. But the École Alsacienne was exceptional. Most secondary schools had neither room nor sympathy for such goings-on. Hence, in the course of 1881–82, a number of students from Right-Bank institutions—Condorcet, Rollin, Carnot (then the École Monge)—got into the habit of running impromptu races after school in the entrance hall of the nearby Gare St. Lazare. Joined by some veterans of Berthelot's old group, they soon founded the grandiloquently titled Racing Club de France and began to organize regular Sunday races in the more tranquil atmosphere of the Bois de Boulogne.

First of French sporting associations, authorized by a decree of November 23, 1882, the Racing did not belie its name. Its terminology and style were borrowed from the turf. Runners were divided into stables, wore jockey

[28] Relative prices based on figures in Jean Fourastié, *Le Grand Espoir du XX^e siècle* (Paris, 1963), 171. For club memberships, see AD (Gironde), Sociétés sportives, *passim*. See also the evidence of Henri Desgranges's preface to Marcel Violette, *Le Cyclisme* (Paris, 1912), x, still clearly addressed to middle-class readers.

[29] In 1896 Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, handy indicator of fashionable trends, produced a lithograph of a driver (his cousin, Tapié de Céleyran, muffled and goggled at the wheel of his automobile) and a sketch of the English champion, Michael, whirling around the track of the Vélodrome Buffalo under the eyes of Frantz Reichel, the athlete. The driver is engaged in a private adventure; the cyclist trains for a public show. But Reichel's presence marks the link between cycling turned into a popular and profitable display and more exclusive sports destined in their turn to provide a public show.

costumes with colored sashes and caps, sometimes carried horsewhips to complete the pretense, idled in the "*pesage*," ran under assumed horse names in races whose titles were borrowed from Longchamps and Auteuil and whose results were bet on by the assembled sportsmen and their fashionable



Fig. 2. Competitors in the Marathon des Amateurs, 1900. The forty-kilometer race was won by Théato in 2 hours, 59 minutes, 45 seconds. Photograph: Touring Club de France.

friends. For Rodolphe Salis in the *Chat Noir* (Spring 1882), here was "the latest creation of invading anglomania."[30] Soon Ferdinand de Lesseps himself accepted the honorary presidency. On July 6, 1884, he presented the winner of the Prix de Panama with a handsome horsewhip. Very shortly such influential connections secured the Racing a permanent home in the Bois, where running tracks were later joined by football grounds.

Meanwhile, in 1883, students of the Lycée Saint-Louis, who had been informally running and training in the Luxembourg gardens, moved first into the Tuileries, then, with prefectorial consent, to the Orangerie terrace. There they founded the Stade Français, which became the Racing's great Left-Bank rival. It was after a cross-country race in 1887 that the two clubs joined in the Union des Sociétés françaises de courses à pied, followed in 1889 by the more comprehensive Union des Sociétés françaises de sports athlétiques (USFSA), which incorporated tennis, cycling, football, rowing, and similar activities. Some federal organization was needed to facilitate the international encounters that began to take place in the mid-1880s and to encourage sporting activities and spread the sporting gospel, organizing national competitions and keeping people in touch. *Les Sports athlétiques*, USFSA's weekly bulletin, provides a mirror of their activity, in which ball games played an increasingly important role.

[30] For details of all this, see Bourdon, *Renaissance athlétique*, 42, *passim*.

Football, at least, came to France two or three years before it reached Germany.[31] A list of provincial teams in the *Almanach des Sports* of 1899 confirms the English game's predictable lines of penetration: the ports, the north (and Lyon) with their textile connections, the highway from Normandy to Paris, Paris itself with its large Anglo-Saxon colony. Across the Channel in England, the Football Association had been set up in 1863, but it took some years to make up its mind how the game should be played. By 1871, however, Association football and Rugby football had become clearly separate and autonomous in England; about the same time, the game entered France through Le Havre, where the Havre Athletic Club (HAC) was born in 1872. Founded by Oxford and Cambridge men, its colors combined the blues of the two universities. It is not very clear what game the HAC played, but its first teams do not seem to have known—or cared about—the rules finally set up in England. They played a "combination" game probably close to rugger until 1891, when the Club finally set up two distinct rugger and soccer sections—one of the first French clubs to do so.

For a long time French football was dominated by the HAC, or, if not by the club itself, then by the English sailors, clerks, and students who colonized both soccer and rugger until about 1914. When HAC won the French championship in 1899, six of its players were English. All the earliest Paris soccer clubs were also started by Englishmen. The Paris Football Club (1879–84) lapsed for lack of rivals. It was succeeded in 1890 by the Football Association Club, founded by the personnel of two English firms. Then, in 1891, the White Rovers (inspired by the Cup Final victory of the Blackburn Rovers) was founded at Bécon-les-Bruyères, and soccer clubs multiplied thereafter.

The USFSA—addicted to rugby, which was "more highly regarded in the upper classes of [English] society"—reluctantly admitted the existence of Association football. After soccer clubs had threatened to secede, the USFSA organized a national soccer championship, won in 1894 by the Standard Athletic Club team, comprising one Frenchman and ten Englishmen. In 1895 James Gordon Bennett, editor of the New York *Herald,* donated the silver cup that would henceforth reward the winners of the Association football championship. By 1899 Association football boasted some three-score clubs in the Paris area alone, and Frantz Reichel (see fig. 3), one of the city's great rugby players, noted that soccer—less violent, brutal, and dangerous than rugby—had spread considerably in France: "Which is a pity, for it is not worth as much as rugby from the educational point of view."[32]

By the turn of the century, French teams began to participate in international competitions, and these, especially against the English, tended to

[31] English boys attending private schools in Geneva, Lausanne, and St. Gallen, as well as Swiss graduates of Oxford and Cambridge, established the game in Switzerland before it appeared elsewhere on the Continent: La Chatelaine of Geneva was founded in 1869; the St. Gallen Football Club in 1879; and the Grasshoppers of Zurich in 1886.

[32] See *Almanach des Sports, 1899* (Paris, 1899), 420; *Almanach des Sports, 1900* (Paris, 1900), 387.



Fig. 3. The Racing XV of 1899, captained by Frantz Reichel, one of the great figures of French sport. Photograph: Touring Club de France.

end in catastrophic scores: 15–0 in 1906, 12–0 in 1908, 11–0 in 1909, 10–1 in 1910. In 1911, with a loss of only 3–0, the wind began to turn and, by 1921, French soccer could mark up its first victory against England: 2–1.

The trend probably reflected the gradual acclimatization of the game and the growing number of native clubs from which a truly national team could select its players. We shall see that the slow progress of soccer with its narrow, foreign base contrasts with the swifter adoption of rugby, introduced less by foreign residents than by French schoolboys. It was only after 1919, with athletic sports no longer a preserve of upper-class teenagers, that the spread of ball games at the popular level meant the spread of soccer, which is not only easier to play and demanding of less effort, but easier to play informally and without getting as dirty as one necessarily does in a rugger game.

But this was still in the future. For a long time the men involved in football (or other sports) were very few in number and considered themselves an elite. "The Grand Prix at Longchamps," notes a sporting *lycée* professor in *Les Sports athlétiques,* December 12, 1891, "attracts over fifty thousand, a football match hardly five hundred." This remained true for ten or fifteen years. The concomitant elitism may have been a compensation, at least in part; a spurning of grapes less green than out of reach. But elitism, whatever the motives behind it, was a crucial element of contemporary sporting

effort. The Racing accepted only amateurs, as defined in 1866 by the English Amateur Athletic Club in a formula that banned professionalism or the possibility of gain, stressed the fact that the amateur is a "gentleman," and excluded "mechanics, laborers and artisans." When the first article of the USFSA's rules barred all but amateurs from membership, it eliminated not only any athlete who had ever competed in an open race, or for money, or for pay, or for a share of the gate receipts, or against professionals, but also specifically, anyone "who has ever been, at any time in his life, a paid teacher or monitor of physical exercises." The latter were professionals, hence barred from activities that gentlemen not only pursued but regulated. The true sporting spirit, as the general secretary of the USFSA explained to a provincial prefect, consisted in opposing "professionalism, money prizes, betting, in a word all that paralyzes the beneficent effects of sport."[33]

No man could devote much time, let alone his life, to sport without a private income and not be somehow a professional. But the pioneers of pure sport addressed themselves to an audience who did not need to face this problem. Their determined stand against professionalism would play its part in the rival fortunes of Rugby and Association football.

Article 51 of the USFSA rules, concerning football competitions, declared that the national championship will be played out "in two series of *matchs* [*sic*] played according to the rules adopted by the Rugby Union." The first number of *Les Sports athlétiques* (April 5, 1890) devoted two pages out of six to "Football." Closer examination shows this to have meant rugby until December 1893 when, soccer having been admitted into the USFSA, the football rubric begins to appear with two separate subheadings: "Rugby" and "Association"—the latter only hardly and very briefly mentioned for several years more. Revealingly, the bulletin of the Club nivernais d'amateurs, founded in 1895, was entitled *Le Rugby* and continued under that title until the eve of the First World War. When in 1894 a leading figure of the USFSA, Georges de Saint-Clair, published *Football (Rugby)*, it is clear that the subtitle was there only as an afterthought and that, for his friends of the Racing and the Stade Français, football was rugby. Soccer, tainted by English professionalism, carried too many vulgar associations. Rugby, even when played by the lower classes as in England, allowed for distinctions.[34] Indeed, explains Saint-Clair, referring to possible dangers of the game likely to arouse parental concern, most accidents (in England) occur in those "northern mining districts where the population—very rough

[33] Eyquem, *Coubertin*, 63; letter of Pierre de Coubertin, Nov. 7, 1892, AD (Gironde), Sociétés sportives (Stade Bordelais).

[34] It was in 1895 that the Rugby Football League broke off from the English Rugby Union on the issue of paying players. Dominant in the Midlands and the north of England, League rugby, with thirteen players, catered to a more working-class public than it did in the southern counties, where the public schools held sway.

and brutal—does not bring to the game the desirable distinction and courtesy. When played by young, well-bred men, football is not dangerous."[35]

The favorite game of English public schools, rugby was the form of football that most students adopted, especially in Paris. It is striking to find Charles Péguy, who in the early 1890s had introduced Association football in his *lycée* at Orléans, moving to the *cagne* at Lakanal and there taking up rugby because it was the game that Paris *lycéens* played.[36]

Thus rugby spread, carried by the hazards of student life, to university towns and sometimes to other areas—like Nantes, where Parisian influences inspired the Stade Nantais as early as 1886, or Perpignan where, in 1889, a boy who had played the game at the Lycée Michelet in Paris founded the Union athlétique du Collège perpignanais, seed of the great Catalan rugby school.[37]

The strongest impetus for sport in the southwest came from Bordeaux. The chance presence of a dynamic personality had made the city the first center of athletic activities in the provinces, through the Ligue girondine de l'éducation physique, founded in 1888 by Philippe Tissié. Author of numerous articles and pamphlets on gymnastics and hygiene, Dr. Tissié was one of the many medical men whose patriotic and sanitary concerns turned them into militant missionaries of sport. His energy, his influence, and that of the Ligue he founded, gained the support of the regional rectorate. As a result, the directives of the ministry of education, largely ignored in other areas, were applied in Aquitaine, where most secondary and a great many elementary schools made sports and games part of the regular curriculum. Offspring of modest homes, familiarized with running and games in primary school, could be found practicing sports in associations of their own or in the Stade Bordelais, whose foundation in 1889 was a direct result of the enthusiasm generated by the Ligue.

Thanks to this groundwork, the first USFSA regional committee had been set up in Bordeaux in 1893. Regional committees followed in Toulouse and Lyon four years later. Meanwhile, Bordeaux became the first provincial city to play an important role in the national rugby championship, the Stade Bordelais winning it in 1899, playing in the finals for the next three years, and retaining the cup from 1902 to 1907. Altogether, after 1899, all but six of the national pennants were won by clubs from south of the Loire. The south, above all the southwest, remained rugby country, partly because of the USFSA's prejudices, partly because of the English influences radiating from Bordeaux, Bayonne, Biarritz, and Pau.

Soccer appeared as a kind of Cinderella: "Latecomer, faced with a cold

[35] Georges de Saint-Clair, *Football (Rugby)* (Paris, 1894), 20; see also Bourdon, *Renaissance athlétique*, 248, *passim*.

[36] See Blanchard, *Ma Jeunesse*, 112; Jules Isaac, *Expériences de ma vie* (Paris, 1959), 46, *passim*. Péguy, who had led the Orléans *lycée* team to victory against its rivals of Chartres in 1891, captained the Lakanal team the following year, playing at fullback.

[37] Albert Bausil and Jean Vidal, *Le Rugby Catalan* (Perpignan, 1924), 8.

reception. . . . The wealthy clubs showing no interest, there was no publicity for its matches. . . . School clubs, that is the bourgeoisie, keep away for ten years. Rugby alone seems noble, fascinating."[38] When, in 1909, the Douanier Rousseau painted his *Joueurs de football* (see fig. 4), the players were obviously rugby players, and so were those of later painters who depicted ball games, like André Lhôte, Albert Gleizes, and Robert Delaunay. Equally revealing, the illustrated cover of the *Revue des jeux scolaires* showed two young men in sports costume, one wearing cycling knickers, the other football shorts and carrying a rugby ball under his arm. "It seems as if Association football is essentially popular, and rugby the preserve of an elite," muses an observer, adding that rugby's future depends wholly on how it does *parmi les milieux scolaires*.[39] Remarks such as these suggest a partial explanation of the intriguing hold of rugby on southern and most especially southwestern France.

By 1900, when Association football appeared south of the Loire, established clubs were controlled by rugby players, and a local tradition had grown up. Soccer teams and clubs were set up and, in the bigger centers, flourished. Association football became the great spectator sport of industrial urban centers, drifting to professionalism as a direct result of the role it played, the masses to which it catered, and the resources it commanded. But the small towns and small urban centers of Midi and Languedoc, which lacked both the industrial concentrations that furnished the public of professional soccer and the resources for a variety of sports, remained faithful to the amateur game with which they identified. Cities almost without industry, without an industrial proletariat, an urban network whose evolution in the 1960s can be compared to the stage reached by the industrial regions of the north and east at the end of the nineteenth century, go far to explain the provincial conservatism of a region where the glories of amateur rugby go hand in hand with economic stagnation. The greatest teams of the twentieth century appear in centers like Narbonne, Lourdes, Pau, Bayonne, Dax, and Perpignan. A lawyer from Agen, a town of forty thousand whose team was three times French rugby champion in the 1960s, recently declared: "Agen must grow, prunes and rugby are not enough."[40] Yet it would seem that Agen's rugby flourishes best while its economy rests on prunes. "Sport d'amateurs . . . école de volonté, d'energie," rugby, once favorite of the better off, endures as the game of more backward regions, of communities that, unable to subsidize professionals, continue to play it themselves.

[38] Raoul Fabens, *Les Sports pour tous* (Paris, 1906), 127.

[39] Edouard Pontié, *Le Football Rugby* (Paris, 1905), 20. The title suggests that, by this date, the second variant of football had affirmed itself sufficiently to call for clearer definition.

[40] See Pierre Laroque, "Agen ou le modèle d'une équipe," *Le Monde*, Nov. 25, 1969, p. 17.

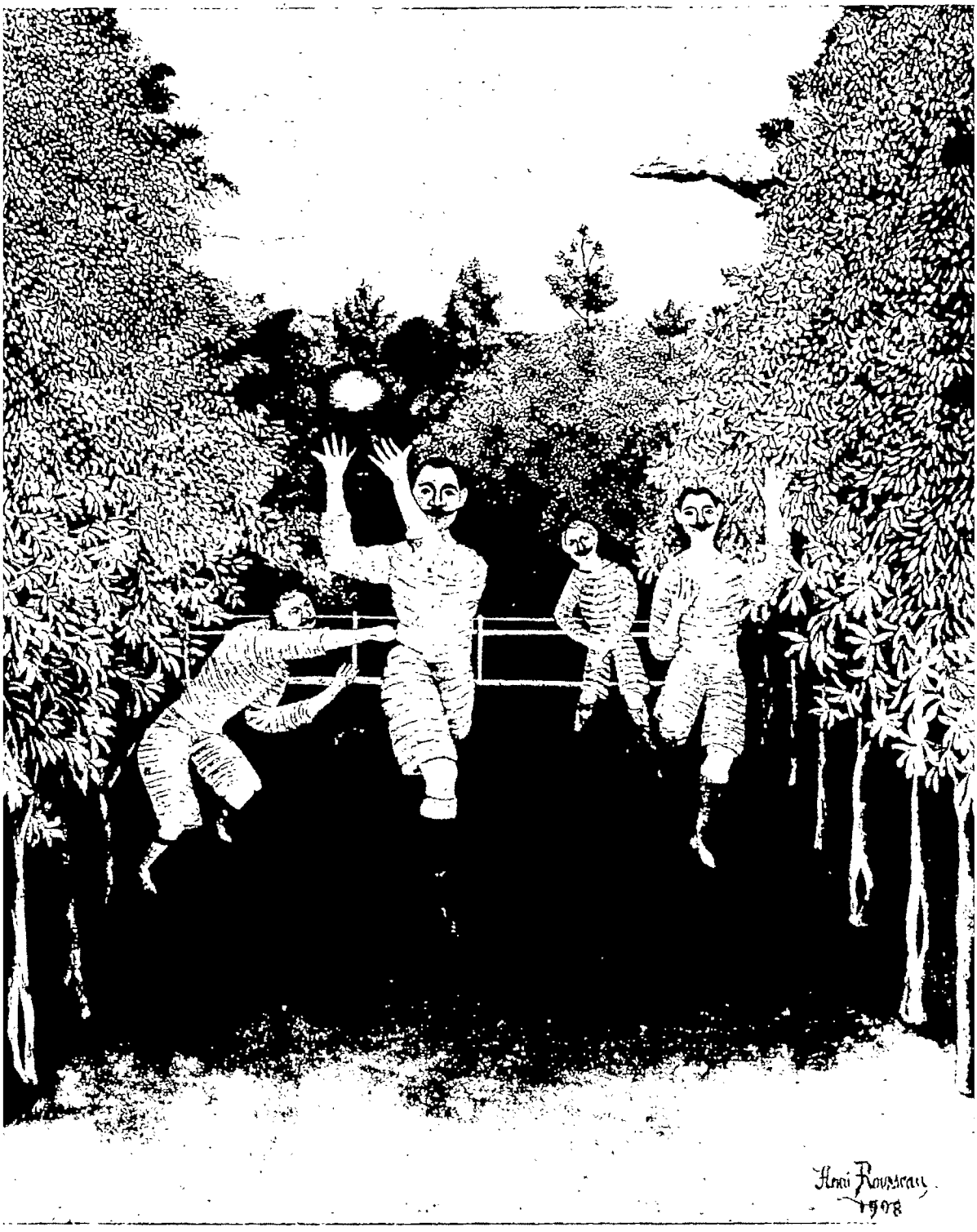


Fig. 4. Henri Rousseau, *Football Players* (1908). Photograph: The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum.

Rugby remained true to the ideals that the first sporting clubs embodied: elitism, amateurism, the educational value of sporting activities were what its followers stood for and what we can find in the writings of men like Pierre de Coubertin. Coubertin, whose efforts played a major role in the spread and acceptance of sporting activities in the late 1880s and 1890s, had seen athletics and games as key educational activities, apt to produce all-round men and to free French youth from moral and physical inertia. What Coubertin had not bargained for was that the athletic revival that he did so much to bring about made a great contribution to the nationalist revival of the pre-1914 years.

Before the turn of the century the *Almanach des Sports* already celebrated the martial virtues of team games. "*Le football*," for instance, "is a veritable little war, with its necessary discipline, and its way of getting participants used to danger and to blows." Then, in 1913, Agathon's well-known inquiry into the mood of middle-class youth noted the effect of sports on "the patriotic optimism of youth" and praised "the moral benefit of collective sports, like football, so widespread in our lycées," which "develop and maintain a warlike atmosphere among young people."[41]

Coubertin himself had little use for such conclusions. But he quoted with approval an article in which the journalist Pierre Mille described what his young contemporaries had learned from sport: "They quite often consider a possible war as a match that must be played as well as possible, after having trained for it scientifically. One holds on, keeping one's composure and one's breath to the end. And if you win, you win; if you lose, you lose. It is no dishonor. A game is a game, and that is all."[42]

Going beyond the advantages of preparedness, sport, as Hippolyte Taine had perceived in his *Notes sur l'Angleterre* (1872), may also be considered as an excellent "outlet . . . for the strong and over-ample vigor of youth. . . ." From society's point of view, competitive games offered a means of channeling and regulating violence, especially the savage violence of adolescence. To individuals too ready to follow some subversive drummer, games offered opportunities for self-assertion and sometimes also for indulging in competitive violence in any number of ways that society condemns outside the battlefield. Theodore Roosevelt, a great supporter of Coubertin, always preached the value of sport as a source of energy, but also as a way of

41 See Ernest Séillière, *Un Artisan d'énergie française* (Paris, 1917); Louis d'Hurcourt, "La Guerre et les Sports," *Almanach des Sports, 1899*, 35; H. Massis and J. de Tarde [Agathon], *Les jeunes gens d'aujourd'hui* (Paris, 1913), 35; see also Paul Souchon and Jacques May, *La Littérature Sportive contemporaine* (Paris, 1924), 10, *passim*, for other aspects of this mood. The young men whom Massis and de Tarde praised were probably the same we meet in chapter 12 of R. M. du Gard's *Jean Barois* (Paris, 1913). They would be exact contemporaries of the École Normale's 1913 "équipe des intellectuels," a XV among whose players were to be found Jean Giraudoux, Alain Fournier, Claude Casimir-Périer, Charles Tardieu, and Alexandre Guinle.

42 Coubertin, *Essais de psychologie sportive* (Paris, 1913), 262. Compare in Agathon the young men who declare that sport had given them "the taste of blood" and made them realize that "war was not stupid, cruel and hateful. It was quite simply sport for real." *Les jeunes gens*, 140–44.

channeling excess energy into socially approved directions.[43] If, for children, play is often a work substitute, for adolescents its regulated form may provide a unique occasion for self-expression and immediate success. The kind of adjustment this facilitates may be looked on either with approval or with disfavor. Echoing the denunciations of sport's contribution to the "puerilism of contemporary life" found in Huizinga's *Homo ludens,* a French psychologist has found that sport provides "an extraordinarily effective appeasement for the insatiable unconscious," and hence "a very powerful means of infantilization." The best statement of this point of view appears in the work of Georges Magnane, for whom the discipline of sports offers "une liberté sous bonne garde." The opportunities opened for social control appear more powerful than those making for self-liberation or self-expression: "Sport is the chief pole of attraction toward approved activities: *licit,* consciously social and, in the broadest sense of the term, docile."[44]

We know that when problems vital to wild animals are solved by human intervention, surplus energy that may well be employed in play becomes available. Thus, adult domestic animals show tendencies to play that are normally found only in the young. For captive animals, too, play fulfills a hygienic role, providing an opportunity for activity without which animals nourished without effort and protected against natural enemies tend to lapse into aberrant behavior. Captives, all zoologists tell us, need special opportunities for distraction and for the expenditure of surplus energy. Writing about play in animals, Jacques Lecomte treats their games as substitutes designed to protect them against neuroses that may develop when their impulses cannot express themselves either in normal or in substitute activities. Referring to the tendency of animals liberated from tasks related to survival to express their freedom in play, he discerns ludic behavior "among young animals whose childhood is particularly prolonged and whose primary needs are satisfied by their parents."[45]

Even without remembering that Rousseau always insisted that "to educate is to retard," we cannot help recognizing the counterpart of these young animals in the young members of the middle and upper classes then being educated in the schools of France. That the concrete possibilities of this function of sport were soon noticed, and generally approved, can be seen from an essay printed as an appendix to Agathon's inquiry, in which a sporting journalist praised *l'éducation sportive* for preparing its subjects to be "the right and contented man in the right place."[46] Another contributor

[43] Similarly, Thorstein Veblen, for whom sport helped to preserve "the two most barbarous traits of primitive man: ferocity and cunning," also regarded it as a means of spending excess energy and letting off steam, comparable to war. *Theory of the Leisure Class* (Boston, 1917), 275, *passim.*

[44] Etienne de Greeff, *Les Instincts de défence et de sympathie* (Paris, 1947), 166; Magnane, *Sociologie du Sport* (Paris, 1964), 43.

[45] Jacques Lecomte, "Jeux des animaux," in Roger Caillois, ed., *Jeux et sports* (Paris, 1967), 46.

[46] "Dès maintenant, il me semble que l'éducation sportive a préparé notre Emile moderne à être bientôt (en allongeant légèrement la formule anglaise) 'l'homme convenable *et satisfait*

described how the practice of football and cross-country running had taught him and his friends the competitive nature of life, persuaded them that men were unequal, and turned them away from socialism with its false ideas of equality, fraternity, and pacifism. "Sport enlightened me on myself and on my real feelings."[47] This brings to mind remarks of a later date, like Lucien Romier's assurance that a football team for every thousand inhabitants would solve the social problem. And it is true that, the hierarchy of players and athletes coinciding only very approximately with the general social hierarchy, games can provide temporary substitutes, artificial detours around irritating real-life barriers. They also provide a temporary opportunity for individuals to communicate—to commune—and to establish personal and social bonds that are otherwise lacking. A few years before the First World War, a rather obscure pamphlet actually pleaded this particular value of sport—the true equality established on the playing field—as a social educator. But we have seen already that this was not very likely to occur in the circumstances of the 1880s and 1890s, when class distinctions were affirmed rather than threatened by the new athletic clubs.

Romier's words were uttered between the wars, when men of good will sometimes sought "a substitute for national union in a football team."[48] In the 1890s the very idea of sporting activities for the common people evoked laughter when raised in a municipal council. Conversely, when the Fédération Sportive Athlétique Socialiste was founded in 1908, it catered only to members of the Socialist party (SFIO). Though this exclusivism was abandoned in 1911, sporting activities for class-conscious workers remained at the mercy of political fluctuations and counted for little until the 1930s. The Swiss Socialists did much better in this respect with their SATUS (Workers' Federation of Gymnastics and Sport), founded in 1874.

There were, of course, the *patronages,* well-intentioned enterprises designed to improve the character and body of the deserving poor. The name reflects a paternalistic and, finally, patronizing inspiration. Not that, seen in contemporary perspective, there was much wrong in this, but for the fact that the *patronages* themselves served ulterior ends, while their activities, far from bringing sporting enthusiasts closer together, emphasized their divisions. Since the 1870s many English clubs founded in churches, chapels, or Sunday schools had grown to national prominence. But whereas in England such enterprises were "an innocent source of pleasure and satisfaction for the masses," in France they were too often mere rods to beat a foe. Thus, and especially in those western regions where political divisions were most

dans la place qui lui convient.' Ce serait un joli resultat." Georges Rozet, "La jeunesse et le Sport," in Agathon, *Les jeunes gens,* 139.

[47] *Ibid.,* 140–44.

[48] Charles de Saint-Cyr, *Le Sport, Educateur Social* (Paris, 1908), 15–16; J. Dumazedier, *Regards neufs sur le sport* (Paris, 1950), 29, 161; M. Berger, *Pourquoi je suis sportif* (Paris, 1939).

fierce, many small towns enjoyed two sports clubs where one would have been ample—one Catholic, the other Republican, one for the Right, another for the Left, centers of their party's activities and focus for the hostility of the other side.[49] In the first decade of the century and especially after the separation law of December 1905, the Catholics made very serious efforts to expand and organize the scattered activities of their parish groups and thus regain some of the influence forfeited with the loss of so many teaching establishments. An increasing number of parish *patronages,* deliberately oriented toward physical activities appealing to the young (Les Jeunes de St. Bruno, de St. Genès, de St. Roch) were grouped in regional gymnastic and sporting unions, and these in turn affiliated to the Fédération Gymnastique et Sportive des Patronages de France, founded in 1898.

The Union Régionale Gymnastique et Sportive des Patronages du Sud-Ouest was officially registered in 1907. Its directors naturally insisted that it had no political aims, but their political opinions were well known, and these contradicted their professions of neutrality. The authorities were skeptical. "There can be no doubt," noted a police report, "that their true purpose is to gather together the greatest possible number of young Catholics, in order to maintain their confessional hold upon them."[50] Such Catholic zeal spurred the foundation or re-animation of secular competitors: *patronages laïques,* some founded by private enterprise, others (*patronages scolaires*) extracurricular enterprises rather half-heartedly undertaken by primary schoolteachers at the urging of the Inspectorat de l'Éducation primaire. In 1909 the southwest counted ninety-nine such *patronages scolaires,* mostly devoted to gymnastics, shooting, or premilitary training. But the Inspecteur d'Académie still bewailed the incapacity of such "Republican and secular" *patronages* to meet the challenge of Catholics and "enemies of the secular spirit." "Religious or reactionary *patronages,*" he reported, "open and operate on all sides, seizing our pupils when they step out of school and seeking to destroy that which we have sought to raise in their minds."[51]

Lay and religious *patronages* sometimes clashed over the use of playgrounds, the latter better served, as a rule, by the generosity of private sympathizers, the former clamoring for the support of the Republican authorities. Neither side lost sight of its ultimate purpose, which the Inspecteur d'Académie quoted above recalled in his report: these children were the electors of tomorrow.

This rivalry probably deserves further study. Meanwhile, whatever their inspiration, it is clear that *patronages* must have provided some of the first—

[49] For England, see P. C. McIntosh, *Sport in Society* (London, 1968), 72; for illustrations of the French situation, see J. Ozouf, *Nous les maîtres,* 29, 136.

[50] Report of the Commissaire de Police, Bordeaux, in AD (Gironde), Sociétés sportives (Union régionale gymnastique et sportive).

[51] *Bulletin de l'Instruction Primaire* (Gironde), Oct. 1910, p. 88. The Union française des Oeuvres laïques d'éducation physique was not formed until 1928.

and few—playgrounds and sporting activities available to the young of the poorer classes, left out of account by regular sporting clubs.

Not that the leaders of the USFSA wished it so. Coubertin, for one, was always keen to bring sports to the workers. But his hostility to professionalism, his indifference to the cost of athletic pastimes—small to the rich, but prohibitive to the poor—were as good as barriers. When in due course the stadiums were opened to the masses it would be less down in the arena than up on the tiers. Indeed, those sporting associations that catered first to the petty bourgeoisie and later, in the 1920s and 1930s, to the working classes, showed less interest in participation and disinterested competition than they did in prizes, professionalism, and spectator sports. Explicit or implicit, elitism ensured that "athletic sports" would remain the privilege of a minority. Social exclusivism could manifest itself in the clubhouse and on the playing field. The elitist aspirations of athletic enthusiasts could be enlisted to meaner ends. "C'est une élite seule qui peut être admise a cette culture intensive du muscle," declared an Aquitainian enthusiast.[52] And student clubs in particular tended to exclusivism. Thus, when the Bordeaux Université Club, founded in 1897, encountered the financial difficulties usual to its kind, it decided to merge with the powerful Stade Bordelais. In the debates that preceded the merger, a speaker warned that the Université Club was a society "of young men with a similar education, stemming from the same *milieu,* sharing common tastes," and hence more likely to get on together than with the mixed crew they would encounter in the larger club. It is true that the membership of the Stade Bordelais, though generally described in police reports as "de condition aisée" and benefiting from a "bonne éducation primaire," did include a fair number of clerks, shopkeepers, shop assistants, commercial travelers—even a waiter and a shoemaker. Such were no fit company for well-born youths. No wonder the merger soon dissolved, the students taking their leave in 1903 to found the Bordeaux Étudiants Club, explaining that "students who wish to engage in sports are tired of turning to clubs where they must mix with young persons of diverse professions and ages. . . ."[53]

Such attitudes elicited the tacit or overt support of the first sportsmen themselves, whose views may be found in the authoritative *Les Sports athlétiques.* Concluding a series of articles on the popularization of physical exercises, the organ of the USFSA opposed the ideas of clubs where workers and members "of the ruling classes" would mix: "Nous repoussons avec énergie les associations mixtes." Such contact between rich and poor

[52] Maurice Martin, "Un grand sport," *Revue philomatique de Bordeaux et du Sud-Ouest,* 8 (1905): 6.

[53] F. Sauvaire-Jourdan, "Les Sports et les Universités françaises," *Revue Internationale de l'Enseignement,* Dec. 15, 1913, pp. 3–15; AD (Gironde), Sociétés sportives, unclassified. The seceders never regretted their action. Compare *Le BEC,* Dec. 23, 1911: "You will not deny that the BEC, being made up of the intellectual elite, is certainly one of the French sports clubs where one finds the fewest cretins."

would be bound to create frictions that were best avoided. Besides, it explained, many young people would never consent to mix with workers, sharing the games of a class they did not know and from whom they were separated by prejudices of birth, wealth, and upbringing. The article quoted "one of our finest runners" waxing indignant at the thought of measuring himself against opponents "sortis des rangs du peuple." That, it affirmed, was how three-quarters of the membership of all athletic societies felt. Evidently, "the hour of popular sports was not yet."[54]

It is hard to say how much of this passed through the minds of the USFSA leaders. Like other pursuits (including war), sport can suggest that its rules are applicable to the rest of existence, that the sense of fair play developed on the playing field may appropriately be indulged elsewhere. This would favor ideas of social justice. Sport can equally well offer evasion from lives too far removed from the clear-cut situations of the playing field, an excuse for not trying to resolve the complexities of the outside world, and a refuge in the simpler, more limited world of club and game. Besides, we have seen that the conclusions men drew from sporting experience differed. Only one thing is sure: the decades before the First World War offered little occasion to use or regard sport as opium for the masses. Its possibilities as an opiate, if any, would apply to higher reaches of society. Despite the fact that Georges Bourdon, historian and veteran of the Racing, writing in 1906, rejoiced that "athletic education, having transformed the youth of the *lycées*, begins to affect the sons of the people,"[55] the negative evidence of his remark is more convincing than the wishful thinking.

The distance between "the people" and the apologists of sport also appears in Paul Adam's Nietzschean *Morale des Sports* (1907), when the author argues that "the constant use of the brake is for the driver an incomparable moral exercise." But the term "driver" (*chauffeur*) refers to the hired hand who drives and cares for the automobile, as in another remark, this time by Coubertin himself, that the automobile makes for social equality by bringing nearer its rich owner and his *chauffeur*.[56]

A simple list of dates should be enough to tell how far sporting activities could affect the people or their sons. The ten-hour working day was introduced in 1900; a law of July 13, 1906, established one day of rest per week; another of April 23, 1919, cut the working day from ten to eight hours; finally, the official forty-hour week for both sexes was introduced in 1936. Obviously, there was not much free time for games before 1919. Cycling apart, the early history of organized sport in France had narrow scope: schoolboys, foreigners, young men of good family. Most of its protagonists

[54] *Les Sports athlétiques*, Jan. 10, 1891; Coubertin, *Une Campagne*, 87.

[55] Bourdon, *Renaissance athlétique*, 26.

[56] Coubertin, *Essais de psychologie sportive*, 229. Yet Coubertin was an untiring champion of higher education for workingmen. In 1890 he was proposing the examples of English university extension courses. In the early 1920s he preached *universités ouvrières*. See, for example, his *Entre deux batailles* (Paris, 1922).

were *lycéens* and collegians. And there were, in the 1880s and 1890s, only about 52,000 *lycéens* and 160,000 young people in all secondary establishments, both clerical and lay. These students represented something like five per cent of their age group.[57] Few of them took an interest in organized games. But, then, there were not really that many who enlisted in nationalism, or syndicalism, or in the more passionate pursuit of the arts, and it is always the active minorities that attract our attention, because they affect—or in some way reflect—the rest.

If it is not too rash to draw conclusions from such a cursory survey, I should like to suggest that the appearance of athletics and sports in France at this particular time was no coincidence. The growing interest in sports was connected with patriotism only in an incidental way. The reasons for the relative success of organized sport—and for the particular social location of this success—were more general than sporadic *revanchisme* alone would account for and more specific than the derivative—or counterirritant—potential of physical exercise.

Sports appeared in France as a leisure activity characteristic of a particular moment when the economic slump, or stagnation, of the 1880s and 1890s liberated the time and energies of the upper and middle classes, or at least of their young. Lower prices; higher relative incomes, especially for the *rentier* class, members of the liberal professions, and persons on fixed salaries; and a combination of medical advances and economic retrenchment that kept old men alive longer, slowing or blocking possibilities of advancement—all this meant fewer opportunities or temptations in the traditional directions to which young men who did not need to work to eat could turn for a career. A higher proportion of the leisured young could wait, or chose to wait, a relatively long time before turning to money-earning activities. Many sought a career in less traditional directions: literature, the arts, politics, and overseas ventures.

The rash of little reviews that marks the *fin de siècle*, the rising interest in colonial adventure, the spread of sports where they had not been heeded before, were all reactions against a society often condemned as sclerotic, but also against its products, symptoms of a hardening and aging of social tissues. The growing favor and significance of activities not of a strictly utilitarian nature in social circles that had scorned them not long before was the evidence of a pathological condition, but perhaps also a token of its cure.

Advocates and observers had always remembered the connection between

[57] Compare F. Lagrange: "If our schoolboys get exercise, our students no longer do, any more than our young office employees or shop assistants." *L'Exercice chez les adultes* (Paris, 1897), 3. Class recruitment appears even more clearly in the beginnings of women's athletics and sports. See M.-Th. Eyquem, *La Femme et le Sport* (Paris, 1944). The first *sportives* were titled amazons like General Boulanger's early sponsor, the Duchesse d'Uzès, or Madame Camille du Gast. Their activities were of a costly and exclusive sort: car and boat races, tennis, fencing (in a special ladies' gymnasium, *chez* Madame Gabrielle), mountain climbing like Andrée Berthelot, or flying like Marie Marvingt.

sports and national enterprise. From Thomas Hughes' *Tom Brown's School Days,* which asserted that rugger captains make capital officers, to Rudyard Kipling's *Stalky & Co.,* there seems little doubt that—even more than the battle of Waterloo—the British Empire was won on the playing fields of Eton. Mid-Victorian reformers urged public schoolboys to athletic sports to make them not only manly but also "handy rifle skirmishers." Sporting enthusiasts like Eton's headmaster Edmund Warre sponsored Volunteer battalions as warmly as they did games. Such men apparently succeeded in turning their schools into "splendid institution[s] for the Nation and for the Empire," dedicated to "turn out a hardy and dashing breed of young officers."[58] And Kipling's view that "India's full of Stalkies—Cheltenham and Haileybury and Marlborough chaps" was shared by many French, among them Father Didon, principal of the Dominican College at Arcueil, one of the first among French schools to introduce games for its students. When Father Didon visited Eton in the late 1890s, he remarked that the boys who learned to command in games were learning to command in the Indies.[59]

Why should a society in search of revival not adopt the recipes that had worked elsewhere? There was some irony about the France of the 1890s turning to observations made in the 1860s about innovations of the 1830s. But there was reason, too. Here were challenges that could be proposed to young men in search of a *petite secousse,* not yet confronted by a *grande secousse.* One is struck by the similar language used by advocates of sports and those of colonial life. "Ce ne sont pas les beaux esprits qui partiront pour coloniser Madagascar," wrote a well-known chronicler, "il nous faut *du muscle.*" It is in the colonies, wrote E. M. de Vogüé to Colonel Louis Lyautey, that men can find a real field of action, "reforge their head, their heart, their muscles." It is in the sporting clubs, declared Georges de Saint-Clair, that men of action will be trained, "who know how to will, to dare, to venture, organize, govern and be governed." And when we read of "a school for energy and will," it might as well be a rugby enthusiast as a colonialist who used the phrase.[60] So, after 1903, Louis Hémon, the sports enthusiast, left France first for the wilds of Stepney—whence he brought back the quintessential boxing novel, *Battling Malone*—then for Canada, where he wrote *Maria Chapdelaine* and was crushed by a train while following the rails through Ontario. And Paul Blanchet, the boy who started the first games at the Lycée Louis-le-Grand in 1889–90, became an explorer and died on an African expedition.

[58] Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning,* 198, 201.

[59] *Royal Commission on Physical Training for Scotland* (London, 1903), Minute 9628.

[60] Aurelien Scholl, in *Almanach des Sports, 1899,* ii; Louis Lyautey, *Lettres de Tonkin et de Madagascar* (Paris, 1921), 621 (Oct. 2, 1898); see also the revealing quotations in W. B. Cohen, "The Lure of Empire: Why Frenchmen Entered the Colonial Service," *Journal of Contemporary History,* 4, pt. 1 (1969): 103–16; Bourdon, *Renaissance athlétique,* 119; and Martin, "Grand Sport," 7.

Yet, by the turn of the century, games trained young men less for enterprise than for conformism. It was on this score that Kipling railed at his countrymen who "contented [their] souls / With the flanneled fools at the wicket or the muddied oafs at the goals." And it may be precisely for their power of contenting some souls that anachronistic English recipes appeared exciting. Action, liberation, adventure, and the heroic life were what the colonies seemed to promise. So did sports. Both proposed a way of escape from the drudgery, stultification, and repression of everyday life. Both held out the opportunity to assert oneself, to expend energies little needed or rewarded in the stagnant situation at home. Both reflected a reaction, evident in the little reviews or in the new artistic ventures of the *fin de siècle,* against an aging, listless way of life, but largely in terms of a fat boy's revolt rather than of a rebellion of the downtrodden.[61] For what the hint is worth, the suicide rate for young people nineteen and under rose faster in the years before 1914 than did that of any other age group and higher than it would do in the next three decades.

A facet of contemporary conditions, then, a footnote for the social history of its time? Yes, but with a difference: "The Greeks trained to adapt themselves to their civilization," wrote Jean Prévost in 1925, praising *Les Plaisirs des Sports.* "We train to withstand ours."

[61] For the same story as reflected in the literary activities of the time, see E. Weber, "The Secret World of Jean Barois," in John Weiss, ed., *The Origins of Modern Consciousness* (Detroit, 1965).

Consciousness and Ideology in American History: The Burden of Daniel J. Boorstin

JOHN P. DIGGINS

There's something beautifully soothing about a fact—
even (or perhaps especially) if we're not sure what it means.
Daniel J. Boorstin[1]

Where there is no strain there is no history.
R. G. Collingwood[2]

An absorbing intellectual synthesis lies quietly buried in the work of Daniel J. Boorstin. His approach to history derives from a reified concept, an almost Whitmanesque philosophical credo, and his cheerful vision of the American past makes him one of the most fascinating and controversial scholars of our time. Boorstin's America, like Whitman's, is one of eternal becoming, a polymorphous development with neither fixed structure nor enduring essence. Like the poet he sees rhythm and harmony while others see only tension and discord. Even in the American Civil War Boorstin can discern, as did Whitman, a drama of conflicting wills within which resides a deeper unity of mind. And apparently seeing in the leaven of fact what the poet saw in the leaf of grass, Boorstin has set out to capture nothing less than the *Geist* or "genius" of America. He brings to this bold enterprise a lucid prose that can rise to epigrammatic brilliance and an analytical mind that can probe the most complex relationships in all their ambiguity. Few historians can match Boorstin in analyzing the subtle interactions of context and thought and the dialectical interplay of institutions and behavior; fewer still possess his uncanny ability for discerning a significant experience in an insignificant event, a thoughtful idea in a thoughtless action, a meaningful principle in a meaningless process. Boorstin's investigations of Americans and their institutions, based upon a peculiar methodology that shrewdly avoids the troubling "why" of events, often surpass in depth and nuance the constricting unilateralism of Turner's geographical and Beard's

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1 "More of Everything including the Kitchen Sink," *Harper's*, Mar. 1966, p. 149.

2 *An Essay on Metaphysics* (London, 1940), 75.

economic determinism. Equally impressive is his boundless ambition. Not since the nineteenth century has a historian tried so passionately to embrace the vastness of American history and to render intelligible even its contradictions; not since Parrington, Turner, and Beard has a historian developed so unifying an interpretation, one that can encompass even what it cannot explain. In an age when some of us are coming to feel that perhaps "meaning" cannot be found in history, it is heartening to read a historian who believes it can.

Yet when one reads closely Boorstin's works—particularly *The Genius of American Politics*[3]—one senses that he is writing history but thinking philosophy. Indeed one senses that there are two Daniel Boorstins—the articulate historian and the philosopher who prefers to keep his premises "inarticulate" (his favorite word). This essay is addressed to the philosopher who has purged American history of theory only by theorizing about American history, and to the historian who has depreciated the role of ideas in it by imposing his ideas upon it.

Perhaps it is time to lay to rest the specter of consensus, which has haunted American historical scholarship since the fifties. Once this *idée fixe* is set aside, *The Genius of American Politics,* despite the author's rapturous assertions and conservative intentions, emerges as a profoundly radical approach to historical understanding. Indeed the "consensus versus conflict" school of thought, which flowered in large part as a response to Boorstin's work, may have seasoned American historiography with a false scent. For the origins of Boorstin's thesis lie neither in a close investigation of the social structure of American history nor in a rigorous comparative analysis of American and European thought. Rather, Boorstin's explanation of America's genius derives from the supposedly unique qualities of the American mind that presumably have exempted the American past from the ideological delusions of "our sick friends in Europe."[4] One effort of this paper is to suggest that Boorstin's "reflections on American thought"[5] fail to explain the absence of ideological conflict in American history. Not that he has ignored such evidence of conflict, as his critics have charged. On the contrary, Boorstin's thesis is unconvincing because his own theory of history bears so much resemblance to the very European philosophies that created the age of ideology. When closely examined on his own terms, Boorstin's distinction between America and Europe is a distinction without a difference.

At the core of Boorstin's elaborate thesis is the problem of knowledge, of how Americans historically have thought and acted. Accordingly, the distinctive quality of Americans was their amazing capacity to think pragmatically. Untroubled by the classical issues of European philosophy, Americans possessed an instinct for practical, problem-solving behavior.

[3] *The Genius of American Politics* (hereafter *GAP*) (Phoenix ed.; Chicago, 1958).

[4] *GAP,* 183.

[5] The subtitle of Boorstin's *America and the Image of Europe* (hereafter *AIE*) (Meridian ed.; Cleveland, 1960).

Americans were natural empiricists, responsive only to the rhythms of nature and to the facts of environment. And since the American landscape was the basic reality dominating the visions of mind, Americans could allow human thought to be shaped by the natural world because they assumed that subjective values were "given" in that objective world. In a word, the sense of "givenness" enabled Americans to assume that the values of the past were forever being perpetuated while simultaneously arising anew in the present. This assumption led Americans to believe that they could live by natural fact alone, by context rather than by concept, by process rather than by principle. Moreover, because Americans believed that no dualism existed between fact and value, because they believed that the descriptive merged with the normative, because they believed that the "is" would determine the "ought," Americans simply dismissed all political and social theory as superfluous. Even the Enlightenment, Boorstin insists, was only a myth in America, an invention of latter-day professors who are content to do what is "academically very convenient"—interpret the "thoughts of our philosophically inarticulate Founding Fathers by simply letting the European *philosophes* speak for them." American scholars are unwilling to confess the intellectual poverty of their forebears, Boorstin complains, because of their inferiority complex ("cultural hypochondria") toward Europe. American historians are in the grip of an intellectual pride that forbids them to admit that their history is "doctrinally naked." And yet it is this sublime innocence of all speculative and normative theory that constitutes the essence of the American genius. It is the redeeming ignorance of the American mind that has blessed America with so much continuity and homogeneity and thereby insulated it from the ideological conflicts of Europe.[6]

The problem with Boorstin's thesis is not merely that it is questionable in light of various episodes in American intellectual history. The real difficulty is that his rejection of the role of theory and ideas in American history itself rests on a scaffolding of theoretical ideas that is as much European as American. Boorstin is a philosopher of history in spite of himself, and the ideas with which he demonstrates the absence of ideas in American history are as rich and abstract as the European philosophies he finds so repugnant and un-American.

Consider, for example, Boorstin's concept of "the preformation ideal." According to this notion, Americans have assumed that values were given by history because they believed that in the past there existed a "perfectly preformed theory" that rendered unnecessary all subsequent reflection on the nature and future of America.[7] What seems clearly embedded in this

[6] *GAP*, 1–35, 161–89, *passim*; *AIE*, 65, 123.

[7] "This particular aspect of the 'givenness' idea may be likened to the obsolete biological notion of 'preformation.' That is the idea that all parts of an organism pre-exist in perfect miniature in the seed. . . . The notion is essentially static. It assumes that the values and theory of the nation were given once and for all in the very beginning." *GAP*, 10–11.

concept is the Hegelian metaphysics of history, which infused nineteenth-century European thought. With Hegel, Boorstin presupposes a self-contained, "embryonic" idea at work in history from the very beginning, an "exoskeleton" image, which led Americans to believe that they were growing not out of but into a theory.[8] Similarly, one finds in Boorstin's prose many of the same morphological metaphors: Hegel's familiar description of the organic unity of the "bud" and the "blossom"—of the continuity behind all change—has its curious echo in Boorstin's worship of "the unity of our history" and in his assertion that American institutions were not conceived but somehow sprouted as "organisms which grow out of the soil in which they are rooted and out of the tradition from which they have sprung."[9] It is not surprising, therefore, that Boorstin consistently avoids the problems of causation, believing that history is the study of processes and that its meaning is to be found in the unfolding of experience.[10] Nor is it surprising that Boorstin and Hegel share a common axiological premise: since history and philosophy are contradictory, and since the empirical and the ideal are therefore one and the same, we can proceed, Hegel advised, upon the assumption that in historical study "thought must be subordinated to what is given, to the realities of fact; this is its basis and guide."[11] Boorstin also proceeds upon this assumption, and his failure to draw the crucial distinction between fact and value carries with it the same fatalism implicit in Hegel's dictum that "the rational is actual; and the actual is rational."[12] Significantly, one finds in *The Genius of American Politics,* and in many of Boorstin's other works, no wise and courageous losers, no agonizing second thoughts about might-have-beens, no brooding over historical alternatives to the given. What happened, happened; those who survived, survived.

In discussing American Puritanism, then, Boorstin is certain that the Puritans survived—indeed succeeded—because they came to accept the "growing sense of 'givenness,' the growing tendency to make the 'is' the guide to the 'ought,' to make America as it was (or as they had now made it) a criterion of what America might be."[13] This single proposition is replete with metaphysical assumptions. Above all, Boorstin has rejected the distinction between subject and object, between the Puritans' self-conscious

[8] "Our theory of society is thus conceived as a kind of exoskeleton, like the shell of a lobster. We think of ourselves as growing *into* our skeleton, filling it out with the experience and resources of recent ages. But we always suppose that the outlines were rigidly drawn in the beginning." *GAP,* 16.

[9] *GAP,* 6, 33.

[10] In *The Genius of American Politics* Boorstin continually informs the reader that he is concerned not with why but how events came to pass. Even in discussing the Civil War Boorstin avoids the complex motives of the sectional controversy by directing our "attention not so much to the causes of the conflict as to the framework of debate" (p. 100).

[11] Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *The Philosophy of History,* tr. J. Sibree (Dover ed.; New York, 1956), 8.

[12] "The Philosophy of Right and Law," in Carl J. Friedrich, ed., *The Philosophy of Hegel* (New York, 1953), 224.

[13] *GAP,* 38.

spiritual quest and the American environment that deflected that quest as they worked upon its materials. Boorstin may be correct in believing that the Puritans recognized and adapted themselves to the reality of the American environment even as they changed that reality. But does not this union of subject and object constitute a dialectical contradiction of the "will" of history? Can a people be transformed by the very reality they themselves have transformed? Although the early Puritans doubted that man could change his own nature by changing the natural world, Boorstin seems certain that the first Americans were primarily doers and makers, men of self-actualizing activity who realized that "nature had to be mastered before society could even survive."[14] It is this unspoken metaphysical premise about man's nature that enables Boorstin to interpret the failure of Puritanism as the fulfillment of Puritanism. In truth, Boorstin is terribly anxious to de-Europeanize his Puritans, and in so doing he necessarily denies them their intrinsic spiritual nature, their heroic quest for "Being." He assumes that the Puritans were all along not what they conceived themselves to be but what they made of themselves. For Boorstin, man has no essence; he is what he becomes. In his approach to history, meaning is therefore to be found in becoming, and in the context of his writings this means nothing less than the endless process of becoming American.[15] Despite this truncated Hegelianism, however, there remains in Boorstin's philosophy of history the same blurring of the dualism between being and becoming, the same unity of the opposites "is" and "ought," and even the same "cunning of reason."[16] Although the Puritans became what they set out not to be, they achieved their historical purpose, as Boorstin would have it, in the obliteration of their spiritual purpose. "Puritanism in New England," Boorstin contends, "was to decline, not because it was defeated, but, in a sense, because it had succeeded."[17] What Puritanism succeeded in was the negation of its theology and the realization of the theory beyond theory, the idea of "givenness" that Boorstin assumes to have been inherent in both Puritanism and in the nature of America.

The concept of "givenness" brooks no historical contradictions: all is process and continuity toward an end that is only a beginning. Hence Boorstin must ignore the teleological essence of Puritanism in order to make

[14] *GAP*, 65.

[15] "The nation was beginning not at one time or place, but again and again, under men's very eyes." Boorstin, *The Americans: The National Experience* (hereafter *NE*) (Vintage ed.; New York, 1965), v. In view of the ontological unity Boorstin imposes upon the Puritans, Perry Miller's advice on how one should approach an understanding of the Puritans cannot be ignored: "The moral of these reflections may very well be that it is dangerous to read history backwards, to interpret something that was by what it ultimately became, particularly when it became several things." Perry Miller, introduction to Perry Miller and Thomas H. Johnson, eds., *The Puritans: A Sourcebook of Their Writings* (Torchbook ed.; New York, 1963), 5.

[16] "In all this we shall see how the New England story re-enacted one of the familiar ironies of history: in the very act of establishing their community, they undermined the philosophy on which it was to have been founded." *GAP*, 52–53.

[17] *GAP*, 52.

the New England Puritans a direct part of the American experience. By the same reasoning, Boorstin can treat Puritanism as a mere prelude to American pragmatism because to him the problem of identity, like the problem of value, is simply a nonproblem. Self-realization in America, Boorstin is convinced, is achieved in "absorption," "oblivion," and "self-annihilation"; it is consummated in the "loss of identity." Americanization, then, is the attainment of a sense of "oneness,"[18] a state of being that, to paraphrase Marx, enables us to abolish philosophy because it has been realized in history. In short, since Boorstin believes that man is both the subject and object of history, the problem of identity becomes superfluous; and because he believes that the problem of meaning must be rooted only in historical existence, Boorstin's "preformation ideal" presupposes what Herbert Marcuse has called the "immanent historical necessity of historicity"—the antidualist notion that the causes of historical development lie both in the object and grow out of it.[19] Thus shorn of its covert mysticism, the claim for "givenness" absorbs the classical dualisms of philosophy no less than did Hegel's metaphysics; and just as Hegelianism lent itself to both revolutionary and reactionary interpretations, Boorstin's philosophy contains radical as well as conservative implications. These implications become apparent in his one-sided notion of theory. For Boorstin's conviction that "givenness" precludes the need for theory fails to consider that there are two theories of theory. On the one hand theory can be prescriptive, in which case it invokes normative goals based on binding moral ideals. The second idea of theory takes ethics as given, for it is based solely on the will and power to transform reality with no regard for the moral demands of the "ought." And it is this radical concept of theory as an action-oriented idea that underlies Boorstin's assumptions as well as those of Marx.

More specifically, Boorstin's pragmatic faith in the context and "implicitness of ideas," which he defines as the American "tendency to leave ideas embodied in experience and a belief that truth somehow arises out of experience,"[20] is curiously close to the Marxist theory of cognition, which likewise insists that truth is realized only in practical effort. Indeed Boorstin's Jeffersonian conviction that the major function of philosophy is "prophylactic"—to dispel "the perils of metaphysics"—is strikingly similar to Marx's conviction that true philosophy is *praxis*—to reorient the mind from abstract reflection to concrete activity. The affinity is unmistakable when one compares Boorstin's analysis of Jefferson's intellect with Marx's critique of Ludwig Feuerbach. In the former work we read of Jefferson's "scrupulous respect for sensible experience," for the "processes of action [that] were immediately and undeniably good"; in the latter we are told

[18] *AIE*, 59–60.

[19] Herbert Marcuse, "Contributions to a Phenomenology of Historical Materialism" (1928), translated and reprinted in *Telos*, no. 4 (1969): 20.

[20] *AIE*, 58–59.

that it is *"human sensuous activity, practice"* that alone liberates consciousness.[21] These verbal parallels are more than coincidental. They derive from the common premise that action is a realm of knowledge and value higher than thought itself. And from this premise emerges the strangest consensus in recent American historiography: for Marx the abstract concepts of mind served mainly to delude man and thereby to preserve the social order; for Boorstin such concepts serve mainly to erode "a sense for the 'seamlessness' of experience" and thereby radically to undermine the continuity of institutions.[22] Assuming that theoretical man is the enemy, it is thus imperative that Marx as revolutionary and Boorstin as conservative reject the demands of ethical thought and the claims of autonomous ideas in history. The irony is that both historians, each starting from the same premise but with different political ends in view, arrive at the conclusion that the reality of the past is not to be plumbed by intellectual history or pondered by the historian of ideas. This conclusion is neither distinctly American nor peculiarly conservative. Boorstin dismisses America's Enlightenment ideology as pure myth; but it was Marx and Engels, we should remember, who first dismissed Germany's Enlightenment ideology as the *"illusion of that epoch."*[23]

The awesome challenge facing Boorstin is nothing less than the problem of consciousness, of bringing Americans to a deeper appreciation and awareness of the meaning and direction of their history. Yet Boorstin's ideas about history rest precariously on two incompatible premises. With Hegel, Boorstin asks us to accept the "normative significance" of the past, to accept the empirically real as the American ideal.[24] Once we see that what was actual had to determine what was possible, and once we become aware that no human theory was at work in American history, then we shall realize that the full meaning of that history can be grasped only by understanding its development. With Marx, on the other hand, Boorstin asks us to accept the ontological supremacy of doing over being and the epistemological primacy of action over thought. He asks us to accept, that is, a pragmatic theory of knowledge, which leads to the conclusion that history is to be grasped not merely by comprehending it but by changing it. Boorstin may reject theory in American history, but his own sense of history is an unexamined theoretical synthesis that collapses into a political embarrassment.

In a euphoric moment, Boorstin has maintained that the "nirvana of success" in America has been "self-annihilation through mastery and adaptation." As in Buddhism, "the characteristic notion of bliss developed on the American continent involves a comparable process of absorption and loss of identity. But here that oneness is attained by complete adaptation to the

[21] Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Lost World of Thomas Jefferson* (Beacon ed.; Boston, 1960), 128–39, 150; Karl Marx, "Theses on Feuerbach," in Friedrich Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the Outcome of Classical German Philosophy*, ed. C. P. Dutt (New York, 1935), 73.

[22] *GAP*, 175.

[23] Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The German Ideology* (Moscow, 1964), 51.

[24] *GAP*, 22.

environment which involves seizing the opportunities which it offers, by 'fitting in.' "[25] Presented in these mystifying terms, Boorstin's sense of history suggests an almost romantic union of man with nature. In American history, however, this Emersonian oneness was more willed than actual. Adaptation and mastery are mutually exclusive. Forced to choose between the two, Americans chose not to adapt to but to master their environment. The capitalist, wrote Marx, willed the "subjection of nature's forces to man and machinery." Man, noted Locke, is an "appropriating" animal who, commanded by God to "subdue the earth," assaults nature and wrests wealth from her. The American, observed Tocqueville, has all but made "immutable Nature herself . . . mutable, such are the changes worked upon her by the hand of man."[26] Rather than be satisfied with a "complete adaptation to the environment," Americans strove to change it radically; and in terms of material progress nature was not a source of values but merely a dreary obstacle to be overcome.[27] It would seem truer to say, then, that in American history there has been a profound discontinuity between man and his environment, a perpetual divorce of humankind from the unity of nature, an alienation that disgusted even the usually tolerant Franklin.[28]

Boorstin recognizes man's estrangement from nature, for he does not deny that Americans have felt urgently compelled to act upon the materials of earth. In his magnificent analysis of Jefferson's "lost world," he stresses that Jefferson was certain morality could not be founded in human theory but only in the "life of action."[29] Boorstin has come to accept this philosophy completely. His hero is not John Milton but Paul Bunyan, not thinking man but man in motion. Curiously, it is precisely this activist theory of knowledge and life, this recognition of man's utter restlessness against the constancy of nature, that is the channelizing ethos of communism as well as of capitalism. That the meaning and value of life must be found in action is the faith of the Stakhanovite as well as of the rugged individualist. Whether the search is for socialism or salvation, both the Marxist and the Protestant work ethic invoke an attitude of ceaseless striving.[30] Given the Marxist

[25] *AIE*, 59–60.

[26] Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "The Communist Manifesto," in Arthur P. Mendel, ed., *Essential Works of Marxism* (New York, 1961), 17; John Locke, *The Second Treatise of Government*, ed. Thomas P. Peardon (New York, 1952), 18–20; Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (Vintage ed.; New York, 1945), 2: 239.

[27] Roderick Nash, *The Concept of Wilderness in the American Mind* (New Haven, 1967), 21–43, *passim*.

[28] See Franklin to Joseph Priestly, June 7, 1782, in Adrienne Koch, ed., *The American Enlightenment* (New York, 1965), 94.

[29] *Lost World of Thomas Jefferson*, 140–51.

[30] Speaking of the philosophical arguments for work in the Soviet Union, Father Gustave Wetter writes: "They are more than merely attempts to rationalize the economy on a gigantic scale. They are regarded much more as that 'actualization of philosophy,' that extension of philosophy into real life, of which Marx himself spoke. This conviction, that the Idea must be realized in life, that truth must be conceived, not in a theoretical sense merely, but as a living aspect of practical endeavor, accounts for the pathos, the pseudo-religious ceremony with which labor is invested under the bolshevik regime." *Dialectical Materialism: A Historical and Systematic Survey of Philosophy in the Soviet Union*, tr. Peter Heath (New York, 1963), 267. For a

and the pragmatist attitude toward human nature, this common behavior is not surprising. When Antonio Gramsci asks "What is man?" and tells us "we really mean 'What can man become?' " and then answers that "man is a process, and precisely the process of his actions," is not this Boorstin's definition of the American character? Similarly, when Boorstin declares that America "would long profit from having been born without ever having been conceived," one recalls George Plekhanov telling us that *"Being* determines *thinking."* Or when we read that Marxism does not proceed from principles but from facts and that there exists a dialectic of nature, we boggle no less at Engels' faith in the moral sufficiency of empirical facts than at Boorstin's faith in the moral plenitude of the American environment. Or, finally, when we are told that the genius of Americans is their belief in the union of the "is" and the "ought," we are tempted to ask what is the genius of the Marxist who believes in the "law of the transformation of quantity into quality."[31]

To be sure, these comparisons are overdrawn, but perhaps no more so than Boorstin's incessant contrasting of American practicality with European ideology. Historical understanding consists in perceiving similarities as well as differences, particularly when the differences may only be semantic. The comparisons above are made merely to suggest that the compatibility between Boorstin's pragmatic naturalism and European Marxism is greater than he would perhaps care to acknowledge.[32] Indeed E. H. Carr has spent much of his scholarly career justifying Soviet Russia with arguments resting upon the same philosophical assumptions Boorstin draws upon to explain the American past. Carr still shares the pre-1914 faith in technological progress that has enchanted America, and he is convinced that Soviet history demonstrates that quantity can be transformed into quality through revolutionary social change and that "values can be derived from facts." Both Carr and Boorstin believe that history is nothing more than process; both regard progress as mastery of the environment; and both, significantly, im-

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discussion of the "Calvinist work morale" in Soviet Russia, see also Herbert Marcuse, *Soviet Marxism: A Critical Analysis* (Vintage ed.; New York, 1961), 222–23.

31 Antonio Gramsci, *The Modern Prince and Other Writings* (New York, 1968), 76; Boorstin, *NE,* 219; George V. Plekhanov, *Fundamental Problems of Marxism* (New York, 1969), 57. It could be said that Boorstin has done to American history what Engels did to Marxist philosophy—replace the conscious activity of mind for blind faith in facts. For an excellent discussion of Engels' "hopeless undertaking" of joining the "is" and the "ought," see George Lichtheim, *Marxism: An Historical and Critical Study* (New York, 1961), 234–58.

32 Each assumes the naturalistic supremacy of doing over being; each assumes that the knowing process is a practical, transforming activity; and each is strongly opposed to traditional philosophical dualism. These affinities go far toward explaining what Max Eastman called the "Americanization of Marxism" by the pragmatic Left of the thirties. See, for example, Sidney Hook, *Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx: A Revolutionary Interpretation* (New York, 1933); and *idem,* "The Philosophical Basis of Marxian Socialism in the United States," in Donald Drew Egbert and Stow Persons, eds., *Socialism and American Life* (Princeton, 1952), 1: 429–51; see also Eastman's criticisms of Hook in his *Marxism is it Science* (New York, 1940), 299–350.

pose a pragmatic judgment on history, siding always with the winners and maintaining that history is nothing if not "a success story."[33]

These comparisons are not meant to imply that Daniel Boorstin is an unconscious Marxist. They are made only to suggest that when a conservative and a radical historian use a common philosophy of history to arrive at strikingly different conclusions it is time we re-examine our assumptions about the uniqueness of the American mind. Boorstin is preoccupied with what the Old Left called American "exceptionalism." Apparently he is convinced that he has found the key to the riddle of uniqueness in America's antitheoretical habit of mind, which in turn sprang from the country's geographical vagueness, its cultural unity, its diffuse intellectual life, its institutional continuity, its success criterion, and its ingenious people who can live by process alone. And the combination of these traits, Boorstin is certain, has nurtured an anti-ideological mentality, which is America's surest safeguard against the appeals of European totalitarianism.

> The tendency to abstract the principles of political life may sharpen issues for the political philosopher. It becomes idolatry when it provides statesmen or a people with a blueprint for their society. The characteristic tyrannies of our age—nazism, fascism, and communism—have expressed precisely this idolatry. They justify their outrages because their "philosophies" require them.[34]

Such may be the conventional wisdom, but the truth is that Boorstin has seriously misinterpreted both the nature and appeal of European totalitarian ideologies.

It would be tedious to recount here the story of America's response to fascism and communism. But it may be recalled that the Americans who waxed lyrical about Mussolini saw in fascism a marvelous, pragmatic experiment, and those who were captivated by Lenin and Stalin saw in Bolshevism an exciting scientific adventure.[35] Lest we share with Boorstin

[33] Literally, Carr states: "We are assured on all hands, and with the utmost emphasis, that the dichotomy between 'is' and 'ought' is absolute and cannot be resolved, that 'values' cannot be derived from 'facts.' This is, I think, a false trail." *What is History?* (New York, 1964), 167; see also 173–74, and his conversations in Ved Mehta, *Fly and the Fly Bottle* (Penguin ed.; Baltimore, 1965), 155–61. To my knowledge, the first American to grapple with the axiological pitfalls in Marxism was the pragmatist Sidney Hook in "Marxism and Values," *The Marxist Quarterly*, 1 (1937): 38–45.

[34] *GAP*, 3; see also *AIE*, 48–51.

[35] John P. Diggins, "Flirtation With Fascism: American Pragmatic Liberals and Mussolini's Italy," *AHR*, 71 (1966): 487–506; Lewis S. Feuer, "Travelers to the Soviet Union: The Formation of a Component of New Deal Ideology," *American Quarterly*, 14 (1962): 119–42. Philosophically, it is difficult to see how Americans could have reacted otherwise. Mussolini announced the "pragmatic veins in Fascism" as the dynamism of movement and action; Lenin proclaimed that "what our practice confirms is the sole, ultimate and objective truth"; Trotsky advised American radicals to approach all problems as "*processes* and not as *motionless categories*"; and, more recently, Professor Marcuse tells us that the "silence" of paralyzing metaphysical problems can be "broken by action." Benito Mussolini, "The Doctrine of Fascism," in Carl Cohen, ed., *Communism, Fascism, and Democracy: The Theoretical Foundations* (New York, 1962), 349–64; V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 14: *Materialism and Empirico-Criticism* (Moscow, 1962), 143;

the attitude that only intellectuals are taken in by European ideologies, it is worth recalling the reaction of Henry Ford to the Soviet Union. In explaining his dealings with Russia this hardest of hardheaded Americans advised that the "universe is set in a certain direction and when you go along with it, that is 'goodness' "; that "rightness in mechanics, rightness in morals, are basically the same thing"; and that "Russia is beginning to build. It makes little difference what theory is back of the real work, for in the long run facts will control."[36] This blithe indifference to theory and blind faith in facts, this cult of action over doctrine, this mindlessness about values is no doubt "givenness" personified, gloriously impervious to philosophy, hopelessly naive about ideology.

An even more revealing response to Soviet Russia is found in Joseph Wood Krutch's *The Modern Temper,* written in 1929. Here Krutch described communism and the Russian people in terms identical to those in which Boorstin has described America and the American character. The Russians were the one people, Krutch was convinced, who were not beset by the philosophical problems plaguing Western man. Because they have a task to perform—the transforming of a backward environment—there is in Russia "little temptation to ask ultimate questions as long as there are many tangible things to do and plenty of energy to do them with." Like Boorstin's Americans, Krutch's Russians experienced no "fundamental maladjustments" between the "human spirit and the natural universe." Completely absorbed in labor, they were at one with themselves because they had become all technique and process. Boorstin has argued that the

> oblivion of Nirvana and the oblivion of success have much in common. . . . The desire to master the forces of nature, to wrest from the environment all the wealth it holds, to find all possible uses of every material . . . make[s] the social norm not the fulfillment of some preconceived, philosophy-sharpened ideal, but the fulfillment of the possibilities in the situation, the attainment of compromise.

Hence nirvana in America means that "the individual transcends his own personality to become part of what surrounds him." This same illusion of self-transcendence, of practical salvation through the process of work, of finding in action what eludes one in thought, characterized Krutch's description of the "good Communist" for whom "any question concerning the meaning of life is itself completely meaningless. . . ." Ironically, the deified naturalism that Krutch found so disturbing in Russian communism becomes in Boorstin's eyes the health of the American character.[37]

Leon Trotsky, *In Defense of Marxism (against the petty-bourgeois opposition)* (Merit Publishers ed.; New York, 1965), 54; Herbert Marcuse, *Negations* (Boston, 1968), 240.

[36] Ford is quoted in Peter Filene's illuminating study, *Americans and the Soviet Experiment* (Cambridge, 1967), 121–23. Filene notes that "Ford carried pragmatism to the point at which, in a crude way, it resembled the historicism of the Marxist system" (p. 123).

[37] *AIE,* 60; Joseph Wood Krutch, *The Modern Temper* (Harvest ed.; New York, 1956), 162–67.

Krutch's observations raise important questions relating to the putative contrast between American pragmatism and European ideology. When did Soviet Russia's image in America change from an ongoing, brave experiment of men and machines into a political nightmare? When did Americans begin to assume that in Russia the urge to theorize had stifled the instinct for practicality? When did ideology take on a petrified cast and become the bugbear of the American mind? Clearly the new ideological image became popular during the cold war, but for many American intellectuals it was first created by the fantastic debates among the faction-ridden Old Left. It appears that ideology became an opprobrious term as a result of the American radicals' reactions to Stalin's betrayals and to those woolly arguments over social fascism, dialectical materialism, and bureaucratic collectivism that hypnotized the generation of the thirties—the generation in which Boorstin received his political baptism. And from these confrontations the notion emerged that ideology was a synonym for a static doctrine, for a rigidly abstract theory conceived by those who craved a total *Weltanschauung*. But this image of ideology is peculiarly American and has little to do with the real function of ideology in European politics.[38] In this respect it seems that when Boorstin assails European ideology he may have in mind the intellectual foibles of American fellow travelers rather than a clear perception of the nature of ideology itself.

Professor Boorstin is not the only historian of that generation with an animus against ideology and an abiding faith in pragmatism. In a shrewd discussion of this problem Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. has recapitulated Boorstin's thesis by declaring that "our national faith has been not in propositions but in processes. In its finest hours, the United States has, so to speak, risen above ideology." He then draws a sharp distinction between the pragmatist and the ideologist. While they often commit the same errors, the ideologist is mainly subservient to abstractions and the pragmatist to experience. When experience collides with abstractions it is only the pragmatist who responds to experience while the ideologist remains hooked on theoretical ideas. The trouble with ideology, Schlesinger thus concludes, is that it is only a picture or a "model" derived from "actuality." Even though we all have occasion to use models in rational discourse, the "ideological fallacy is to forget that ideology is an abstraction from reality and to regard it as reality itself."[39]

The weakness in Schlesinger's argument, it seems to me, is that he is himself building models to reveal the danger of models. The elusive terms in his description are "actuality" and "reality." The question to ask is what is really actual and what is actually real? If ideology is regarded as unrealistic, the crucial question, as Karl Mannheim observed, is "unrealistic

[38] See the debate among Daniel Bell, Carl J. Friedrich, and George Lichtheim, "Ideology and Politics: Discussion," *Slavic Review: American Quarterly of Soviet and East European Studies*, 24 (1965): 591–621.

[39] Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., "Epilogue: The One against the Many," in *idem* and Morton White, eds., *Paths of American Thought* (Boston, 1963), 531–38.

with reference to what?"[40] Obviously, for Schlesinger, Boorstin, and other pragmatic liberals, the answer is, with reference to the United States. For when these historians speak of the abstract nature of ideology they are probably speaking to the American Marxist Old Left, whose political positions during the thirties were disasterously wrong because they, like the Founding Fathers, lost sight of Locke and tried, as Louis Hartz argues, to transpose European social categories to American realities; and because they, unlike the Founding Fathers, did not even have the good fortune to see their conclusions proved correct even though their premises were wrong.[41]

Like Schlesinger, Boorstin also regards ideology as a form of cerebral abstractionism, a fixed and rigid vision, a "posture of truth which some men see in one age and which they seek to get other men to accept as the whole truth." But whereas Schlesinger admits that all peoples have a weakness for ideology, Boorstin regards it as the peculiar curse of Europeans. Continental philosophers "classify themselves as disciples of dead centuries," Boorstin maintains; thus "all intellectual life becomes a museum of past ideologies." And because European thinkers are elitist and therefore alienated from institutions, "the intellectual life of the community becomes one with the speculations of its visionaries and the vagaries of its metaphysicians. And this is true in most of the countries of Europe." The dichotomy Boorstin draws between American pragmatism and European ideology almost verges on caricature, for, ironically, the functional nature of ideology corresponds to Boorstin's own philosophy of history and partakes of what he calls America's "naturalistic approach to values." Let us examine the consequences of this naturalization of values in light of the meaning of ideology.[42]

To regard the factual as the normative, to assume that the "ought" derives from the "is," to believe that process is actually fulfillment, and to accept Boorstin's "success criterion" for ideas—does not this come perilously close to bestowing upon every victor the blessing of history? Are the victors, then, responding to abstractions or to experience, to doctrine or to fact, to principles or to precedent, to the demands of philosophy or to the pressures of history? In reality, such a dichotomous formulation poses a false problem, for it severs theory from practice, idea from deed, thought from action. And in modern intellectual history the erosion of these traditional

[40] Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia* (Harvest ed.; New York, n.d.), 72.

[41] Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America* (Harvest ed.; New York, 1955), 86. In this connection one might compare Clinton Rossiter's advice to that of John P. Roche. Speaking of Marxism, Rossiter maintains that "everything in it, as we learned in 1932, forbids most Americans to turn to Marx even in their desperate hours." *Marxism: The View from America* (Harvest ed.; New York, 1960), 8. Discussing the "pluralistic intolerance," the "consensual authoritarianism," and the "retrospective symmetry" of recent American historiography, Roche states: "Regrettably, the scholarly revolt against Marxism threw out the baby with the bath water." Introduction to John P. Roche, ed., *Origins of American Political Thought* (New York, 1967), 8–17.

[42] *AIE*, 52, 57; *GAP*, 25.

epistemological dualisms has rendered the ideologist almost indistinguishable from the pragmatist.[43]

Boorstin's dramatic contrast between America and Europe is not so wrongly perceived as it is poorly explained. He believes that America's pragmatic instincts developed from the historical absence of political theory, whereas Europe's ideological habits derived from its stultifying philosophical traditions. What this explanation overlooks is that modern European ideology was not so much the fruit of philosophy as the revolt against formalistic thought, not the tyranny of theory but the liberation from abstract theory.[44] To appreciate the American past Boorstin advises us to study not the treatises but the "inchoate idea" and the "pregnant chaos." This is sound advice, but it should be applied to Europe as well. Boorstin does not bother to explain just how European ideology impelled thought and behavior; he merely assumes it did by ascribing to European ideas a moving power he denies to American thought. Moreover, if we paid some attention to how European ideologies functioned we would, I believe, find that ideology is hardly alien to Boorstin's own philosophical premises. Ideology is not the chaining of mind to deductive treatises and systems, as Boorstin suggests; nor does it necessarily arise in those "more metaphysically minded countries" in which styles of thought are "judged by their intellectual consistency and aesthetic appeal."[45] On the contrary, ideology is the release of thought from abstract contemplation; its criterion is not intellectual consistency but emotional intensity; its appeal is not that of esthetics but of power. The dynamism of ideology is such that it functions less as philosophy than as the activization of philosophy.[46] Now there is little doubt that polemical connotations have come to surround the concept of ideology and to create serious semantic problems.[47] Nevertheless, it is difficult to avoid the con-

[43] I have attempted a fuller discussion of this argument in "Pragmatism and Ideology: Philosophy or Passion?" *American Political Science Review*, 64 (1970): 899–906.

[44] Once the debate over ideology arose in the nineteenth century there could no longer be a sharp distinction between the ideologist and the pragmatist, for pragmatism was implicit in the very label "ideological" since it compelled the man of ideas to prove that his thoughts could be realized in practice. As Mannheim so shrewdly perceived, the perjorative use of the term negated the idea itself. Attacked as being doctrinaire, the ideologist was perforce driven to accept the premise that, in Mannheim's words, "the only access to reality is to be sought in practical activity." The man of ideas therefore became the man of action, making "pragmatism" the "inevitable and appropriate outlook" for "modern man." Ideology thus produced something of an epistemological and ontological revolution in political philosophy, "a decisive turn in the formulation of the problem of the nature of reality." Writing in the twenties, Mannheim observed that "at present the criterion of reality is found primarily in an ontology derived from political experience. The history of the concept of ideology from Napoleon to Marxism, despite changes in content, has retained the same political criterion of reality. The historical example shows, at the same time, that the pragmatic point of view was already implicit in the accusation which Napoleon hurled at his adversaries." *Ideology and Utopia*, 72–73.

[45] *AIE*, 57, 71.

[46] Defining ideology as the "conversion of ideas into social levers," Daniel Bell writes: "For the ideologue, truth arises in action, and meaning is given to experience by the 'transforming moment.' He comes alive not in contemplation, but in 'deed.'" *The End of Ideology* (Collier ed.; New York, 1961), 394–95.

[47] The problems of definition are touched upon in the essays by David Apter, Reinhold Bendix, and Clifford Geertz in David Apter, ed., *Ideology and Discontent* (New York, 1964); a

clusion that the ideologist, insofar as he assumes that action is a process of knowing and deed the fulfillment of thought, is himself not without a sense of "givenness."

Professor Boorstin once remarked, in speaking before the House Un-American Activities Committee, that he has been endeavoring "to discover and explain to students in my teaching and in my writing, the unique virtues of American democracy."[48] Fortunately for Boorstin, few if any God-fearing members of the HUAC have read his works, while many who have, like his New Left critics, miss the point. Explaining the "unique virtues of American democracy" has been the magisterial effort of nearly all of Boorstin's learned writings. It is a courageous endeavor even though he may feel, in view of some harsh and not always informed criticism, that it is a lonely and thankless task. But whereas Boorstin urges us to reconsider the place of ideas in American history, I suggest we reconsider the ideas implicit in Boorstin's history. For the more I try to follow his argument the more I am convinced that his naturalistic premises defeat his purpose. In arguing that values are given by the environment and by the past, Boorstin has reduced history to nature and experience; and in so doing he has confined ethics to precisely that natural world from which philosophers have sought to rescue it. The implications are far-reaching; if the American experience is historically unique, then in American terms so is that of Europe; and if we accept the "givenness" of values in the nature of experience, it follows that whatever happens in history—in Europe as well as in America—is not something that "ought" to have happened but something that happens simply as matter of "fact." To locate the causal efficacy of history in the material realm, and to subsume the place of ideas in "the unpredicted whisperings of environment,"[49] we have no alternative but to accept the necessity of events. A history without moral dimension is a history without human causation, and hence what is natural is what occurs and what occurs is natural. The upshot, it seems to me, is that unless we are willing to forsake pragmatic naturalism and reinvoke the Providential nationalism of George Bancroft, and declare with Bancroft that the value-impregnated American land is a God-given blessing, then we must be willing to concede that Marxism embodies the same naturalistic theory of

taxonomic study is offered by Arne Naess, *Democracy, Ideology and Objectivity: Studies in the Semantics and Cognitive Analysis of Ideologic Controversy* (Oslo, 1956); for a learned essay suggesting the pragmatic character in both the Marxist and liberal ideologies of rational control, see George Lichtheim, *The Concept of Ideology and Other Essays* (Vintage ed.; New York, 1967), 3–46; for a discussion of the "end of ideology" debate, see Jean Maynaud, *Destin des idéologies* (Lausanne, 1961).

[48] U. S. Congress, House, Committee on Un-American Activities, *Communist Methods of Infiltration (Education), Hearings*, 83d Cong., 1st sess., 1953, pt. 1: 52.

[49] "If philosophy denied the innuendoes of experience, the philosophy—not the experience—must be rejected. Therefore, a man's mind was wholesome not when it possessed the most refined implements for dissecting and ordering all knowledge, but when it was most sensitive to the unpredicted whisperings of environment." Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: The Colonial Experience* (Vintage ed.; New York, 1958), 152.

values and pragmatic politics that Boorstin believes to be nature's gift to America. It is an awkward predicament: we can either go back to Bancroft, accept the philosophical premises of Marxism, or give up "givenness."[50]

Whether Boorstin will himself choose the latter course is a question worth pursuing. The pattern of his writings suggests he has had some doubts about his thesis. Only two instances will be cited here. In *The Genius of American Politics* (1953) Boorstin was determined to project his thesis of consensus and continuity even upon a period as disruptive as the Civil War. According to his interpretation, since both North and South grounded their respective arguments in the language of facts and statistics, America's anti-theoretical wisdom survived the sectional crisis. Even an excruciating moral issue like slavery was approached not as a question of ideology or ethics but simply as a problem in "descriptive sociology." Thus the collapse of the Union is really a study of "the spirit of compromise," for it provides "another example of the recurrent tendency in American history to identify the 'is' with the 'ought,' to think of values and a theory of society as implicit in facts about society." In *The National Experience* (1965), however, Boorstin finds himself obliged to indict the South for indulging in "metaphysical politics." No longer are Southerners typical American empiricists; they now emerge as apologists for biological and racial theory, reactionary dreamers whose code of honor made them believe they could maintain a changeless society in the face of a changing public opinion. Moreover, by assuming a social order of identical interests immune to disturbing alien ideas, Southerners took flight from reality and produced not a sociology as Boorstin earlier argued but a flowering of political theory. What is significant is not merely that a new South appears in the later work but that Boorstin implicitly concedes the shortcomings of his own philosophy. He now admits that in the South "this seeming identity of things as they were with things as they ought to be, came from a vision of society without conflict," while in "New England the sharp awareness of conflicting interests produced a reforming effervescence." What was formerly the American genius, then, became the fatal nemesis of a homogeneous South where the arts of compromise had gone unappreciated. The South suffered from too much consensus and not enough conflict.[51]

The Boorstinian edifice also seems to have suffered erosion in *The Image or What Happened to the American Dream* (1962). In this brilliantly disturbing study of the hypocrisy and self-deception of mass media tech-

[50] This is not the only way out, of course; but it is difficult to imagine Boorstin moving "forward" to existentialism or humanism, which seems to be the direction taken by some contemporary Marxists who, at last, are conceding the fact-value cul-de-sac. See, for example, Leszek Kolakowski, *Toward a Marxist Humanism: Essays on the Left Today* (New York, 1969), 58–66.

[51] *GAP*, 99–132; *NE*, 199–218; see also Boorstin's comments on Southern social philosophy in his bibliography, *NE*, 469–70.

nology in America, Boorstin deftly exposes, among other things, the banality of hero worship, the fraudulency of public relations techniques, and the ersatz world of *Reader's Digest* and Cook's tours. Disillusioned with reality and deluded by extravagant expectations, Americans have been driven to substitute the illusion of image:

> Our experience tends more and more to become tautology—needless repetition of the same in different words or images. Perhaps what ails us is not so much a vice as a "nothingness." The vacuum of our experience is actually made emptier by our anxious straining with mechanical devices to fill it artificially. What is remarkable is not only that we manage to fill experience with so much emptiness, but that we manage to give emptiness such appealing variety.[52]

After reading these sobering words one may speculate whether Boorstin has forsaken his philosophy of history. If Americans mistake illusion for reality, can it really be blamed on the mass media? Or does the behavior follow from the belief in "givenness" that has led Americans to trust in the appearance of process, motion, change, and hence crave the "pseudo-event," and that has led to the devaluation of mind and thus to the "thingification," to use Martin Buber's term, of life? Without a sense of reality how can Americans be expected to distinguish the image? Without a concept of value how can they know what to value? The answer to these questions is Boorstin's ironic burden; however he seeks to resolve them, one fact seems abundantly clear: from "givenness" to "nothingness" is a peculiarly American pathos that cannot be attributed to the intrusion of alien European ideas.

Boorstin's brief encounter with nothingness seems to have produced not fear and trembling but, paradoxically, a renewed assurance about the beneficence of "givenness." A clue to the direction of Boorstin's present thought may be seen in his handling of a subject taken up in his forthcoming, third volume of *The Americans*—the problem of community. The problem is an important one for Boorstin, since apparently he is convinced that the political greatness of America lies in the historic fact that informal community preceded formal government. Boorstin's idea of community emerges, I believe, from his study of Jefferson, and it is in large part the basis of his own political philosophy. Boorstin follows Jefferson, or at least his reading of Jefferson, in maintaining that "one cannot unify . . . society by mere *concepts,* however refined and subtle, however vivid to a few philosophers or theologians." And like Jefferson, Boorstin believes that Americans "expected not thought but action, not ideas but things to hold society together."[53] Whereas Puritan leaders like John Winthrop believed that love would enable men "to walke towards another" in "Justice and Mercy," Boorstin realizes that Americans preferred to flee outward to the

[52] *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* (Harper ed., New York, 1964), 60. (This paperback edition bears a different title than the original.)

[53] *Colonial Experience,* 167; *Lost World of Thomas Jefferson,* 7.

world of action and things. Here he sides with the Founding Fathers, who likewise were skeptical about establishing community on the basis of visible bonds that would be direct, open, and personal, and opted instead for impersonal mechanisms like countervailing factions. But if Boorstin shares the Founders' distrust of community based on transcending moral ideals, how can society be enduringly held together? Although previously reluctant to define precisely the cement of community, in his forthcoming volume Boorstin focuses on the curious phenomenon of consumption. An awareness of the "consumption community" developed after the Civil War with the advent of the mail-order house and department store, and later with mass production and advertisement. Whereas other societies were bound together by ideology or class structure, Americans were brought together by a mutual interest in standardized objects and things, a preoccupation with common risks, interests, calculations. Moreover, since in America it is not what one "possesses" but what one "shares" that matters, not isolated and idle wealth but a standard of living that is "pervasive, reciprocal, and communal," the consumption ethos is open, democratic, and humanitarian. Like nineteenth-century classical economists, Boorstin's concept of community amounts to a perverse utopia, a kind of *creatio ex nihilo* where all conflict is harmonized through consumption; an inverted nirvana whose principle is production, whose esthetic is affluence, whose ethic is no moral demand other than "more." Yet it is brilliantly consistent with his philosophy. Once again the dualisms disappear as Boorstin tells us "we are held to other men . . . by the countless gossamer webs tying together the trivia of our lives every day."[54] There is no fundamental contradiction between our individualism and our communitarianism, our materialism and our idealism, our trivial doings and our essential being. Man is what he becomes, he becomes what he produces, and he finds community in what he consumes. Marx may have turned Hegel on his head, but Boorstin has turned Marx on his stomach.[55]

[54] Daniel J. Boorstin, "Welcome to the Consumption Community," *Fortune*, Sept. 1, 1967, pp. 118–20, 131–38.

[55] Yet all three come up smelling of "givenness." If no theory is contained in Boorstin's idea of community as infinite consumption, neither was it implied in Marx's conviction that community is realized through disalienating work. Indeed on this matter one might compare Hegel and Boorstin. The former believed that community is forged with the advent of money, "a great invention" that abstracts all individual needs by reducing everything to a common denominator, a spiritual force that raises need and work to the level of universality and thus creates "an immense system of solidarity and mutual dependence." The latter believes that America's statistical communities were achieved with the "rise of the cash register, of income tax, and of income-consciousness." In his latest work Boorstin has expressed a deepening doubt about the quantification of life under the impact of statistics, which "have become the model for the world as it might be, of the 'ought' imprisoned in the 'is,' of the ideal imprisoned in the image." Nevertheless, since Boorstin continues to believe that history is the life of action (whether acquisitive or creative) rather than the life of thought, he still shares Marx's and Hegel's conviction that community derives not from a mind-inspired, value-conscious theory, as with the Puritans, but from a continuous form-giving activity. In a word, community is a process rather than a commitment. Hegel's idea of work and community is quoted and discussed in Karl Löwith, *From Hegel to Nietzsche: The Revolution in Nineteenth-Century Thought* (Anchor ed.;

If the problem of history is the problem of consciousness, the problem of consciousness is the problem of value. It is this dimension that is negated in Boorstin's notion of "givenness," which ignores the role of the active mind and thus rules out the possibility of ultimate value—the quest for transcendence. In rendering to "the mystical power of our land"[56] the creative magic and higher awareness that properly pertains to the human mind, empirical actuality becomes one with human possibility; and in subjecting history to the dominion of nature all purpose becomes mere process and all knowledge mere action. Boorstin glorifies the American genius but he also denies Americans their highest freedom—their ability to distinguish the realm of morality from the realm of nature and to create values through conscious human choice.

In his desire to liberate the American past from ideology Boorstin has developed a theory of history that is itself an ideology. Just as Marx was inclined to believe that historical understanding begins where moral criticism and philosophical speculation ends, so, too, does Boorstin tend to believe that the fundamental problems of ethics and philosophy are resolved through the unfolding processes of history. This basic Marxist assumption remains characteristic even in Boorstin's anti-Marxist history. But while Boorstin has attempted to go beyond Marxism to rediscover America, he has only returned to a secularized version of Bancroft and an Americanized version of Hegel.[57] Like Hegel, he is convinced that the study of history will better enable man to reconcile himself to reality once human thought begins to correspond to the actual world of fact. Thus with some exaggeration it could be said that Boorstin offers us a Marxian analysis and a Hegelian solution. For he, too, banishes philosophy by incorporating it into the realm of history, thereby making history into philosophy. Politically, of course, the intent and effect of Boorstin's ingenious synthesis is not negation but affirmation. The concept of "givenness" fuses the "ought" and the "is" and thereby historicizes morality. What emerges is a comprehensive ideological rationalization of the American past.

Yet what is even more curious is that Boorstin has never made it completely clear whether he himself believes in "givenness," or whether this confinement of human thought to the existing order of things is simply a habit of mind he has discovered in his study of America and its contents. Small wonder that now, as we witness a growing assault on the vulnerable and possibly obsolete, given system of American values, Boorstin dismisses

New York, 1967), 260–67; Boorstin, "The Rise of the Average Man," in his *The Decline of Radicalism: Reflections on America Today* (New York, 1969), 3–19.

[56] *GAP*, 25.

[57] In light of Boorstin's ideological career Jean Paul Sartre's insightful observation seems most appropriate: "I have often remarked on the fact that an 'anti-Marxist' argument is only the apparent rejuvenation of a pre-Marxist idea. A so-called 'going beyond' Marxism will be at worst only a return to pre-Marxism; at best, only the rediscovery of a thought already contained in the philosophy which one believes he has gone beyond." Jean Paul Sartre, *Search For A Method*, tr. Hazel E. Barnes (Vintage ed.; New York, 1968), 7.

the unquiet desperation of radical students as the barbaric thirst for sensation. Whatever one thinks of Boorstin's description of the phenomenon, there is cold irony here. He is now asking the militant young to do what he previously believed to be alien to the American character: to give philosophical content to their thoughts, to go to the root of matters by posing questions of ultimate knowledge and value, to "search for meaning"; in short, to become speculative theorists rather than mindless activists. Regrettably, Boorstin's new-found respect for ideas is about a generation too late. His traditional anti-intellectual approach to history may have been the proper response to the dogmatism of old comrades; it can hardly serve as the answer to the nihilism of new confrontationists. Perhaps consensus, too, has its cunning.[58]

[58] Daniel J. Boorstin, "The New Barbarians," *Esquire,* Oct. 1968, pp. 159, 162, 260, 263–64. In his recent work, *The Decline of Radicalism,* Boorstin maintains that the Old Left of his generation was truly radical, whereas the New Left is "closer to a dyspepsia than to an ideology, the New Barbarism has tried to generalize its stomach aches but it has been unable to cast them into a philosophy" (p. 128). The unpardonable sin of the New Left, it would seem, is that it learned too well America's genius for dismissing all problems of ideology and philosophy as superfluous.

Assignments New and Old

A Review Article by PETER PARET

WILLIAM L. LANGER. *Explorations in Crisis: Papers on International History.* Edited by CARL E. SCHORSKE and ELIZABETH SCHORSKE. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1969. Pp. xliv, 517. $11.95.

Two weaknesses of diplomatic history as it is commonly written today are an unwillingness to devote serious attention to the ideas that, in Felix Gilbert's phrase, stand behind diplomatic practice, and an equally pervasive refusal to explore the emotional sources and psychological impact of policy. Some critics are more impressed with another failing: the manner—to their minds superficial, unsystematic, or politically undesirable—in which traditional diplomatic history and its contemporary successors treat the links between foreign policy and domestic and economic affairs. They have argued this point so insistently in recent years, however, and with such a compelling sense of discovery and modernity, that it is unlikely to be ignored by their colleagues and students. The intellectual and psychological dimensions of diplomatic history do not yet enjoy a similar vogue. The latter, moreover, presents special problems, since it is not only the psychology of statesmen or even of political elites that matters but also the feelings of men who are no more than the objects of policy. How can the diplomatic historian transform the emotions and interests of the mass into a significant facet of his interpretation? For Marxists and historians of the New Left, who operate easily with the concept of exploited humanity, ideological preconceptions tend to resolve theoretical difficulties; for others the task appears more troublesome. But there are numerous methodological possibilities for gaining at least partial recognition of the channels that run between psyche and policy. And, at a minimum, awareness that the memoranda and negotiations the scholar studies could have been remote reflections of popular attitudes and certainly did affect men's physical and psychic existence may lead him toward interpretations that are more searching on his specific diplomatic topics and have something to say about the interrelations of all historical phenomena.

From the beginning, the writings of William Langer gave evidence that his interest ranged beyond the international system and its leading players to encompass the human counters with which the game is played and that in the last analysis constitute both the prize of the diplomatic contest and render it possible. At first Langer's concern expressed itself in a very general awareness of the millions of private individuals caught in the crossfire of international politics—a sense rare enough in a highly professional student of diplomatic affairs, and even rarer in one who hesitated to single out particular powers or groups for moral condemnation, believing that it "is not properly the work of the historian . . . to attempt to assess the responsibility for the outbreak of this or that war." In an essay first published in 1926, "The Origin of the Russo-Japanese War," which opens the volume of his selected papers, *Explorations in Crisis,* Langer writes that

> the war on the whole was as sordid as any from which humanity has suffered. At bottom there was little to chose between the Japanese ambitions and the plans of the Russians. Both were intent upon victimizing helpless peoples and in subjecting populations which disliked and even hated them. About all one can say by way of extenuation is that in this respect the two powers concerned were no better and no worse than most of the other great powers. When all is said and done the aggressions of the strong states against China and the other weak states of the Orient in the last year of the past century and the first years of the present fill one of the blackest pages in the history of modern civilization.

In other early papers that deal with standard topics of the diplomatic historian, the concern for "helpless peoples" is accented by brief, vigorous character sketches of such politicians as Isvolski, who made peace more difficult to maintain. The two themes gain in importance and their relationship grows more complex in the second part of the book, which contains seven papers on imperialism before the First World War and on its revival in the 1930s. Speculations about the psychological motives and reactions of individuals, groups, and societies engaged in expansionist policies are joined to the historian's consciousness of the fate of peoples and civilizations—aggressors as well as victims—and give his general awareness definition and authority. In part 3, "The United States as a World Power," papers written in the 1940s and 1950s explore the influence on foreign policy of American popular attitudes as they developed over two centuries and trace the education of Woodrow Wilson and of politically active segments of American society in the realities of international politics and in the opportunities and dangers of power. In the concluding part of the volume the framework of diplomatic history, which has been constantly expanded by essays in the preceding sections, is broken through. Langer argues in a number of important papers that new attention must be given to such elemental forces in history as disease, diet, and the size of populations and their rate of growth, and he calls on his colleagues to acquaint themselves with new methods of historical exploration and analysis. Langer's suggestion in

"The Next Assignment," the American Historical Association presidential address of 1957, that certain psychoanalytic concepts and techniques might be incorporated in the historian's work, appears as a felicitous flowering of long-standing interests. In the intervening thirteen years, the fruitfulness of his proposals—and also, unfortunately, the necessity for the caution he voiced against a mechanical reliance on psychological doctrine and terminology at the expense of historical scholarship—has been amply demonstrated.

The quality of life of the common man, his dependence on forces that he rarely controls but may profoundly influence, and, on the other end of the scale, the psychology of his political leaders, form only two themes among many in Langer's writings, and they are by no means the most prominent ones. They wax and wane in significance, but even when limited to a few allusive sentences they contribute to the comprehensive realism that distinguishes his treatment of international politics, an evenhanded, pragmatic historical analysis, which in the main derives from other, less unusual sources: an understanding of diplomatic technique, ability to unravel the skeins of negotiation, willingness to recognize the legitimacy of conflicting national positions, and sympathy for the political qualities of the period under study. Langer's own service in government obviously affected his historical work. But probably more influential than his actual participation in the bureaucratic and political process was his membership, by reason of antecedents, career, and attitudes, in the fairly well-defined group that still provided much of this country's leadership during the Second World War and the years following. Some papers reprinted here, addressing general audiences in the 1940s and early 1950s on contemporary issues, are forceful, sophisticated expressions of America's new claim of world power. Today they are of interest largely as documenting a state of mind that, widespread in America at the time, in less than two decades has undergone substantial change. In his scholarly writings, however, Langer's intellectual and political traditions, and his government service, proved far more creative than limiting. His belief in America's foreign responsibilities and his participation in this country's efforts to rescue and then reshape the international system further deepened his understanding of the activities of statesmen who in earlier times and in other countries had been faced with similar tasks.

In his introduction to *Explorations in Crisis* Carl Schorske notes that Langer's early studies in the diplomatic history of the period before the First World War considered international developments "from the viewpoint of the participants as the dynamic unfolds rather than from the perspective so fashionable in the twenties," and adds that this approach "preserves the naivete as well as the virtuosity of the makers of the politics of decadence, and stresses the complexity of possibility rather than the arbitrary simplicity of the single 'road to war.' " The international system as interpreted in these essays appears to Schorske "essentially as the product of men playing a game whose rules were known, but whose stakes became fully

apparent only with the unfolding of events"—an admirably precise characterization. Schorske's comment in the same passage that Langer "identif[ied] himself strongly with the statesmen who operated within the system," is, however, too ambiguous to be enlightening either as a historical or a psychological interpretation. It accords better with Langer's impersonal skepticism, in any event, not to stress a few diplomats, but the twin concepts of the state and of a rational ordering of international affairs, as the objects of whatever sublimated empathy affected his analyses.

Before the coming of the Third Reich, Langer, like other American scholars, enjoyed the advantage of a certain detachment from the convolutions of European affairs. To the historian across the Atlantic, any particular spasm of the system could appear less blameworthy, either in its cause or effects, but the system as a whole less satisfactory, than to the protagonists themselves. At the same time, Langer's reading of international relations past and current always assumed that states might have different requirements that could be almost impossible to reconcile, even when they were championed with a sense of responsibility for the international community. When the Second World War and its outcome brought this country under very immediate pressures, Langer found no difficulty in viewing her situation with the same cool acceptance of national power and self-interest. In 1948, in the last of three lectures on "The American Attitude Towards Europe," Langer defined what he took to be the line that American foreign policy must now pursue: "For us, as for Britons before us, it is intolerable that any one power should control the manpower and resources of the European continent. . . . Ideological considerations are important, and we clearly have an interest in preserving democracy wherever possible. But the crucial thing is, and remains, the relationship or balance of power." National interest did not, of course, preclude compromise and coexistence. During the cold war both may at times have appeared to Langer as unattainable, perhaps treacherous ideals; but this passed. "The Wellspring of Our Discontents," an essay written in 1968, which concludes this volume, again argues that national interest must be blended with "effective international authority, without which modern society cannot long endure"—a reprise, in far more dangerous conditions, of Langer's earlier belief in the League of Nations, which to his regret America, out of ignorance and prejudice, had failed to support.

In contrast to the attention Langer pays to the psychological dimension of the past, he does not show a marked interest in political theory. The single most important analysis of the historical role of formalized ideas to be found in this volume is the essay "A Critique of Imperialism," a reappraisal of Hobson's theories and of their further development by communist writers. But the discussion is not so much a study of the intellectual structure of imperialism and its antecedents in political and social theories as a testing of its economic assumptions and an equally searching inquiry into the psychological motives of expansionist policies before and after the First World War.

As always, Langer is concerned in the first instance with laying bare the immediate activities of political man and his institutions as well as their practical implications; it is illustrative of his attitude that, as Schorske notes, his extensive research in pre-1914 diplomacy draws "no general theoretical conclusions about the state of the international system." An emphatically pragmatic approach, diverted neither by ideology nor sentimentality, is at work; but there are times when the interpretations are unduly limited by the author's indifference to a thorough integration of political theory, the history of ideas, and diplomatic practice, even when these realms stand in generic, if perverted, relationship to one another. An example is provided by the essay "Political Problems of a Coalition," written in 1947, in which Langer treats the great lines of American foreign policy during the Second World War, especially in her relations with Russia. It is, incidentally, an impressively dispassionate and balanced assessment of events still very close at hand. The article's interpretive principle is stated on the opening page: "Since war is indeed but a continuation of policy by other means, it follows inexorably that once hostilities have broken out political decisions must be subordinated to the requirements of strategy." The following paragraph, here cited in full, applies this proposition to the topic of the essay:

> So far as the United States is concerned, the recent world conflict divides naturally into the periods of our nonbelligerency and of our active participation. During the first phase the important decisions were of necessity political, while during the second they were preeminently military, though, of course, political considerations remained of moment all the way through and again became predominant as the war drew toward its close.

The intent of the argument is clear: America's support of the Vichy government and of Soviet Russia, though distasteful on ideological grounds, was a military necessity, as was Roosevelt's decision at Casablanca "to subordinate everything to the winning of the war and to avoid all political and territorial issues that might provide dissension among the anti-Axis forces." The requirements of strategy demanded that "political" considerations—which in this case appear to mean considerations of an ideological and moral nature—be put aside for the time. That these are sensible observations, which to some extent fit the specific historical situation, should not obscure the fact that something is wrong with their terminology and that the theoretical propositions used to place American foreign policy during the early 1940s into a universal context are not fully explored. The word *politics,* for instance, slides dangerously between ideology and more conventional meanings, while *strategy* often refers to issues that are political rather than military: after all, the decision at Casablanca to avoid conflict with Stalin, far from simply "answering the requirements of strategy," was itself a political decision of the first magnitude—if one likes, a political decision based in part on an erroneous evaluation of the military situation. When Langer asserts not only that

strategic requirements did, in fact, override the "political" aims of the United States (though surely not in every case), but also that in the nature of things they should have done so, his interpretation is blunted. The author of the proposition from which Langer derives his argument would have shaken his head at the logic used to reach this conclusion. For Clausewitz the observation that war is a continuation of policy could have only one reasonable consequence: Strategy must at all times be subordinated to political interests, though the political leadership should take care not to ask the impossible of the soldier. Langer's view, on the contrary, approaches the position that Moltke, in a reversal of Clausewitz, sought to assert against Bismarck: Political interests properly dominate before the outbreak of hostilities and after their termination, but military considerations must be supreme in the interval—for a soldier a conventional and entirely understandable point of view, of which Bismarck made short shrift. It is hardly necessary to add that in the course of the essay Langer himself notes that Stalin did not invariably subordinate politics to strategy during the war. And just as the Russians did not suspend political activity, neither did other powers such as Britain or Poland—although unlike Russia they lacked the strength to make their interests prevail. Many of Germany's major military decisions, including the decision to invade Russia, were motivated more by political than by strategic considerations—interpreted, to be sure, by a head of state whose willingness to accept the practical limitations of his military instrument decreased throughout the war.

Langer's pragmatic, but in this instance somewhat vague and contradictory analysis may have been influenced by history and by a contemporary factor. Many European statesmen of the age of imperialism did in fact adopt Moltke's view of the supremacy of the military interest while fighting was in progress, if only out of a sense of helplessness in the face of the technological and organizational mysteries of modern war. Nor was this attitude, at least so far as issues among other powers were concerned, wholly unknown to American policy at a time when the Atlantic and Pacific still afforded some security and made it possible for Americans to discount some of the political and territorial anxieties that loomed so large in the thoughts of Europeans and Russians. In this respect, too, Langer's treatment is more document than interpretation; the discussion would have gained if the problems of American policy, and their resolution, had at least been subjected to more rigorous theoretical exploration.

The essay with which Carl Schorske introduces the volume is itself a valuable contribution to our understanding of modern American historiography. Schorske not only discusses the background and content of nearly every article and lecture, identifies some major themes, and places them in Langer's total work, but explores the interaction of Langer's scholarly interests and the events of the past fifty years. His introduction will be widely read in its own right, and its interpretations, in which firmly held theoretical and

ideological attitudes are expressed with unusual intellectual and stylistic refinement, will undoubtedly gain broad acceptance. It was only to be expected that the occasion giving rise to his discussion would affect its tone and argument, as would the fact that the author of *Explorations in Crisis* and his editor are different kinds of historians. In a prefatory note Schorske refers to a divergence of political views, and it may be that his sense of Langer's conservatism made him less appreciative of some of Langer's achievements and, in other respects, also less critical than he might have been as political issues diverted his attention from certain questions of methodology and interpretation while adding to the problems he faced as editor and commentator. But the differences run deeper. It is impossible to ignore the note of dogmatism sounded here and there in the introduction. To give an example: Langer's identification of the "underlying root" of the Russo-Japanese War as "the inability of China and Korea to resist the aggressions of the European states" prompts Schorske to comment: "Langer does not, of course, pursue the sources of Asian weakness by an analysis of Asian society as an international historian would have to do today. Asian civilization and its fate provide him only with moral perspective for the analysis of European power politics, not with dynamic constituents in the historical process as a whole." The key words are "would have to do today." What is their justification? Social history, or the history of society, if competently done, could obviously add to our understanding of the background of the war, and of the war itself, as could the investigation of any number of other aspects—military, intellectual, political, economic—that might also be identified as propelling forces in the historical process. An analysis of Asian society, whether of Chinese weaknesses or the strengths of the Japanese, is not the essential peg without which a modern study of the Russo-Japanese conflict would collapse. In history the necessity to do things in a certain way can apply only to the realm of techniques—the accurate transcription of a document, the appropriate programming of a computer. Some problems may call for a specific approach with its particular methods, though even here the scholar has more choices than is sometimes suggested; other than that, no code or orthodoxy, old or new, determines the manner in which a question is posed and in which it is treated. Langer's essays, it seems to me, reflect this element of freedom; occasionally they lack symmetry, contain inadequacies and contradictions, but they are carried by the one force that, talent apart, is really irreplaceable. His objection to the conventions of much of the diplomatic history written in the interwar period and his advocacy of different approaches express not the vision of a new school, but a pragmatic readiness to experiment and explore. It is not so much a criticism as a description of his work to add that the new elements Langer calls for rarely form an integral part of his own interpretations. As Schorske notes, an essay analyzing Bismarck's account of his editing of the Ems dispatch does not offer a psychological explanation for Bismarck's

Yves Renouard and the Economic History of the Middle Ages

A Review Article by DAVID HERLIHY

YVES RENOUARD. *Études d'histoire médiévale.* In two volumes. Preface by CHARLES-EDMOND PERRIN. (Bibliothèque générale de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études—VI[e] Section.) Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1968. Pp. 644; 654–1138, 98 fr. the set.

Over the past thirty years historians have radically altered their assessment of the social and economic history of the Middle Ages and of the place of that epoch in the growth of Western economy. Textbooks of hardly more than a generation ago confidently described a feudal and manorial system, which allegedly dominated all parts of the medieval world for most periods of its history. Medieval manorialism supposedly persisted until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when it finally gave way before the rise of a money economy, the commercial revolution, and the triumph of the Protestant ethic.

The picture looks much different today. In describing the Middle Ages, most scholars no longer speak of systems; rather, they stress the variety, even the dynamism, of the economic institutions that characterized the medieval world. And they readily admit the importance of trade, towns, and industries in medieval economic life; the commercial revolution of the sixteenth century had had a predecessor, comparable in dimension and importance, five hundred years before.

In bringing historians to this reassessment of the Middle Ages, Italian archives have probably provided the chief stimulus. For if the old formulas had to be applied everywhere with effort, they made no sense at all for a land where towns, trade, and industries had gained such prominence, since at least the twelfth century. Many masters from many countries have contributed to this remarkable efflorescence of Italian studies—Armando Sapori, Gino Luzzatto, Robert Lopez, Raymond de Roover, Federigo Melis, and others. Here, in the *Études d'histoire médiévale,* we have a collection of the works of one of those masters, who for France and for the wide international audience that follows her scholarship, similarly explored the archives of Italy and taught historians to think differently about the Middle Ages.

From his first publication in 1934 until his death in 1965, Yves Renouard

was allowed hardly more than three decades of active scholarship. Over these years he wrote fluently though not prolifically. The bibliography of his writings, published in the *Études,* lists 93 titles and 166 short reviews. The *Études* itself reprints 73 pieces—articles, addresses, and lengthy critical reviews; apart from his several books and editions of documents, it therefore contains the substantial part of his scholarly work. The editors, who are unnamed, have divided the studies into seven large divisions, ranging from "History and Civilizations" to "The Iberian Peninsula." Four of the sections, the heart and substance of the collection, contain studies on commerce, trade routes, businessmen, and the economic role of the Avignon papacy. In a brief preface Charles-Edmond Perrin contributes an appreciation of Renouard's scholarship.

Although not arranged in chronological order, the studies enable the reader to follow rather well Renouard's intellectual growth. He was not closely associated with Lucien Febvre, Marc Bloch, or the so-called "school of the *Annales*"—the men who in the thirties and forties conducted the famous critical attack against French academic history. Although a leading economic historian, he did not publish in the *Annales* until 1948. Temperamentally, he was not given to controversy; serenity, courtesy, even charity are the chief characteristics of his essays and reviews. Moreover, he was not entirely in sympathy with the disparagement of political history—*histoire événementielle*—a characteristic that was and has remained true of the *Annales.* Throughout his life Renouard stressed the importance of a sound knowledge of political events as well as the importance of personalities in history. The *Études* itself contains biographies of the two Simon de Montforts. At the same time he was quite open to the new interests and methods. In going through these pages the reader is struck again and again by the pertinence of the ideas and suggestions he encounters to scholarship today.

Like many medievalists, Yves Renouard as a young scholar focused his attention more earnestly upon a particular set of records than upon a clearly defined set of problems. He studied the archives of the Avignon papacy intensively when, from 1933, he was a member of the Ecole française at Rome. To judge from his first publication he had been concerned initially with the political and institutional history of the papacy in the Avignon period, but with characteristic alertness he soon recognized the value of these archives for economic history. These documents were the basis of his thesis, published in 1942, on the relations of the Avignon papacy with the banking companies of Italy.[1] The novelty of Renouard's work in administrative history was his shift of emphasis from the theoretical functions of the various papal offices to the practical operations of the papal government. He sought to explore, as he says in the *Études,* "the reality, the life, which is usually

1 *Les relations des papes d'Avignon et des compagnies commerciales et bancaires de 1316 à 1378* (Paris, 1942); see also his second thesis, *Recherches sur les compagnies commerciales et bancaires utilisées par les papes d'Avignon avant le Grand Schisme* (Paris, 1942).

covered or masked in the official texts . . ." (p. 815). In the sixth section of this collection, dedicated to "The Avignon Papacy and Commerce," the reader encounters fascinating studies describing how the popes communicated with their distant subjects and agents, how they purchased cloth in Flanders, wine in Burgundy, paid their debts and collected their revenues throughout Europe, or shipped grain to the starving Armenians. He was a pioneer in exploring the methods, costs, and speed of transportation and communication in the Middle Ages and in stressing the role and importance of the papacy and Church in the economic history of the period. Historians have been slow to follow Renouard's lead. The *Cambridge Economic History,* for example, has yet to include a chapter on the papacy in the volumes so far devoted to the Middle Ages. But the economic role of the papacy is clearly too important to be neglected indefinitely, and those who study it will start from the solid foundations Renouard laid.

The Avignon papacy might well be considered a Franco-Italian enterprise; Renouard's early research thus oriented him toward two geographic regions. It was particularly after he was called to the faculty of letters at Bordeaux in 1937 that he paid considerable attention to the history of medieval Aquitaine and to its political, economic, and cultural relationships with England to the north and the Iberian peninsula to the south. Commerce as well as political allegiance tied Aquitaine to England, and in commerce the principal commodity was of course the wine of Gascony. Six articles republished here describe in detail this major branch of medieval commerce that was so important that it led many areas of Gascony to abandon altogether the cultivation of cereals. The great volume of this trade, the high degree of specialization in agriculture it brought in its wake, again showed the inaccuracy of many traditional assessments of the medieval economy—that it was self-sufficient or closed, or handled only petty volumes.

Renouard's concern with both France and Italy led him also to study the routes that joined them, particularly the passages over the Alps. The fifth section of the *Études,* on "Voyages, Routes and Communications," shows Renouard's characteristic taste for concrete facts: How long, for example, did it take to go from Paris to Rome in the thirteenth century? What routes were favored? What did it cost?

Italy was his second great area of interest, and his studies devoted to the Italian economy and society should probably be considered his most influential. With the possible exception of Armando Sapori, Renouard gave us the most rounded picture still available of those he called "les hommes d'affaires italiens," the Italian businessmen, of the Middle Ages. Fifteen articles, about a quarter of this present collection, are concerned with these men, who were also the subject of a well-known book by Renouard.[2] It was not only their methods but their psychology that fascinated Yves Renouard. The portrait he

[2] *Les hommes d'affaires italiens du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1949).

drew of them differed in almost every detail from what Sombart or Weber had assumed about economic man in this supposedly precapitalist age. These businessmen were not petty artisans who wished to work only until they had satisfied their modest needs. Rather, they were men intent upon profit and willing to take high risks to attain it. They were thoroughly rationalistic in their ethics and the true representatives of a "lay and modern" culture. Moreover, they provided the chief audience for the humanists and artists of the Renaissance and thus decisively influenced the character of that cultural revival. It is true that Renouard's picture of his beloved "hommes d'affaires" seems on occasion slightly exaggerated and inconsistent. How could these men be at once "profoundly Christian," as he claims, and willing to flout the traditional Christian laws on usury, as he also claims? His depiction seems wanting in subtlety. On the other hand, he helped successfully to show that in European history, capitalism, in the sense of big business and big businessmen, was not a novelty of the sixteenth century.

In exploring the ties between the social experience and the cultural attitudes of Italy's bankers and merchants, Renouard was pursuing a path that many other historians have followed or are following. In other ways, too, his writings have anticipated the current lively interests of medieval scholarship. Although he began his researches with institutions, Renouard was well aware of the importance of quantitative measurements for the economic history even of the Middle Ages. He tried to assess such matters as the exact modern equivalents for certain medieval measures, the size of ships, the cost of transport, or the number of people living in Aquitaine in the fourteenth century. If his efforts at quantitative history seem limited and not remarkably successful, this reflects only how much progress has been made since his death. He was also one of the first to recognize the importance of the Black Death of 1348–50 in medieval history; he called it "the most important event of the fourteenth century" (p. 143). In his later studies demographic considerations loom large (section 2 of the *Études* is entirely given over to "Demography and Urban History"). Again, if his analysis of the causes and consequences of this catastrophe seem surpassed now, this is only because so many other scholars have been working successfully in the field that he was among the first to enter.

A final and perhaps most remarkable example of Renouard's sense of the direction of research is his comments on the role of the generation in history (pp. 19–40, 67–76). He noted that each generation in human society shares experiences that are closed to those that precede or follow it. It is important for the social historian to recognize these generational differences, which will often mean generational conflicts. Written in the placid fifties, Renouard's words seem to be speaking very much to our own times and interests.

If there is a criticism to be made of Renouard's work, it can only be that he himself did not develop many of the ideas he expressed. His discussion of the generation in history remains abstract, and he did not rigorously apply it

to concrete historical situations. He was not able to accomplish the extensive work he recognized was needed in regard to medieval metrology or the volumes and costs involved in some branches of medieval trade. Even his psychological portrait of the Italian businessman requires retouching. The fault in large measure was his premature death in 1965, which took him from scholarship before his hand and pen could do adequate justice to his mind. Renouard leaves his reader wishing for more. But is that a fault or more truly the mark of a gifted historian?

Reviews of Books

GENERAL

FRED WEINSTEIN and GERALD M. PLATT. *The Wish To Be Free: Society, Psyche, and Value Change.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1969. Pp. viii, 319. $8.50.

The psychological dimensions of history have recently received a certain amount of intelligent attention, though the debate over procedures and proofs in this delicate area of inquiry is by no means so general or so serious as its importance demands. What we need is the full integration of psychology, especially depth psychology, into history, squarely built on the recognition that all history, the science of human beings in the world of the past, is in fact psychological history. We do not yet have this integration: Erik Erikson, the best-known, and the best, practitioner of "psycho-history," whose work has indicated the possibilities of psychological perception in history, has declared himself uneasy at the hyphenated nature of his field.

Clearly we are still some distance from such integration. If it should ever come, this thoughtful little book (typically a collaboration, which seems to be the way of psycho-history these days) may claim to have played its part. *The Wish To Be Free* is an inquiry into the psychological and (not to forget) the sociological conditions for revolutionary change. The main influences at work in the book, used frequently but with a measure of inner freedom, are the writings of Sigmund Freud and Heinz Hartmann, Max Weber and Talcott Parsons. As the authors see it, "all revolutionary changes share a common basis—they originate in the expression of personal fantasy-wishes. The progression is always the same: wishes formerly repressed become conscious, are systematically codified, and lead to social action aimed at fundamental alterations in the values that had served to organize behavior within a social system. And in every case the progression is triggered by structural changes in the system." Such thinking is risky, for by psychologizing revolutions their objective grounds—valid discontents, exploitation, oppression—may be trivialized, explained away. But the authors know this and add: "That change proceeds in this manner does not mean that man's withdrawal from the inherited values of his society must be regarded as in some sense regressive or pathological, or that it cannot represent personal and social development." This caution is important: it shows that the use of psychology in history will not necessarily flatten it out into a meaningless parade of irrational outbursts.

In exploring the "sociology of value change" —the historical moment when long-accepted conduct is questioned and rejected—the authors use two historical examples: the French Enlightenment issuing in the French Revolution, a great struggle for autonomy; and what they call the "introspective revolution" at the turn of this century, a revolution that, in the writings of Proust and Freud, Bergson and James, rediscovered the irrational side of life and discovered the unconscious. Rightly, Weinstein and Platt see these two revolutions in man's way of looking at himself as closely related: "In sociological terms, the Enlightenment and other democratizing movements are related to Freud and his work primarily in the sense that without these earlier movements and the changes initiated by them, what Freud did would be

inconceivable." As I have argued elsewhere, the Enlightenment's recognition of the power of passion made it, indeed, a very direct precursor of Freud; and both the philosophes and and the psychoanalyst opted for the expansion of criticism into all, including the most inconvenient, areas in human life.

As their treatments of the texts and the exhaustive footnotes—unforgivably backnotes here—prove, the authors have read their sources closely and well. Their interpretations of Diderot, of Rousseau, of Robespierre, of Kafka will not offend the specialist. If he will recognize what the book says about them, this is all to the good. It means that these two psychohistorians have respected their material. Even better is their ability to ask old questions in a new, and to my mind, fruitful way.

PETER GAY
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GEORGE LICHTHEIM. *A Short History of Socialism*. New York: Praeger Publishers. 1970. Pp. xi, 362. Cloth $8.95, paper $3.95.

Although any book by George Lichtheim is bound to be worth reading, this latest and most general work leaves the reader somewhat disappointed. The gifted and prolific author of so much work on the history of socialism would seem to be ideally qualified to write a coherent, one-volume survey of the topic. And surely Lichtheim is right in asserting the need for such a volume aimed at undergraduates, for whom the monumental tomes of Cole or Landauer are inappropriate and the older surveys of Laidler, Gray, and MacKenzie are shallow and dated. Lichtheim's book sparkles with an urbane wit, occasionally rises to brilliance, but in the end simply does not meet the need.

The scope is universal enough, extending to include the anarchist and communist traditions as well as socialism in the narrower sense, and to contemporary non-Western versions of socialism as well. Lichtheim's personal commitment to Democratic Socialism does not prevent him from getting inside the other traditions, nor does it save the Fabians and German Social Democrats from a devastatingly critical analysis. The chief flaw of the book lies in its organizational structure, which begins to falter after the excellent initial chapters and then frequently disappears altogether in an unpredictable sequence of digressions, which appear to have been set down in perfect free association. For example, the section entitled "Marxism and Anarchism" opens with some reflections on why the Australian Labour party did not become explicitly socialist. Too many personalities and doctrines are commented on, interpreted, or judged without ever having been introduced or explained. Some inclusions and exclusions seem arbitrary to the point of perverseness: for example, the author passes over the seemingly essential subject of Marx's humanism—"so well known that neither exposition nor comment is necessary" (p. 76)—but sees fit to devote several pages to the early Fabians' preoccupation with ghosts.

Lichtheim is at his best when relating the various currents of socialism to their respective historical contexts. He explains the differences by reference to cultural and ethnic background, degree of economic modernization, the social composition of movements, and accidents of personality—all in a skillful blend that produces some arresting and even brilliant interpretations. But this very wealth of allusion presupposes an extensive prior knowledge that the novice undergraduate is not likely to possess. The book should be more rewarding to the advanced student of socialism, at least if he has the patience to follow the butterfly path of Lichtheim's presentation from one interesting digression to the next.

RICHARD N. HUNT
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G. R. ELTON. *England, 1200–1640*. (The Sources of History: Studies in the Uses of Historical Evidence.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1969. Pp. 255. $6.95.

Professor Elton's book describes the whole range of sources available for the study of English history in the years 1200–1640. It covers not only the records of government but also those of the Church and private individuals, literary sources, and the landscape itself. Graduate students in the early stages of their work will find it an admirable introduction. There is no work of similar range and quality. It is no mere catalogue of sources, since at every stage Professor Elton draws attention to both the opportunities and the dangers presented by the material he is discussing. His

decision to straddle the conventional divisions between medieval and modern is especially commendable. The absence of a bibliography does, however, limit the value of his book. His footnotes draw attention to leading works, but in some cases (see, for example, p. 46) recent specialist work is not mentioned.

It is not surprising that a discussion that spans four and a half centuries should contain errors or doubtful statements. Specialists may feel that the London chronicle tradition deserves more respect than Professor Elton accords it (p. 17). *Quo warranto* proceedings were not "initiated" by a statute of Edward I (p. 119); inquisitions *post mortem* do not deal only with tenants-in-chief (p. 37). Why discuss feet of fines in chapter 5, "Private Materials," and not in chapter 6, "The Law"? Why are manorial accounts and court rolls discussed in separate chapters?

More serious is Professor Elton's anxiety to employ chronological compartments in his concluding chapter. His reassertion of the importance of the 1530s as a dividing point does not add to the value of this book. Indeed, his decision to write about the period from 1200 to 1640 as a whole serves only to increase doubts about this view. Nor will those who work in the sources of the period between the 1340s and the beginning of the sixteenth century accept the view that "all historical description" in it is "less full and more conjectural" than in the preceding century and a half. But none of these criticisms seriously affects the value of a work that is always informative and stimulating.

J. M. W. BEAN
Columbia University

VAN CLEAF BACHMAN. *Peltries or Plantations: The Economic Policies of the Dutch West India Company in New Netherland, 1623–1639.* (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 87th Series [1969], Number 2.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1969. Pp. ix, 183. $7.50.

MICHAEL KAMMEN. *Empire and Interest: The American Colonies and the Politics of Mercantilism.* (Pilotbooks; The Lippincott History Series.) Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1970. Pp. x, 186. Cloth $4.95, paper $2.95.

In both of these studies the authors have undertaken to place a specific part of early American history in the context of European economic and political development. In *Peltries or Plantations* Bachman's intention is to explain why, after a period of vacillation between emphasis on the fur trade and emphasis on agricultural colonization, the Dutch West India Company after 1638 committed itself "to the development of an agricultural colony in North America." In *Empire and Interest* Kammen's purpose is to describe the evolving political role of special interest groups within the First British Empire and the effect of these groups on imperial policies and on Anglo-American relations, particularly in the quarter century immediately preceding the Revolution. If both studies are somewhat less than completely successful, it reflects not so much on the abilities of their authors as it does on the difficulties inherent in such efforts to interrelate American and European developments in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in more than the most general and superficial way.

For Bachman, the problem is one familiar to anyone interested in pre-nineteenth-century economic history: the fragmentary and random nature of the evidence available. In the case of the early years of the Dutch West India Company this problem is particularly acute. As Bachman notes, "Since only a small proportion of the West India Company's records . . . have survived, parts of this study are necessarily of a speculative nature; and it may strike some persons that the argument becomes at times unproductively hypothetical." In fact, the surviving evidence is so scanty that the value of Bachman's whole study rests primarily on his speculative interpretations as to what happened and why. Fortunately, for the most part his speculations are balanced and restrained and convincing, as is his general conclusion "that the depreciated state of New Netherland about 1638 was not the result of neglect, but of a studied attempt to extract a maximum profit from the fur trade in the short run." For myself, I am inclined to think that Bachman makes the divisions between those within the company who were interested in the fur trade and those who were interested in agriculture sharper and more clearly defined than

was the case. He also accepts too readily, to my mind, the idea that successful continuance of the fur trade was "obviously incompatible with large investments in agriculture or any other fixed capital" (the example of New France is a case in point here). But these are matters of personal interpretation and speculation on my part, just as they are on his.

The major weakness of *Peltries or Plantations* is its failure, unavoidable though it may be, to determine effectively the exact relationship between the West India Company's operations in New Netherland and its other enterprises. Here the fragmentary nature of the records, rather than the author, are at fault. Nonetheless, Bachman's inability to uncover the financial and economic relationship of the New Netherland operation to the other company enterprises is a serious limitation in a study whose purpose is to explain why the directors of the company allocated their resources as they did and why they vacillated in their policies toward their North American settlements. In short, the basic question that Bachman set out to explore remains at the end of his study unanswered, and we still know far less than we would like to about the company and the origins of New Netherland.

In *Empire and Interest* Kammen has taken on a much larger assignment. He is concerned not only with the "North American interest" and its role within the British political system but, more generally, with the whole nature of interest groups as such and the position of such groups within the most rapidly evolving economic unit in the Western world in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In this case, the problem is not a lack of material evidence but, rather, the fact that the modern, social-science-based conception of interest groups and their role in society is relatively new and not yet fully developed, even in its application to the contemporary world. Kammen is faced with applying an as yet less than perfect tool to a time period that has never been directly exposed to an analysis of this kind—a sizable, indeed staggering, undertaking.

As Kammen points out, his study is intended as an exploratory essay; its purpose is "to explore and explain the political economy of an empire in terms of its complex and diverse social groups." Accordingly, he has tried "to make it clear from the outset what mercantilism meant to contemporaries, what 'interest' and 'interests' meant to the eighteenth-century mind, and what 'interest group' means to the modern political scientist." He is concerned specifically with the "pervasive activity of interest groups in domestic and imperial politics" and with what "the changing relationship between these elements" tells us about the origin of the Revolution. His conclusions are that interest groups of various kinds gradually became more cohesive and effective in British politics up to 1750, that after 1750 economic conditions for a time led to dramatic changes in the composition and activities of the interest groups, with fateful consequences for the stability of the political scene in England, as well as for the course of Anglo-American relations. After 1783, Kammen suggests, a further fundamental change occurred and, while the "interests remained active . . . [the] government regained the initiative and decisive control over policy."

In any such far-ranging study there are certain to be points of disagreement or debate. It is not always easy in such an undertaking to know how much general background information needs to be included, but Kammen devotes more space to recounting generally known chronological and narrative information than seems necessary, which not only lowers the level of the discussion but leaves less time than he needs to deal adequately with the complex questions he raises concerning the nature and role of interest groups. More specifically, I am not personally convinced that the changes in the character and role of the interest groups after 1750 were as dramatic as Kammen argues. Nor am I convinced that the evolution of imperial policies after 1763 owed as much to the activities of the special interest groups as he implies. Most of all, Kammen's assumption that there was such a thing as "the American interest" is open to very serious question. One of the sources of weakness encountered by American representatives in England was the very fact that American interests, even those actually represented in London, were so diverse and incoherent that united action was not very often possible. There were indeed certain men and groups in England who had an interest in

America; but that is something very different from the "American interest" Kammen seems to have in mind, and that difference is directly relevant to the movement of the colonies away from their imperial connection to England.

Such reservations aside, *Empire and Interest* represents a stimulating and intriguing suggestion of what is to come. Obviously, the new and sophisticated concepts currently being evolved in the fields of sociology and social science increasingly will be applied to problems relating to early American development. Realistically, however, both Kammen's and Bachman's studies, in their very different ways, indicate the frustrations and problems students interested in utilizing these techniques and concepts in their efforts to relate American development to European events can expect to encounter. As Bachman's work illustrates, the material evidence surviving is frequently inadequate to support anything more than very tentative and speculative conclusions. And as Kammen's study indicates, the new concepts and tools are useful in suggesting new approaches, but adapting them to the existing levels of historical scholarship and knowledge is a very difficult assignment indeed—one that it may take a whole generation of scholars to implement successfully and permanently.

THOMAS C. BARROW
Clark University

DANIEL E. BARBEY. *MacArthur's Amphibious Navy: Seventh Amphibious Force Operations, 1943–1945*. Annapolis: United States Naval Institute. 1969. Pp. xv, 375. $12.50.

JOHN WINTON. *The Forgotten Fleet: The British Navy in the Pacific, 1944–1945*. New York: Coward-McCann. 1970. Pp. 433. $8.95.

Both books are a definite contribution to the history of World War II; the first as a straightforward, firsthand account by an important participant, the other as a superb piece of historical research and writing. The volumes, roughly co-extensive in coverage of the war in the Pacific, are welcome additions to all naval library shelves. Both are a delight with their modern and logical rendering of dates in day-month-year order.

Naval historian Samuel Eliot Morison said that "Uncle Dan the Amphibious Man" Barbey's appointment as Commander Amphibious Force Southwest Pacific was the navy's Christmas gift to General MacArthur in 1942. Yea verily, for without this amphibious support MacArthur's troops could never have carried the war to the Japanese. Barbey's book relates the story of how American naval forces were developed to move combat troops northward from Australia starting in December 1942. We see the development of new amphibious techniques and the planning of land operations starting with Woodlark and Kiriwina on June 30, 1943. The story carries through the rest of the war and continues on to include the American occupation of Korea and China.

The telling is warmly personal, informative, and—except for the author's gauge of General MacArthur—carefully measured. Barbey's faith in his commanding officer—"he was a man of destiny and there was no need to take precautions"—remained firm even after observing that his hero had prepared the Admiralty Islands invasion communiqué *before* the landings took place. The author's closest expression of doubt is in reference to the near disaster at Los Negros, when he says, "Looking backward, I have often wondered if MacArthur ever questioned his own judgment in this matter." Less faithful observers had no cause even to wonder.

The author's devotion to his amphibious force is proudly and properly placed; his story is well told and illustrated. Appendixes give plans and specifications of the principal landing craft employed in the Pacific, and statistics on the activities of the Seventh Amphibious Force from June 30, 1943, to July 1, 1945. These are useful, but they could have been better presented. Other minor editorial inconsistencies do not mar the overall value of the book as an honest account of the crucially important Seventh Amphibious Force operations in the Pacific by the man who commanded them.

Readers of my recent article on the Okinawan campaign properly took me to task for having omitted the contribution of the British navy. In partial self-exculpation, I am pleased to review John Winton's splendid work in which he does justice to the role of the British navy in the Pacific during World War II.

The dust jacket of this excellent book says that its naval-expert author "has added a vital, little-known, and fascinating chapter to the annals of World War II history. Comprehensive and exhaustively researched, this definitive work sets the record straight and, belatedly, gives credit where it is due." Reviewers usually ignore such blurbs as fabric of the promotion department, but this one is completely accurate. The book is a delight for its thoroughness, clarity, graceful readability, and almost totally detached appraisal of the British navy's part in World War II in the Pacific, never before properly covered within one volume.

Background material and historical perspective are cogently provided whenever necessary to the setting. Conclusions are fair and considered, even to acknowledging the validity of American complaints against British comrades in arms.

A brief but helpful chronology paces events of the three Pacific Ocean areas for the last year of the war. Appendixes list the full composition of the British Pacific Fleet and East Indies Fleet, and provide the tonnage of Japanese shipping sunk by British and Netherlands submarines in the Far East.

ROGER PINEAU
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R. W. THOMPSON. *Montgomery: The Field Marshal. The Campaign in North-West Europe, 1944/45.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1969. Pp. 344. $8.95.

R. W. Thompson, a British war correspondent best known for his analysis of Winston Churchill as a "Yankee Marlborough," has now taken on the redoubtable Field Marshal Sir Bernard Law Montgomery, Britain's acknowledged champion following the long-awaited victory at El Alamein. Monty's flamboyant personality has evoked as much controversy as that of his fellow Irishman and particular rival, George S. Patton. Notwithstanding Eisenhower's lack of enthusiasm for him, Montgomery was appointed to an essentially aggressive role as the initial Allied ground commander in Normandy, and Thompson sustains the customary criticism that he was far from his best on the offensive, especially in the poorly managed attempt to outflank the Siegfried line at Arnhem.

On the other hand, Thompson vigorously defends Montgomery's conduct of the attrition battle in Normandy, including his much-debated failure to close the trap on the German Seventh Army at Falaise. Although Thompson makes a good case for Montgomery here, his strictures on Eisenhower's loose control of the subsequent Allied pursuit fail to do full justice to Eisenhower's ardent support by his numerous British subordinates in SHAEF in these arguments within Montgomery. In fact Montgomery does not seem to have considered Eisenhower his superior at all. He preferred to complicate still further an already vastly overweighted command structure by reporting readily only to his equally prickly patron in London, the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, Sir Alan Brooke. Under these circumstances it was only the catharsis of victory, as well as what Thompson at times grants was Eisenhower's immense forbearance, that prevented worse rows and misunderstandings than those that ensued.

If Thompson has firmly grasped the principal actors of this drama, often from personal observation at the time, he is not on nearly such sure ground in his portraits of such Americans as Bradley, Gavin, or Ridgway. Finally, his understanding of American policy reflects the usual British belief in American obtuseness whenever the latter ventured to disagree with British national interests. An adequate bibliography is embellished with good photographs and index, but poor maps.

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LLOYD C. GARDNER, ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR., and HANS J. MORGENTHAU. *The Origins of the Cold War.* (The American Forum Series.) Waltham, Mass.: Ginn-Blaisdell. 1970. Pp. xiii, 122. $2.25.

HEINRICH BODENSIECK. *Provozierte Teilung Europas? Die britisch-nordamerikanische Regionalismus-Diskussion und die Vorgeschichte des Kalten Krieges 1939–1945.* Opladen: Leske Verlag. 1970. Pp. 119. DM 9.80.

The most outstanding characteristic of these

two paperbacks is the fact that all four authors give widely divergent explanations of the origin of the cold war. In some instances they cite the same sources to prove conflicting interpretations. One thing they have in common, however, is an inability to find any Soviet documentation worth citing on this subject. It is always a pleasure to find the State Department's sharpest critics referring to *Foreign Relations of the United States* to prove a revisionist point.

Editors Hutmacher and Susman had a good idea in bringing together the three contrasting articles by Gardner, Schlesinger, and Morgenthau. Equally inspired was the idea of getting each of these authors to read the other two pieces and to write rejoinders. To this lively mix the editors have added a useful introduction summarizing trends and titles in the historiographic battle over the cold war. The result is a very useful little paperback, well worth adding to the reading list of students in modern diplomatic history and international relations.

The editors tell us that the three essays—presented in the order of Gardner, Schlesinger, Morgenthau—represent the New Left, the liberal establishment, and the "middle point." To put it more bluntly: Gardner feels that the United States was mostly at fault in causing the cold war; Schlesinger blames the Soviet Union primarily; while Morgenthau holds them both guilty in their separate ways: the Russians for being aggressively tough and the Americans for being stupidly idealistic. Gardner writes in young anger; Schlesinger in mellow sorrow; Morgenthau with an air of I-told-you-so.

The Schlesinger article should have been put first in the collection for two good reasons: (1) It was written in 1967 for publication in *Foreign Affairs,* whereas the other two articles, and all three rejoinders, were written in 1970 especially for this paperback. Chronology is, as always, meaningful. (2) The Schlesinger piece is the thesis against which both Gardner and Morgenthau are presenting antitheses. The younger student in particular will not understand what Gardner is all about until after he has digested the basic Schlesinger statement.

In the rejoinders, Schlesinger and Morgenthau—an odd couple—find themselves in a strange alliance when confronting Gardner's iconoclasm. So we find Schlesinger cutting through to reality with the barbed query: "Did Stalin really do so little in these years to arouse legitimate apprehensions in the West?" while Morgenthau, obviously irritated, lashes out with the flat statement that "there is no historical evidence whatsoever for the revisionist proposition that the United States used this [atomic bomb] monopoly as a weapon in the Cold War against the Soviet Union."

Gardner's best points are those in which he shows up the self-serving aspects of some Western proposals and actions that have been customarily described in self-righteous terms, particularly in the memoirs of eminent American and British cold warriors. This is all to the good, and out of all this should come in due course a synthesis that most of us can live with.

The Bodensieck monograph takes a revisionist line that is novel, to say the least. The author's contention is that the various plans for European regional organization or federations that were advanced in the United States and Great Britain after World War I and particularly during the years 1939–45 scared the Russians, who assumed that any or all such groupings would be anti-Soviet in fact if not in name. Thus provoked, the Soviet Union pushed in 1945 to establish its own *cordon sanitaire* as far west as possible. And that, you see, is how Germany and Europe came to be divided. Bodensieck cites almost no official sources or even authoritative memoirs that might have demonstrated how much effect this whole public discussion had on official policy in the West or how seriously the Russians really took it. At least the author did put a question mark after the title.

WILLIAM M. FRANKLIN
Department of State

WILLIAM J. BOSCH. *Judgment on Nuremberg: American Attitudes toward the Major German War-Crime Trials.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1970. Pp. vi, 272. $9.75.

Recent attempts to apply the principles and precedents of the Nuremberg war-crimes trials in order to judge American actions in Viet-

nam make this a timely book. It is also valuable because it classifies, interprets, and analyzes the extensive American literature on the Nuremberg trials. Although it is restricted to the trials of the major war criminals and to the four power court, the book is more informative on American opinion than its earlier counterpart is for Germany: Wilbourn E. Benton and Georg Grimm, *Nuremberg: German Views of War Trials* (Dallas, 1955).

Each of the book's nine chapters is devoted to a discussion of a particular group's views on four controversial issues: the legality of the tribunal, the composition of the court, the justice of the verdicts, and the effects of the trials for the future. The groups whose opinions are surveyed are American policy makers, international lawyers, Congress, the American public, men of God, American lawyers, historians and foreign affairs writers, the military, and behavioral scientists.

Bosch concentrates on individuals to show the variety and diversity of opinion on the four issues within each of the nine groups he has selected. But he finds, in the balance, that eight of the groups reveal a general acceptance of the war-crimes trials. The ratio of acceptance to condemnation or serious objection he concludes to have been about three to one. Historians and writers on foreign affairs disapproved of the trials, however, also in a ratio of about three to one. Bosch attributes this difference to their dominant creed of realism, a conclusion he reaches after an analysis that he did not apply to any of the other groups in the book.

The book's organization into nine units, each dealing essentially with the same issues and topics, naturally results in repetition. The chapter on the military is perhaps the most interesting one. It discusses, among other things, the implications of the Nuremberg trials for the Truman-MacArthur controversy, the North Vietnamese threat to try American prisoners of war, and the Stockholm war-crimes trial of May 1967.

The bibliography is excellent, and the index is complete.

JOHN GIMBEL
Humboldt State College

ANCIENT

FRANK M. SNOWDEN, JR. *Blacks in Antiquity: Ethiopians in the Greco-Roman Experience.* Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1970. Pp. xxiv, 364. $12.50.

Professor Snowden, chairman of the department of classics at Howard University, has collected much material and many references about "blacks" in antiquity. The title is timely; in the text, when dealing with the archeological evidence, he talks mostly of "Negroes"; when dealing with the literary evidence, he speaks of "Ethiopians," using the term in its ancient sense to refer to the dark-skinned natives of Africa (as distinct from those of Elam, southern India, and elsewhere).

The evidence is treated topically. The first two chapters deal with the physical characteristics of Ethiopians, and an appendix discusses their names. The third chapter deals in general with Greco-Roman knowledge of Ethiopians, the fourth and fifth with military encounters, the sixth with Ethiopians in classical mythology, and the seventh with those in the theater and amphitheater. Finally two chapters discuss the Greco-Roman and early Christian attitudes toward Ethiopians, and a summary concludes the book. The text is supported by 101 pages of illustrations (uneven in quality and inconveniently divided into two sections), 10 pages of notes on the illustrations, 83 pages of notes on the text, and two full indexes (one of names and subjects, one of sources).

The utility of this material is not seriously diminished by a sprinkling of minor slips in historical statements and descriptions. More serious is the author's determination to prove two unlikely theses.

The first of these theses is that "the Ethiopian was no rarity among classical peoples" (p. 217). To prove this Snowden has included a lot of doubtful evidence, much of it on the plea that because Ethiopians are commonly referred to as black, "adjectives denoting black, even in the absence of other evidence, must have indicated Ethiopian extraction" (p. 5).

(In classical usage the term "black," in reference to persons, often means "of dark complexion" or "dark-haired.") In dealing with archeological objects he often fails to notice that they are examples of types; while the creation of the type may prove Greek observation of Negroes (or may not—some types came from ancient Egypt, the repetition proves only observation of the type. Typical, too, are a number of the artistic conventions here adduced as evidence, notably those to represent curly hair, whether of whites or Negroes. Similarly, in using literary evidence, little attention is paid to the differences between mythological material, history, and romantic narrative; anything from Homer to Heliodorus is apt to be cited at face value. Correction of these faults in method would somewhat diminish the evidence and considerably change its evaluation: it suggests that in the Greco-Roman world Negroes were not extremely rare, but were sufficiently uncommon to interest both artists and the public as exotic types.

The second thesis is that the classical peoples in general had no prejudice against Negroes (though the color black was commonly thought both ugly and unlucky). Defense of this not only entails neglect of the many uses of Negroid figures as apotropaic or grotesque—those not omitted are otherwise "explained" without attention to type—but also the use, as evidence that no prejudice existed, of passages that attack the prejudice. A favorite proof text is Menander's passionate argument (ed. Koerte-Thierfelder, fr. 612) that a good man, even though an Ethiopian, is noble. And the proposition that to early Christians "color was inconsequential," is supported by Gregory of Nyssa's statement that in the heavenly Jerusalem Ethiopians will become white (p. 205; and see Gregory [ed. Jaerger-Langerbeck, 6: 49]). One of the important achievements of the ancient world was to produce some men who rose above its prejudice.

MORTON SMITH
Columbia University

MEDIEVAL

MARJORIE REEVES. *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1969. Pp. xiv, 574. $14.00.

At the end of the twelfth century the Calabrian abbot Joachim of Flora propounded his theory of the three "states" of history, which were to culminate in a coming age of the Holy Spirit. From then onward his prophecies continued to fascinate medieval reformers and would-be revolutionaries. In this fine work of synthesis Marjorie Reeves has brought together the fruits of her thirty years of work on Joachim and his followers.

The book is divided into four main sections —"The Reputation of the Abbot Joachim," "The New Spiritual Men," "Antichrist and the Last World Emperor," and "Angelic Pope and *Renovatio Mundi*." Each section is subdivided into chapters, which are arranged chronologically. This pattern of organization makes the book hard to use at times. There is, for instance, no single section of it that deals systematically with Joachim's thought as a whole. Often one has to turn to several different, widely scattered chapters to find all the author has to say on a particular point. But, in one place or another, all the major themes are taken up and all the important problems explored. No other modern work attempts such a thorough review of the whole Joachimite tradition. The author also provides a good guide to the extensive scholarly literature on Joachimism and discerning evaluations of the major modern contributions. One would have welcomed, however, some consideration of Ratzinger's *Geschichtstheologie des Heiligen Bonaventura* (1959) in the discussion of Franciscan Joachimism.

A most valuable feature of the book is the author's detailed demonstration of how Joachim's influence outlasted the Middle Ages and lived on in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Protestants found new applications for the prophecies concerning the coming Antichrist and antipope. On the other hand some sixteenth-century Jesuits were as willing as the thirteenth-century Franciscans had been

to see the advent of their order foretold in Joachim's writings. And Renaissance humanists associated their own dreams of a *renovatio mundi* with Joachim's prophecies of a coming "third age." This last point leads the author to a series of concluding reflections on medieval and Renaissance views of history. The medieval Joachimite tradition was essentially optimistic in that it foresaw an ultimate triumph of righteousness within the framework of human history. Miss Reeves comments on this motif of optimism: "This unites the medieval and Renaissance periods in an unexpected way. . . . Humanist hopes fastened eagerly on medieval symbols of the Golden Age and in a quite extraordinary way the new discoveries, new learning, new printing, new religious orders fell into the pattern as fulfilments of old expectations and portents of the new age dawning. Nowhere perhaps are medieval and humanist thought so closely linked as in this view of history." Altogether this is a fascinating and very valuable book.

BRIAN TIERNEY
Cornell University

LUDO MILIS. *L'ordre des chanoines reguliers d'Arrouaise: Son histoire et son organisation, de la fondation de l'abbaye-mère (vers 1090) à la fin des chapitres annuels (1471).* Volume 1, *Texte;* Volume 2, *Cartes* (Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, Werken uitgegeven door de Faculteit van de Letteren en Wijsbegeerte, Number 147.) Bruges: "De Tempel." 1969. Pp. 652; 17 maps.

The Gregorian reform in general and the monastic reforms in particular have received a good deal of attention, even though not yet as much as their fundamental importance warrants. The canons regular, however, constitute a still largely neglected aspect of these crucial reforming movements. Except for the Premonstratensians (mainly because they survived the disasters of the French Revolution), the canonical movement—its history and its effects on history—has received the attention of only a small group of specialists, of whom C. Dereine, J. C. Dickinson, C. Giroud, and J. Siegwart are probably the most outstanding. The important Augustinian congregation of Arrouaise in particular has not received the thorough study it deserves since the publication in 1786 of the work of Dom Gosse, the last prior of the abbey. The appearance of the present work admirably fills this lacuna.

The introductory bibliography of some fifty pages and the discussion of the sources, both printed and manuscript, constitute in themselves a significant contribution to the study of the abbey and its congregation. The author then proceeds to examine the foundation of the hermitage in the Forest of Arrouaise (along the southern border of the County of Artois) in the religious climate of the late eleventh century and its growth into a community of canons regular, into an abbey, and finally into the mother house of the congregation. After examining the initial history of the abbey of Arrouaise in its critical formative period to the end of the twelfth century, the book presents the history of the growth of the congregation of Arrouaise. It examines in detail the expansion of the congregation in its central region, France and the Low Countries, and then progresses geographically toward the periphery: England, Scotland, Ireland, and Poland. The last two chapters present the organization and internal life of both the whole congregation in general and the individual abbeys in particular.

The book is the French translation of the author's doctoral thesis, "De orde der reguliere kanunniken van Arrouaise," submitted to the University of Ghent in 1967. As a thesis it is little short of overwhelming; as a major contribution to an important and much neglected aspect of medieval ecclesiastical history it is excellent: thoroughly researched, clearly presented, copiously documented, precise in its abundant details, and conservative in its general conclusions.

J. BRÜCKMANN
York University

V. T. PASHUTO. *Vneshniaia Politika Drevnei Rusi* [The Foreign Policy of Ancient Rus']. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1968. Pp. 471.

V. T. Pashuto's new book describes in extraordinary detail the foreign policy of Kievan Rus from the tenth to the mid-thirteenth century. It is a masterful work that presents,

one after another, virtually every fact that can be found on the subject in Russian and foreign sources. It has an index of personal and geographical names that exceeds sixty pages, a bibliography of fifty pages, and another fifty pages of footnotes.

The major fault of the book as a specimen of historical literature is the crudeness of its general interpretive scheme. Few would deny that Kievan Rus was a power of great importance in international affairs, that it dominated the eastern extremity of Europe, and that it was a valuable ally as well as an imposing foe. But to assume, as does Pashuto, that there was a Russian nation that had a self-evident historical destiny and to which the people of the region owed allegiance is to permit one's patriotic sensibilities to overcome one's historical judgment, particularly when the nation the author has in mind is an embryonic USSR, with all its non-Slav elements. Only in the eleventh century did there exist a semblance of unity in the Kievan realm. From the late eleventh century to the mid-thirteenth century, when the land was conquered by the Mongols, the country was in a condition of what Pashuto accurately terms "feudal fragmentation." During this period there was no reason for the several princes and governments to feel guilty or unpatriotic when they sought their own advantage in relations with "foreign" powers, for they fought among themselves as did the other states of Europe. Kievan Rus was no more a nation than was the Holy Roman Empire.

Despite this interpretive flaw, Pashuto's encyclopedic study should certainly become a standard reference work of early Russian foreign relations.

THOMAS ESPER
Case Western Reserve University

MODERN EUROPE

O. V. ORLIK. *Rossiia i Frantsuzskaia Revoliutsiia 1830 goda.* [Russia and the French Revolution of 1830]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Mysl'." 1968. Pp. 213.

Franco Venturi, Martin Malia, and other Western historians have called attention to the importance of the events of 1830 to the Russian revolutionary movement, but Soviet historians, preoccupied by the Decembrist revolt of 1825, have generally failed to assess adequately the role of outside influences. Olga Orlik, in a book authorized for publication in July 1968, attempts to balance the Soviet perspective by stressing the impact upon Russia of the July Revolution in France.

Excerpts from letters, diaries, and censored articles in Soviet archives support the author's conclusion that information about developments in France, despite the efforts of the Third Section and official censors, was rapidly disseminated throughout Russia in regular periodicals and by "irregular means"—by diplomats, merchants, and journalists. These sources were augmented by the impressions of observers such as N. D. Kiselev, secretary of the Russian embassy in Paris, and A. I. Turgenev, brother of a self-exiled Decembrist, and of those Russians—Kologrivov, Kir'iakov, and Poltoratskii—who actually participated in revolutionary activities in France.

The July Revolution, according to Orlik, separated liberals from radicals. By directing attention to contemporary French social thinkers, particularly to Saint-Simon and Fourier, the events of 1830 revived a nearly lost faith in the purpose of revolution for a new generation of radical intelligentsia that included Herzen, Belinsky, Bakunin, and Stankevich. The degree of radicalism inspired by 1830 may be debated, and even less convincing is the author's claim that the Russian intelligentsia, from an analysis of Paris in 1830, "dared to understand the great role of the people in revolution." Orlik's failure to assess the relative influence of events in Poland weakens her interesting thesis that the reaction of the Russian government to what happened in France led to the formulation of Uvarov's "official nationality."

NORMAN E. SAUL
University of Kansas

GIULIANO PROCACCI, editor. *Le relazioni diplomatiche fra lo Stato Pontificio e la Francia.* Second Series: 1830–1848. Volume 3 *(8 gennaio*

1834–31 dicembre 1838). [Documenti per la storia delle relazioni diplomatiche fra le Grandi Potenze Europee e gli Stati Italiani 1814–1860. Part 1, Documenti italiani. Fonti per la Storia d'Italia.] Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1969. Pp. x, 483. L. 5,500.

As in public events in general so also it happens in a long series of state documents that there comes, now and then, a period of quiet with only minor incidents demanding attention. Such a lull characterizes the period 1834–38 in this third volume of Franco-Vatican relations. The editor of these volumes, Giuliano Procacci, cannot omit these unexciting years, but, as he says, he has made a more rigid selection and a wider spacing of those documents reproduced here. In spite of these economies this volume contains 465 pages and 251 documents of correspondence between the papal nuncio in Paris and the papal cardinal secretary of state. A mention of a few of the questions in those years will bear out their relative insignificance: the French withdrawal from Ancona, the Church's condemnation of Lamennais, the opposition to the reduction of French bishoprics, the radical uprisings in Paris and Lyons, the attempted assassinations of Louis-Philippe, French ministerial changes, Talleyrand's deathbed reconciliation with the Church, Carlist revolts in Spain, and the feud between Louis-Philippe and Archbishop Quelen of Paris. In these documents, it will be noted, is material for ecclesiastical as well as diplomatic history. For biographical studies there is material here concerning Louis-Philippe, Louis-Napoleon, Broglie, Guizot, Lamennais, Molé, Talleyrand, Thiers, and Quelen. Typical of Louis-Philippe's unobtrusive foreign policy was the papal chargé's report (p. 199): "The king's system is obvious and notorious: he not only does not want war, but not even, if possible, dissensions or disagreements with other powers." In great-power diplomacy quite often the correspondence of the diplomats of small states such as Belgium and Switzerland gives the historian an impartial and discerning account of events. Unfortunately the Vatican correspondence cannot boast of such impartiality, and thus its usefulness is to some extent diminished.

Once more, only praise can be given for Signor Procacci's selections, editing, and inventories—a fine addition to a scholarly series.

LYNN M. CASE
University of Pennsylvania

ALFRED W. TURNEY. *Disaster at Moscow: Von Bock's Campaigns, 1941–1942.* [Albuquerque:] University of New Mexico Press. 1970. Pp. xvii, 288. $6.95.

The subtitle of this short volume is more indicative of its scope than is the title. Over half of the book is devoted to Marshal Fedor von Bock's command of the German Army Group Center during the summer and autumn of 1941 when the principal geographic objective was the capture of Moscow. But the work also treats his earlier professional career at some length and briefly discusses his command of the Army Group South during the winter and spring of 1942.

On the other hand, the discussion of the Moscow campaign is far from definitive. The basic sources are Bock's *Kriegstagebuch* (operational journal) and the voluminous operational journals of the two army groups he commanded. These unpublished documents comprehensively record Bock's own conceptions and his relations with his subordinates. Extensive use of Franz Halder's famous published operational journal illuminates Bock's relations with the general staff and Hitler. Interviews (conducted during the author's earlier career as an American army officer) enhance the realism of the descriptions and occasionally provide important information on operations.

It is not surprising that in a work of this scope the immense documentary material available for lower echelons of Bock's command could not be utilized, or that the author was able to use only a few of the older Soviet treatments of the campaign. Probably the book was finished before Seweryn Bialer's magnificent annotated selection from Soviet histories, memoirs, and military periodicals appeared (*Stalin and His Generals* [1969]). This is regrettable, for Bialer's material would have enabled the author to correct some of the self-serving observations and exculpations presented both in contemporary German documents and in the relatively few postwar German treatments he utilizes. Even more regrettable is

the fact that he did not use two of the principal English-language treatments of important aspects of the campaign—chapter 18 of John Erickson, *The Soviet High Command* (1962) and Leon Goure and Herbert S. Dinerstein, *Moscow in Crisis* (published together with *Communism and the Russian Peasant* [1955]). These works would have helped avoid the drastically oversimplified treatment (and occasional factual blunders) in the peripheral discussion of German military-civil relations. The main theme, however—a critical military episode as seen by the German field commander—is very well presented. The author's unusual combination of professional military expertise with the skills of a professional historian gives his analysis of specifically military developments a depth and sureness that a civilian historian would be hard put to attain.

JOHN A. ARMSTRONG
University of Wisconsin, Madison

JOSEF SCHRÖDER. *Italiens Kriegsaustritt 1943. Die deutschen Gegenmassnahmen im italienischen Raum: Fall "Alarich" und "Achse."* (Studien und Dokumente zur Geschichte des zweiten Weltkrieges, Number 10.) Göttingen: Musterschmidt-Verlag. 1969. Pp. 412. DM 72.

This monograph is based on exhaustive research in German documents and sources, on extensive reading in the Allied literature, and on a fair coverage of Italian published materials. Schröder did not have access to Allied archival materials; he did not use the Italian military documents that since 1967 have been available at the National Archives (Microcopy T-821). His narrative and interpretations reflect the strength and weaknesses of his research. Thus the account of the Taylor-Gardiner mission to Rome on the eve of the attack at Salerno, based as it is on Italian memoirs of the immediate postwar period, is woefully inaccurate. The author disregards the careful reconstruction of these events in *Sicily and the Surrender of Italy* (Washington, 1965), which I prepared with Lt. Col. Albert N. Garland for the U.S. Army's official series on World War II. Yet he cites this work from time to time. The elaborate and systematic bibliography and long lists of titles in the footnotes give the impression of great erudition, but is any weight of proof added if the several secondary works all go back to one common source?

The author intentionally restricted himself to the Italian theater, thus excluding German operations against Italian forces in the Balkans after September 8, 1943. Undoubtedly he has given the most thorough account in any language of the German countermeasures, Alarich and Achse. Countermeasures against what? "The German high command," he asserts, "had instinctively foreseen Italy's capitulation, and within a very short time had introduced a number of appropriate measures." But Italy's course after July 25 was not a direct line to unilateral surrender. Considerable evidence for Badoglio's efforts to gain Hitler's understanding for Italy's plight and his assent to her withdrawal from the war is presented in the memoirs of Von Rintelen and Von Plehwe, but this evidence is not considered by Schröder.

Not without justification Schröder characterizes the Allied campaigns in Sicily and Italy as methodical, cautious, and slow, so that real opportunities were missed. But what of the Germans? In the conclusions their operations and plans for coping with Italian surrender are praised as highly efficient and successful. On the other hand their preparations against Italian "treason" tended to drive Italy into surrender to the Allies. In concentrating their preparations against the Italian armed forces, they built up two armies in echelon in the Peninsula, with Rommel's divisions in the north forbidden to cross the line of the northern Apennines. Two overstrength Panzer divisions stood idle in the north while the German Tenth Army fought in vain to prevent the Allied landing at Salerno.

HOWARD MCGAW SMYTH
Historical Office, Department of State

WALTER C. RICHARDSON. *Mary Tudor: The White Queen.* Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1970. Pp. xvi, 328. $10.00.

Mary Tudor is known to history through a single, almost implausibly romantic appearance: this beautiful and lively girl, the favorite sister of Henry VIII, was sent to be the bride of a decrepit and declining king of France. When he died after less than three months

of marriage, his widow made a quick love-match, at the risk of her favor, her fortune, and possibly her neck, with a handsome but base-born courtier. What Professor Richardson's careful biography indicates is that there is not really a lot more worth knowing about Mary. Mr. Richardson is able to remove the gaudier embellishments that Mary's story acquired through contemporary gossip or more recent sentimentality: at the age of eighteen or nineteen, she cannot be called a child-bride, and there is no indication that she was especially reluctant to marry Louis XII. For him the marriage was not a piece of senile folly; it offered him a last hope for producing an heir to his throne, not an impossible dream for a man in his early fifties, and it guaranteed a diplomatic arrangement with England. Whether Louis' death was brought on by his exertions in the marriage bed remains mercifully uncertain, but it is known that he was already broken in health. Finally, there is no real evidence that Mary had anything more than a casual acquaintance with the Duke of Suffolk before the French episode. She had extracted from Henry VIII, a promise that she would be able to pick her next spouse herself—a promise that Henry would surely have broken if his interests suggested it—but the notion that she and Suffolk had already been lovers is now seen as both unprovable and improbable.

Unfortunately for her biographer, Mary made very little impact upon her age. She was simply a conspicuously placed woman around whom things happened. The French marriage and the alliance it cemented had no lasting consequences. Mary had no influence on either English or French policy; she was not a patron of arts or learning; she had no involvement in the great religious issues; she left no body of correspondence that could illuminate politics or behavior. Lacking anything better with which to deal, her biographer is forced to fall back on accounts of events in which Mary was a more or less passive participant. The result is less a biography than a description of the details of Tudor court life. Mr. Richardson is a man of enormous learning and gives us much that has intrinsic interest: precise narratives of marriage negotiations, contemporary speculations as to ideals of feminine beauty, meticulous descriptions of the costumes and the court ceremonies the Tudors loved, an elaborate summary of the piece of Renaissance mummery known as the Field of the Cloth of Gold. When Richardson occupies himself with these matters, Mary nearly disappears; alternatively, when he focuses on Mary's private life so that the biography may be carried forward, nothing very substantial or important seems to emerge. He has done his work with great care and has written the most thorough life of the "White Queen" we can ever expect. That having been said, Mary remains "a minor Tudor character," in the words of the preface, and one wonders if the game was worth the candle.

R. W. KENNY
George Washington University

PAUL S. SEAVER. *The Puritan Lectureships: The Politics of Religious Dissent, 1560–1662*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1970. Pp. ix, 402. $12.50.

JOHN F. WILSON. *Pulpit in Parliament: Puritanism During the English Civil Wars, 1640–1648*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1969. Pp. x, 289. $10.00.

WILLIAM M. LAMONT. *Godly Rule: Politics and Religion, 1603–60*. [New York:] St. Martin's Press. 1969. Pp. 200. $5.95.

These three good books have to do in one way or another with Puritanism, a venerable but increasingly elusive area of inquiry. Seaver studies the institution established in the time of Queen Elizabeth I to answer the demand of English Protestants for more sermons. He believes that this investigation is "one way to assess the impact of the rather amorphous Puritan movement on English society." Seaver's and Wilson's books are to some extent complementary. While Wilson emphasized the sermons preached to the Long Parliament, Seaver, who studied the lives and careers of the lecturers themselves, did most of his manuscript work on the seven hundred lecturers who are known to have been in London. For good reasons lectureships were of crucial importance in the capital, for around seventy per cent of the regular pulpits there were controlled by Church and Crown, compared to one estimate for the whole country in 1604 of five-sixths being in lay hands. Seaver forces us to

think in detail about lay ambitions toward the Church in prerevolutionary England. He says in ten or so different ways that "if the history of the lectureships demonstrates anything, it is the existence of a powerful drive among the laity to control the Church, at least at the parochial level. This thrust was not unrelated to Puritanism as such, since the latter justified and gave confidence to the godly laity, but the drive for control was perhaps even more fundamental." I am led, indeed, to believe that this thesis of lay ambition or anticlericalism came to have more importance in Seaver's mind than his earlier notion of connecting the lectureships with Puritanism. When Seaver examined the London lectureships on his own, he found that the Puritans did not hold a majority of the posts on an annual basis except before 1580 and after 1640. In total numbers they did a little better. Of the seven hundred London lecturers studied, "at least 52 per cent (368) were almost certainly Puritans and another 8 per cent (54) probably were." But no doubt remains, especially in the chapter on Laud, that Seaver is drawn to the Puritans whom he views generally as being on the side of progress. He subtly explains the reasons for Laud's failure to get rid of the Puritan lecturers in London, and he tells us that between 1628 and 1640 the total number of London lecturers declined from 121 to 73, Puritans from 59 to 42. After showing his distaste for the Caroline regime, Seaver says near the end that "there were more Puritan lecturers in the City in 1640 than in any year before 1626." But Seaver's tables show that he should have said "fewer," not "more." How is one to explain this slip of the pen? Seaver's commitment to the overthrow of the old regime, however, does not prevent this from being a valuable study.

Perhaps there could have been more obvious commitment in Wilson's excellent but occasionally dry "monograph on the preaching to the Long Parliament." He feels that his book corrects earlier and shorter examinations of the subject by H. R. Trevor-Roper, James Spalding, and others. In my view, Wilson's careful reading and analysis of over two hundred sermons has enabled him to make fruitful suggestions, but in basic interpretation he has veered between Trevor-Roper's more political interpretation and Spalding's more religious emphasis. Wilson tells us that of 125 men who preached, the sermons of 110 had been published (listed in one of several appendixes), and of the latter group the vast majority were members of the Westminster Assembly. He is able to identify the major preachers and their patrons. Four men, Stephen Marshall, Joseph Caryl, Obadiah Sedgwick, and Richard Vines, delivered over 60 sermons. Of 217 published sermons in Wilson's three main categories, 162 were taken from the Old Testament, with the Book of Psalms coming in first with thirty-nine and Isaiah second with twenty-five. Wilson postpones the intellectual heart of his book until the last three chapters, where he discusses the style, texts, doctrines, and significance of the sermons. He emphasizes in the penultimate chapter how Puritanism helped the nation understand the times of civil war and in the last chapter how the times of civil war changed Puritanism. Much of this makes exciting reading and balances the more technical early chapters.

In his last chapter Wilson's ideas confront the major theses of Lamont's "modest little essay," which was written, I think, to explain his conviction that millenarianism in the early seventeenth century was part of the intellectual framework of all church groups, not the "creed for cranks" that it later became. Wilson ends with millenarianism, but he tends not to see it at work before 1640. Wilson and Lamont are both putting forward interpretations as to why Puritanism lost its coherence and confidence at some point in the 1640s. They both emphasize 1644–45 and a division within millenarianism, and both de-emphasize, in Wilson's words, "technical issues of church polity as the fundamental source of division within the movement," although Lamont gives great weight to the suspension controversy over the admission to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Wilson makes a distinction between "prophetic and apocalyptic eschatologies" in the minds of the religious leaders of the 1640s, the former being the majoritarian and reformist version, the latter having elitist and revolutionary tendencies and forming, in Wilson's view, the base of Independency. Lamont's distinction, following Norman Cohn, is between centrifugal and centripetal millenarianism, terms I

find rather ungraceful but helpful in leading us back to the conservative eschatology prevalent in Elizabethan and Jacobean times. Both in this book and in an article in *Past and Present* ("Puritanism as History and Historiography: Some Further Thoughts," no. 44 [1969]: 33–46), which should be read with the book if the author's preconceptions are to be grasped, Lamont takes Michael Walzer to task for ignoring John Foxe and overrating the revolutionary nature of English Calvinism. Lamont, a subtle revisionist who bears some intellectual resemblance to C. H. George, finds room for both conservative and revolutionary millenarianism in a concept or model of stages of English Protestant thought, all depending on the Book of Revelation and running from Foxe and Jewel to Oliver Cromwell, whose "Godless Rule" marked a permanent change of approach. It is a complicated story of gradual disenchantment. The final break came when the English leaders after 1645 began to lose confidence in their ability to read God's mind, for the "idea of a 'Godly Rule' had only ever been tenable on the assumption that God's Will was intelligible." In this view Hobbes and the Cromwell of the 1650s were both Calvinists who agreed on God's inscrutability. By the time of the Protectorate, "The Book of Job had conquered the Book of Revelation." Lamont also has fresh things to say about James I, Arminianism, and Erastianism. My main criticism is that Lamont, the author of one book on William Prynne, has brought his friend into most of the arguments in this book and thus to some extent has written another book on Prynne. But his knowledge of a central character is more a strength than a weakness.

PAUL J. PINCKNEY
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CLAIRE CROSS, editor. *The Letters of Sir Francis Hastings, 1574–1609.* (Somerset Record Society, Volume 69.) [Yeovil: the Society.] 1969. Pp. xxxiii, 141.

Despite rising costs, many of the English county record societies continue their laudable custom of publishing original source materials. The present volume brings together eighty-eight items relating to Sir Francis Hastings (1546?–1610), younger brother of the third Earl of Huntingdon, whose career Miss Cross described in her earlier book *The Puritan Earl* (1966). Nearly half of the documents are among the Hastings papers acquired by the Huntington Library in 1927; the others are from the Public Record Office, the British Museum, Hatfield House, and other private repositories in England.

These letters tell us much about Hastings himself, especially about his Puritan, but not schismatic, views in religion. They also further illuminate the financial straits of the Earl of Huntingdon, whose affairs in the West Country Hastings undertook to manage, even moving to Somerset from the family seat in Leicestershire. (During these years Huntingdon was president of the Council of the North; we are reminded how severely Elizabeth overworked and underpaid her officers of state.) Among the items of more general interest are a letter to one of the councilors of James I, urging that the king not request a subsidy in the Parliament of 1604, as he would probably be rebuffed, and several letters to Salisbury condemning the Gunpowder Plot.

Miss Cross's introduction provides an admirable, brief biography of Hastings. She is a bit pedantic in reproducing some obvious slips by Hastings' secretary: thus the Lord's spirit is "scantyfyinge" (read "sanctyfyinge") and a certain offer is "vayne grolyous" (surely "vayne gloryous" and not, as Miss Cross glosses it in a footnote, senseless). As I read the manuscript, the unclear word on page 61 is more likely to be "prowdlie" than Miss Cross's suggested "previouslie," which is meaningless. The genealogical table could have been expanded to include some relationships mentioned only in the notes. The index would have been easier to use if it contained page numbers, not document numbers. On the whole, however, the editorial work matches the very high level of interest sustained by the letters themselves.

STANFORD E. LEHMBERG
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis

MAURICE LEE, JR. *James I and Henri IV: An Essay in English Foreign Policy, 1603–1610.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1970. Pp. xiv, 192. $7.95.

Professor Lee examines English foreign policy under James I from the unusual viewpoint of relations with France, supplementing the re-evaluation of that monarch's Spanish policy that was initiated by the studies of the late Garrett Mattingley and continued by Charles H. Carter. The author shows how the refusal of James and Cecil to formulate a definite policy of any kind toward France, Spain, or the Dutch left England in a hopelessly disadvantageous position, though James himself was willing to accept, within limits, the patronage of the more decisive and experienced Henri. The result was the Hispano-Dutch truce of 1609, which was welcome to neither England nor France, but was much more detrimental to the former. In 1610 Henri was on the point of involving England in war with Spain over the Cleves-Julich succession; to that extent his death was an advantage, but his death left England floundering more helplessly than ever, policy-less and unprepared. It was more by luck than good judgment that France, during the minority of Louis XIII, did not achieve a rapprochement with Spain that would have left England isolated.

Professor Lee's study is not a work of major importance, but it is well researched and makes its points. The author writes with his usual grace and skill, and the dry bones of diplomacy are quickened by the contrasted personalities of two extraordinary kings. The absence of a bibliography, however, in a specialized monograph published by an academic press, is surprising.

JOHN P. KENYON
University of Hull

M. S. GIUSEPPI and G. DYFNALLT OWEN, editors. *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Salisbury, K.G., P.C., G.C.V.O., C.B., T.D., Preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire.* Part 20 (A.D. 1608). (Historical Manuscripts Commission, Number 9.) London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1968. Pp. xxiv, 434. $36.00 postpaid.

Almost half a century ago Professor C. P. Cheyney stated in a review of an earlier volume of the calendar of the Salisbury (Burghley) manuscripts (*AHR*, 29 [1923]:167) that its publication "has been an inestimable boon to scholars." This was proper commendation of a magnificent contribution to historical documentation; and the same must be said now about this much later but equally welcome volume calendaring the Hatfield Papers of Burghley's son for the year 1608. This work, prepared by M. S. Giuseppi (who did not live to see it published) and G. Dyfnallt Owen, who revised the text and prepared the editorial aids, covers a year, which in the words of the latter, was "not a particularly eventful one in the reign of James I." Such an evaluation of the twelvemonth will not elicit universal agreement from his reading audience, even though no single event stands out in that year as a major historical marker. Indeed, considering the incredible variety of topics and problems encountered in these instruments, practically every researcher in early Stuart history will find indicators to much that is decidedly eventful. Of particular importance are the letters, directives, newsletters, and memorandums dealing with commerce, monopolies, Irish and Scottish affairs, local government, piracy, Parliament, the privy council, and Cecil's search for royal financial wherewithall. About one-fifth of these holophotal materials relate to sensitive problems in foreign relations, and there is an abundance of supportive evidence for the study of James's royal proclamations. But, too, it should be pointed out that preoccupation with the volume's contribution to historical studies should not be allowed to obscure the beauty of the art or the precision of the science involved in the editorial labors of its creators. In this instant case anyone even remotely familiar with the magnificently casual attitude of early modern English clerks, canons, and chancellors toward the menial act of hand-recording will marvel at the almost infinite immensity of holographic materials scouted, sorted, and transcribed by the editors. Finally, and of minor importance, the volume's introduction is overly brief, while the index, although detailed and comprehensive, is irritatingly time-consuming to use.

PAUL L. HUGHES
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CALHOUN WINTON. *Sir Richard Steele, M.P.: The Later Career.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1970. Pp. xiv, 265. $9.00.

Although he is regarded primarily as a writer, Sir Richard Steele, as Professor Winton indicates, devoted much of his later career to parliamentary politics. Consequently this study is as much a contribution to the political as it is to the literary history of the early eighteenth century. Happily its author deals authoritatively with both, besides providing a readable and convincing narrative of Steele's private life.

Steele's political career after the death of Queen Anne ran into the complexities of the Whig schism. Despite being the nominee of the staunchly pro-Court Duke of Newcastle at Boroughbridge, he managed to maintain an independent position in Parliament, eventually emerging as a supporter of Walpole against the Stanhope-Sunderland ministry. Professor Winton takes one through these labyrinths with such ease that the reader is not made uncomfortably aware of the maze of evidence, both primary and secondary, that his guide has mastered in the process of tracing Steele's path.

Steele's literary pursuits, of course, were not divorced from his political career. On the contrary some of his periodical essays provide the key to his changing attitudes in this period. In his *Englishman* of 1715, for instance, he defended the government's initial moves against the discredited Tory ministers of Queen Anne's last ministry, and he attacked the Jacobites who rose in the 'Fifteen. In the *Plebeian* of 1719, by contrast, he opposed the government's sponsorship of the Peerage Bill, and he took on as his chief opponent his former collaborator Addison, who supported the measure in the *Old Whig.* Such contributions, however, were not as significant as the essays Steele wrote for the *Tatler,* when, as Professor Winton asserts, he invented the literary periodical, or those for the *Spectator.* His most outstanding achievement in these years was not an essay but a play, *The Conscious Lovers,* which brought about "the renewal of his literary fame, the revival of his reputation as a writer rather than as a controversial Member of Parliament."

Professor Winton rounds out his treatment of the public figure with a sympathetic account of the private man. Steele's dealings with his wife and family, with his creditors and debtors, with the theater and the Fish Pool project are all deftly inserted into a sound and agreeable narrative. Items that could not be so readily incorporated are reserved for seven appendixes, two of which deal with Steele's alleged freemasonry and homosexuality. Professor Winton was presumably not thinking of subscribers to the *American Historical Review* when he wrote that the latter is "of considerably greater interest to twentieth-century readers."

W. A. SPECK
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MARGARET GEORGE. *One Woman's "Situation": A Study of Mary Wollstonecraft.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1970. Pp. viii, 174. $6.50.

Though editors and publishers have treated the works and life of Mary Wollstonecraft, she has not, says Dr. George, had an "interpreter." What we know about Wollstonecraft has "a different perspective within a close concentration on the woman held fast in, and indeed defining, the woman's 'situation.'" Presenting the essential facts of her life more or less chronologically, the book pursues and interprets Wollstonecraft in her quest for identity in a man's world and a bourgeois society that inhibited women. The first quarter of the book is labored; the remainder is less pretentious, freer of jargon and psychological intrusions, as though the author were surer of herself after she got past Wollstonecraft's childhood and adolescence. The book is infused with righteous purpose and Simone de Beauvoir. It is an attempt at what Dr. George calls "pre-history," that is, the period before today, with the life of Mary Wollstonecraft being "an important pre-historic document." The book may interest persons who desire an interpretation of Wollstonecraft from such a point of view. Historians a century hence may read it to learn about the state of mind of those in 1970 who felt the bliss of being alive when, with the "dawning of self-realization" of women, history was beginning.

CARL B. CONE
University of Kentucky

DONALD H. AKENSON. *The Irish Education Experiment: The National System of Education in the Nineteenth Century.* (Studies in Irish History, Second Series, Volume 7.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1970. Pp. x, 430. $12.50.

Commentators have long noted that Britain was able to experiment in Ireland along lines that were unacceptable at home; that Ireland, for instance, got a system of national education in 1831, forty years earlier than England. In this volume Professor Akenson traces the origin, structure, and development of that system and the pressures that modified it. He finds that the government had a tradition of interference with Irish education and that the Whigs in 1831, following the recommendations of parliamentary commissions and committees, simply put into practice ideas that had been debated, tried, and generally accepted in the previous two decades. The national schools were less successful than private ones in attracting Catholics and Protestants to the same classroom, but they did educate cheaply a large number of pupils and were responsible for a spectacular increase in literacy. Akenson blames the Protestants for the rapid development of the denominational character of the system. In its early years, when success was still uncertain, the Presbyterians attacked both the schools and the system. When they joined, in 1840, it was on their own terms. Next the Anglicans withdrew and established a network of their own under the Church Education Society. In the absence of Protestants most schools became Roman Catholic by default. The schools were under the formal control of commissioners who paid salaries, hired inspectors, controlled the use of textbooks, and could dismiss teachers. Akenson is happiest in dealing with the bureaucracy that grew up to support the commissioners and in describing the fluctuations of their power.

The main emphasis of the volume is on the first half of the century. It is flawed by Akenson's carelessness in use of his sources and in his treatment of personalities. E. G. Stanley is described as Lord Stanley at a time when his father, who bore that title, was still active in politics. Lord Francis Leveson-Gower is called Lord Gower, a title he never held. Lord Plunket's name is occasionally misspelled. Sir Henry Parnell is deprived of his Sir and is frequently credited with his brother's actions. Charles and William Grant are hopelessly confused. Lord Eliot became Lord St. Germans, and his policies as chief secretary and as viceroy should be compared. The distinguished political economist Mountifort Longfield is described as faceless because that suits the conclusions of the author. The book is of use, however, to those who are interested in the details of how religious instruction was presented in what was technically a nondenominational system.

MARY D. CONDON
San Jose State College

LEONARD G. WILSON, editor. *Sir Charles Lyell's Scientific Journals on the Species Question.* (Yale Studies in the History of Science and Medicine, Number 5.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1970. Pp. lxi, 572. $17.50.

Lyell was the greatest name in geology in the nineteenth century. He provided an insight into geological theorizing that had an effect similar to that of Darwin's theory in the realm of biology. Although only twelve years older than Darwin, Lyell's impact on geology began more than twenty-five years before the *Origin of Species* burst upon the world of biology. Darwin owed no small debt to the eminent geologist who befriended him and who, together with Henslow the botanist, introduced him to the scientific establishment of Victorian Britain.

In this single volume Professor Wilson provides us with a scrupulously well-edited transcription of the seven journal-notebooks that Lyell filled with facts and observations on "the Species Question" between November 1855 and December 1861. Dr. Wilson also gives the general reader a lengthy introduction in which these evolutionary speculations are set in the context of Lyell's life and work.

Lyell opened the first notebook as the direct result of the impression made on him by A. R. Wallace's speculative essay on the species question that had appeared the previous September. Since it is Dr. Wilson who, in agreement with other scholars, points this out, it is

difficult to accept his statement in the preface that "the journals show that, as early as 1855, Lyell had come *independently* to consider seriously the scientific possibility of the transmutation of species" (italics mine). The date of the last entry in the seventh journal corresponds with Lyell's beginning the writing of his own work, *The Antiquity of Man,* in 1861.

It is fairly common knowledge among historians of biology that the most sensitive aspect of the Lyell-Darwin relationship was that Lyell never seemed to have wholeheartedly accepted the Darwinian theory. The crux of Lyell's caution was thought to be his natural theology and the question of the possible physical origins of the mind and/or soul. And, indeed, reading through the journals does show that until 1860 Lyell moved toward Darwin's theory.

At first one forms the impression that Lyell's new doubts and hesitancies, which appear just after the *Origin* itself, are related to the barrage of antitransmutation criticisms from large numbers of the biological establishment to whom he might understandably defer. But, taking the content and attitude of the journals as a whole, it becomes clear that Lyell could never quite figure out if Darwin and his theory fell in with what he termed the Progressionists (of whom Lamarck was the best example) or the Transmutationists (such as Huxley, Darwin's greatest interpreter). Was the substantive basis of evolutionary change merely a slight, continuous, derivative extension of what had come before? Or was it genuine, discrete, novelty—mutative in nature and therefore discontinuous? Lyell seemed to change in his caution to exactly the extent and degree that Darwin wavered in his emphasis. For Lyell there could be no continuity between man and preceding forms.

There is more, however, to these seven journals than the purely biological speculations of an eminent geologist, however well informed. They represent the systematic explorations of the interrelationships between the physical world and the life that it more than simply contains.

If underpaid scholars can manage the rather high cost of this volume, they will find much that bears on nineteenth-century biological and geological thought.

P. J. VORZIMMER
Temple University

R. S. SAYERS. *Gillets in the London Money Market, 1867–1967.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. 204. $5.60.

The discount houses of London, dealing in commercial bills, bonds, and government paper, originally served as important agents for the financing of international trade, but with changing techniques of payment and shifting patterns of international commerce they became more important as buffers between the Bank of England and the clearing banks. Gillett Brothers Discount Co. Ltd., founded by a family of Quaker bankers in Oxfordshire, developed from a small partnership with a capitalization of £50,000 in 1867 to a public company with assets of better than four million in 1967. To celebrate the centennial, the grandson of a founder sought to have the history of the family financial operations written. Miss Audrey Taylor wrote the history of the family banking in *Gilletts: Bankers of Banbury and Oxford* (1965). Now Professor Sayers has completed the task with his study of the discount house.

Professor Sayers brings to the subject a broad knowledge of banking and a specific knowledge of the Bank of England during the period. With access to the records of the firm, he has produced a very short volume that centers on the organization of the company and its struggle for profits through a century complicated by two major wars, a panic, a depression, the decline of British trade, and the end of empire. Sayers shows that success stemmed from increased capital, the organization of the London Discount Market Association, and the willingness of both the clearing banks and the Bank of England to let discount houses survive.

LEWIS A. HAINLIN
Drake University

WILLIAM S. PETERSON. *Interrogating the Oracle: A History of the London Browning Society.* Athens: Ohio University Press. 1969. Pp. xii, 276. $10.00.

The London Browning Society, that quizzical literary front formed by F. J. Furnivall in 1881 in order to rescue the poet from a meager following and poor sales, has long been the butt of anecdotes. In writing its history, William S. Peterson has wisely adapted the comic perspective employed by previous commentators. His full and well-documented account, enriched by unpublished sources and a full page reproduction of a cartoon depicting the Girton College girls abandoning their Browning for the delights of the sweet shop, should provide pleasant reading for anyone with an itch for Victorian curiosities. Peterson's sanity, his gift for capsule biographies, and his first-rate command of Browning's poetry and Browning criticism make this study a fine contribution, as well, to our knowledge of the poet and his supporters.

Peterson is weakest in his attempts to place the society in a wider social and historical context. Seeing the society—despite iconoclast members such as G. B. Shaw—as primarily an institution to remake the elusive and difficult dramatic poet into a latter-day prophet of optimism in an age of doubt, Peterson fails to provide any precise description of the social or cultural milieu of its members. His "representative Browningites" are more properly prominent Browningites; he does not support the claim that the society was itself significant as a part of the general movement for working-class education; and by refusing to go beyond the London Society into its many offshoots, especially in America, he misses the opportunity to examine the wider impact of the society upon the middle-class public at large.

The author's admiration for Furnivall, a refreshingly bullish promoter in the china-shop world of late Victorian literary society, is a useful corrective to the more usual detractions. Yet here again, a wider sense of the historical and social context would be welcome: Furnivall's well-meaning but blundering and insensitive attempts to push Browning into popularity are perhaps best understood as part of a general trend toward democratization of culture. Ironically, as Peterson points out, Browning, the predecessor of difficult, even deliberately obscure modern writers, was very strange porridge to offer up to the masses. This account of the comedy of miscomprehension put on by the Browning Society may leave us, even while it amuses, with strong doubts about the advisability of such popularizing crusades.

JOHN MAYNARD
Harvard University

T. O. LLOYD. *Empire to Welfare State: English History, 1906–1967*. (The Short Oxford History of the Modern World.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. xv, 465. Cloth $10.00, paper $2.95.

This book will be widely read. As the first volume to appear of what one may expect will be a distinguished series, The Short Oxford History of the Modern World, it becomes important immediately. But it is disappointing.

Professor Lloyd writes well and in the earlier parts of the book, particularly on domestic politics, he displays some arresting insights. In pointing out that Lloyd George's introduction of businessmen into the wartime coalition government was regarded as a progressive and liberal step before the armistice but as a return to reaction after it, he has drawn my attention to one of those obvious but unremarked truths that make the reading of general history surveys worthwhile. Again his discussion of the tangled logic of the early movement for tariff reform is excellent.

Yet one cannot help wishing that Lloyd had spent more time thinking out the book. There are two basic problems. First, he provides an uneven coverage of his period, almost totally disregarding foreign affairs until the era of Chamberlain. Second, and more serious, there is an absence of any real, overall conception of what he ought to be trying to convey to his readers.

The author not only neglects foreign policy but positively avoids any discussion of it in dealing with the crowded years between 1906 and 1936. In contrast to two pages on the Marconi incident, Agadir rates one sentence. The Haldane mission and the consequent naval arrangements with France—the implementation of the Entente—get no mention. External relations from Chanak to the invasion of Ethiopia earn three paragraphs and even these are oriented toward the impact of foreign policy

upon domestic politics—the Zinoviev letter, the Oxford Union debate of 1933, and the Peace Ballot.

But a greater problem is the breakdown in unity of the author's story about halfway through the book. The title suggests the theme that was intended. Certainly the history of the evolution of Britain from an international power whose chief interests and problems were external to an inward-looking state preoccupied first of all with the economic and social welfare of its own people, provides a story worth telling. It can be argued that social welfare is as valid a field for scholarly investigation as economic, diplomatic, or constitutional history. Unfortunately, there is no such story, although legislative acts and newspaper proposals are described at length. The period since 1945 is covered as if it were written from the *Annual Register,* which, indeed, is frequently cited as a source. The book plods forward, year by year, with details from each budget and capsule descriptions of the major debates in Parliament. There is neither prologue nor summary.

It would probably not be useful, and it would certainly be fruitless, to ask for a "Portrait of an Age" in the old style of Trevelyan, Marriott, Bryant, or G. M. Young, but modern scholarship is entitled to look for more than an extended collection of the *Times'* annual reviews of the events of the year.

BENTLEY B. GILBERT
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DAVID CARLTON. *MacDonald versus Henderson: The Foreign Policy of the Second Labour Government.* New York: Humanities Press. 1970. Pp. 239. $11.00.

Mr. Carlton's dramatic title is rather misleading. Far from being the study of a duel between two leading political figures, the book is a scholarly and competent study of British foreign policy from 1929 to 1931. It makes use both of the published British documents and of archival materials; indeed what Mr. Carlton has been able to glean from the archives shows that even the existence of the very comprehensive series of *Documents on British Foreign Policy* does not obviate the need to look further. Various private collections of papers have also been explored, some probably for the first time for this purpose.

That the relations between the prime minister and his foreign secretary were at times unusually strained and that on some issues, notably relations with the United States and the question of naval disarmament, MacDonald largely kept matters in his own hands is true. But it is also true that Philip Snowden, the chancellor of the exchequer, also played an independent role, particularly in relation to the German financial crisis of the summer of 1931. The Treasury and the Bank of England had their own views as to what should be done, which were not the same as Henderson's. Yet over many of the issues of the period in relation both to the League of Nations and European affairs, and to general disarmament and policies towards the Soviet Union, China, and Egypt, the differences were matters of nuance rather than of basic policy.

Their nominal socialist faith making relatively little difference, MacDonald and Henderson were both close to the central position taken by most British statesmen throughout the interwar period. That position was to rely on the League of Nations to avert direct clashes without incurring automatic commitments unacceptable to public opinion or the Dominions. But Henderson was much more convinced of the importance of strengthening "collective security" than MacDonald, who had a more isolationist streak in him. Henderson in consequence was much more prepared to listen to French arguments and much more suspicious of German revisionism when this began to become vocal again in 1930. Mr. Carlton takes care to go into the substance of the issues of the period, and only occasionally forgets that his readers may not be as familiar with the technicalities as he is.

MAX BELOFF
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W. N. MEDLICOTT *et al.*, editors. *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919–1939.* Second Series, Volume 10, *Far Eastern Affairs, March–October 1932.* London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1969. Pp. lxxxiv, 833. $23.04 postpaid.

In the period covered by this volume the main

developments in the Far Eastern crisis were the lengthy negotiations that led to the Japanese withdrawal from Shanghai, the creation and eventual Japanese recognition of the state of Manchukuo, and finally the publication of the long-awaited Lytton Report. It must not be forgotten, however, that these events were interwoven with issues dealt with in volumes 3 and 4 of this series: notably security, disarmament, and the new turn given to the matter of the American debt by the Lausanne Conference.

While mindful above all of Britain's almost defenseless state in the area of the Far East, the Foreign Office continued its attempts to avoid the initiative and to satisfy all interested parties. As Simon wrote in September 1932: "Our controlling considerations must be (1) be faithful to the League and act with the main body if possible (2) do not take the lead in an attitude which, while necessarily futile, will antagonise Japan seriously (3) be fair to both China and Japan (4) work to keep Japan in the League." Extremism was deplored, from whatever quarter: from expatriates in Shanghai who wished to press the Chinese for better terms for the International Settlement there; from small states at Geneva ("With vital interests at stake," noted Eden, "we must continue to moderate the zeal of those who have none."); or from a sometimes-intemperate secretary of state in Washington, from whom Simon had at least wrung the admission that nothing more than verbal protest could be contemplated. The volume ends with the relieved conclusion being drawn in Whitehall that the Lytton Report (a fair document, and therefore a cornucopia of comfort for men of all views) indicated that, at bottom, "the balance of right inclines to [Japan's] side." Presumably the succeeding volume will include a crucial and lengthy series of memorandums and minutes of the following December in which the dilemma of what to do should Tokyo still refuse all conciliation was faced.

The selection of documents has once more been admirable, and above all appears to include more minutes than in earlier volumes, minutes being often of greater value than the dispatches, especially in this period when the Foreign Office played a larger part in shaping policy than it was to do in the later 1930s. (In passing, it may be remarked how much easier it is for the researcher to follow the dialectic within the Foreign Office than within the U.S. Department of State, whose archives for this period are filed in a manner that frequently separates comment from what is commented upon, and contain precious little of the former in any case. One's impression is strengthened that Joseph Grew was right when he privately bemoaned the inefficiency of his organization compared to the one that was backing his fellow ambassador, Sir Francis Lindley. Stimson and company made up for it by their diaries, of course.) The usual word of warning must be added, however. Vital though they are, these documents alone are not sufficient for a complete study of the formulation of British policy. As Professor Marder demonstrated in a recent article in this journal, the papers of the cabinet, cabinet committees, the Committee of Imperial Defence, and so forth, remain equally important.

CHRISTOPHER THORNE
University of Sussex

ROBERT WRIGHT. *The Man Who Won the Battle of Britain*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1969. Pp. 291. $6.95.

Robert Wright, who was personal assistant to both Air Chief Marshal Lord Dowding when the latter was commander-in-chief of the Fighter Command, and to Dowding's successor, Marshal of the Royal Air Force Lord Douglas, has found himself in an embarrassing position in writing this book. He helped write Sholto Douglas' memoirs; now he has found out that Douglas' account of the critical meeting at the Air Ministry on October 17, 1940, was not in accordance with the facts. *The Man Who Won the Battle of Britain* is devoted to setting the record straight, and it is a book that has long been needed, not to tell the story of the Battle of Britain, but to explain what happened to its victor, "Stuffy" Dowding. Interest in this perplexing question has recently been heightened by the movie *The Battle of Britain* and the book on the making of the movie, as well as by a small cascade of books on the battle itself. Of the latter, the most definitive now is Francis K. Mason's *Battle over Britain* (1969). The battle over the Battle has not yet assumed the

proportions of the Jutland controversy, but it is heading that way.

The tragedy of Wright's book from our point of view is that it lacks an accurate historical background, which prevents its author from exploring all possible explanations of the phenomenon he observed, and that it has no footnotes. The latter point is not in this case academic pedantry; it is essential since the whole work is a careful brief prepared to defend Dowding and his conduct of the Battle.

The roots of the problem go back to the First World War. Dowding was a fighter. He was to spend most of his career in a Royal Air Force devoted to bomber mythology. Dowding, an organizer, had an upright Victorian manner; he suffered because he was not a politician but rather a power in the RAF. On top of this he was a realist who told Churchill when he was wrong. The story of his fall is intimately tied to the tactical question of how to meet the Luftwaffe—with one or two squadrons or by marshaling three to five into wings. It was only as the Battle passed its crisis that Dowding began to realize that he was being knifed in the back by his subordinate group commander, Air Vice-Marshal Leigh-Mallory, through Squadron Leader Bader's adjutant, who was an M.P. with access to the prime minister.

The picture that emerges is not one of which the British can be proud. Wright's book will be compulsory reading for anyone interested in the period, but it is by no means the last word.

ROBIN HIGHAM
Kansas State University

ROLAND MOUSNIER and his collaborators. *Le Conseil du Roi: De Louis XII à la Révolution.* (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Paris-Sorbonne. Series "Recherches," Number 56. Travaux du Centre de Recherches sur la Civilisation de l'Europe Moderne, Number 6.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1970. Pp. 378. 56 fr.

This collaborative work, conceived and directed by Professor Mousnier, contains extensive contributions by fifteen members of his research seminar at the Centre de Recherches sur la Civilisation de l'Europe Moderne at the Sorbonne. The book's title, unfortunately, is misleading; this is not a history of the royal council as an institution, but an analysis of the social history of its membership. Furthermore, the emphasis is almost entirely upon the years 1515–59 and the longer period from the *Fronde* to the French Revolution, doubtless because Professor Mousnier earlier made available similar information for the first half of the seventeenth century in volume 1 of his *Lettres et Mémoires adressées au Chancelier Séguier* (Paris, 1964). In fact, the present work is in many ways a further application of the techniques and collaborative methods developed in Mousnier's seminar and used successfully in his earlier publication. Within this framework, this new study of the royal council is very valuable indeed. After reminding the reader of the evolution of the various sections of the royal council, the first part of the book gives extensive statistical information concerning all major elements of its members' social positions and relationships during selected portions of the two indicated periods. Major attention is given to the corps of masters of requests, their increasing significance as the main source of members of the council, and especially the multitudinous factors that determined their positions in society. Fundamentally, therefore, the work is a social history of that segment of the professional group known as the robe that succeeded in gaining entry into the most prestigious institution in the royal administration.

The remaining three-fourths of the book consists of special studies by Professor Mousnier's pupils of representative members of the royal council: Chancellors Cheverny and Boucherat; the Secretaries of State Bochetel, Châteauneuf, Croissy, and Torcy; the Councillors of State Gouffier, Guillart, and Pussort; and the Masters of Requests Budé and Bernières. Giving only minimal attention to their administrative activities, these chapters invariably follow the outline suggested by Professor Mousnier and emphasize each man's intellectual life and personal beliefs; all elements of his *statut social,* that is, his poisition in the social hierarchy, his ties of family, social relationships and profession, and the values that each entailed; his financial situation; and the extent and nature of his clientele. All are expertly analyzed as far as the sources permit.

From these indications the value of the book should be clear. Based upon extensive original research under the direction of a master craftsman, it analyzes the structure and functioning of prerevolutionary French society in relation to its government by focusing upon a key professional group, the masters of requests, and asking the right questions. Particularly striking is the treatment of the factors that both abetted and limited this group's upward social mobility from bourgeois professionals to noble members of the royal council—noble because of their offices but with a status never fully accepted by the nobility of the sword. By making available massive statistical evidence, the work adds extensively to knowledge of the social realities and dynamics of early modern France and the myriad relationships and tensions within the society the French monarchy attempted to govern and from which it drew its most effective agents. In this way the book elucidates the limitations that French society itself placed upon the so-called absolute monarchy of the period.

WILLIAM F. CHURCH
Brown University

GEORGES DETHAN. *Mazarin et ses amis: Étude sur la jeunesse du Cardinal d'après ses papiers conservés aux Archives du Quai d'Orsay, suivie d'un choix de lettres inédites.* [Paris:] Berger-Levrault. 1968. Pp. 368.

One would have thought it impossible to sketch a sympathetic and yet candid and scholarly portrait of that "Sicilian scoundrel," Cardinal Mazarin, during his early Franco-papal career (1629–43). Yet M. Dethan has done precisely that, utilizing the future *premier ministre*'s massive Italian and French correspondence with his family, Italian patrons and friends, Richelieu's "creatures," and the princely circles of Henriette Marie, Chrétienne of Savoy, and Anne of Austria. Mazarin emerges as a much more likable and complex person than the traditional, unscrupulously ambitious Roman courtier. Along with other traits the reader can discover for himself, I am impressed by the papal agent's astonishing variety of friends, his persistent shielding of acquaintances cast under the shadow of Richelieu's wrath and the disfavor of the Barberini-dominated papal court of Urban VIII, and his sincere support of these political unfortunates even after he attained power in France. Still, it must be remembered that we are looking at a man through his relationship with friends. (How different Mazarin looked to his enemies!) Even from this intimate perspective, Mazarin's knack of getting the most from personal contacts without letting friendships hinder his political career, and the ease with which he shifted from being a Christian and papal advocate of international peace to his better-known stance as the defender of French *raison d'état* raise awkward questions. Often Dethan's Mazarin looks indistinguishable from the typical, ubiquitous court politician and *favori* of early seventeenth-century Europe. We are brought somewhat closer to Mazarin the individual in the useful appendix, which contains excerpts of thirty-seven of Mazarin's letters (including thirty-six Italian extracts translated into French). But the real test of the historical craftsmanship that has already fashioned Gaston d'Orléans into a plausible human being will come with Dethan's forthcoming volume on Mazarin and his friends during the years of power, 1643–61.

A. LLOYD MOOTE
University of Southern California

PIERRE GOUBERT. *Louis XIV and Twenty Million Frenchmen.* Translated from the French by ANNE CARTER. New York: Pantheon Books. 1970. Pp. 350. $7.95.

This masterful work of *haute vulgarisation* should serve a generation of student and general readers as the essential introduction to the France of Louis XIV. It is the first broadly conceived book on the period to incorporate the ideas and the spirit of the so-called "Annales" school and to achieve a successful balance between royal politics, diplomacy and war, and the "half-consciously accepted fabric of daily life" that Pierre Goubert understands better than any other historian of the *ancien régime*. Into the history of an epoch that has been interpreted largely in terms of the dynamics of royal policy and ambition, Goubert has inserted those unconscious forces in the economy and society—such as prices and demo-

graphic trends—that the king and his ministers never comprehended, but that, nevertheless, shaped the contours of the seventeenth century. Moreover, Louis XIV's impact upon his time is put in the perspective of the total society. Without denying the king his achievements, particularly in the realm of administration, Goubert presents a collectivity, the French peasantry, as the essential hero of the century. In this "great but still almost medieval kingdom," it was the stubborn struggle of the peasants with the soil that produced the wealth that, in turn, supported the king's quest for grandeur, his aggressions against the rest of Europe, and the society and culture of the elite.

In a book by Pierre Goubert one expects to read about death, fecundity, prices, and rural social structure, but *Louis XIV and Twenty Million Frenchmen* is important also for its revisionist thrust in the more conventional areas of seventeenth-century history. It is essentially a deflationary enterprise that the author undertakes. Colbert, for example, is treated as the efficient and competent clerk that he undoubtedly was and not as the embodiment of a bourgeois vision of France. The notion that a maleficient Louvois was somehow responsible for Louis's aggressions is rejected. On a more general level Goubert reduces such hoary phrases as "the classical age" and "the age of Louis XIV" to their proper proportions. The *grand siècle,* for example, was "a brilliant fireworks display" lasting about fifteen years—a relatively brief period in a long reign in which royal patronage and high culture were intimately linked. Versailles was not so much the symbol of the monarchy in its prime as the center of a middle-aged, conventional, and intellectually moribund monarchy that took its tone from Maintenon. In short, Goubert's fruitful and commonsensical general work clears the ground of old myths and banalities that have influenced historical writing about Louis XIV's France since the duke of Saint-Simon and Voltaire. It also suggests a new "age of Louis XIV" that takes into account the inarticulate, inert, and unconscious elements that were an important part of the reality of seventeenth-century France.

RAYMOND F. KIERSTEAD
Yale University

JEAN EGRET. *Louis XV et l'opposition parlementaire, 1715–1774.* Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1970. Pp. 246.

Students of the Enlightenment have tended to dismiss the prerevolutionary French parlements as an essentially backward corporation whose occasional verbal radicalism shielded basically reactionary interests. Professor Egret's book sets rather formidable obstacles in the way of our continued easy acceptance of this judgment.

Egret traces the evolution of attitude in the parlements from the reticent registration of the bull *Unigenitus* in 1714 to the fierce confrontations of the 1750s and beyond. Throughout the period, the uncertainty of their constitutional position (Were they mere recorders of new law or co-active in its formulation?) made the *parlementaires* impotent in any conflict with the Crown unless supported by an aroused public opinion. Egret convincingly establishes the extent to which the members of the parlements, enjoying public support, articulated genuine, popular grievances and frequently obliged that prickly authoritarian, Louis XV, to back down or compromise. The vocal elite among the *parlementaires* were sincere disciples of Montesquieu, anxious to transform their institutions into a responsible middle power between Crown and people, ready to denounce the petty tyranny of central government officials, and prepared to fight for much-needed reforms.

While putting his case persuasively, Egret glosses over the very real evidence of the reactionary role often assumed by *parlementaires,* as, for instance, during the campaign begun in the late 1730s to compel all non-Catholics to accept the Catholic sacrament of marriage or face the disinheritance of their children as illegitimate. And, although he is prepared to acknowledge the occasionally narrow class interest of the *parlementaires,* Egret makes only passing reference to the considerable modern scholarship concerning the collusion of robe with sword in the "aristocratic reaction" of the age. But, in so far as they are to be judged in terms of the political battles of Louis XV's reign, the members of France's parlements may now be more generously viewed as having done valiant battle to

halt the process of rigidification begun after the regent's death.

GEOFFREY ADAMS
Loyola College

JACQUES GODECHOT. *The Taking of the Bastille, July 14th, 1789.* Translated by JEAN STEWART. Preface by CHARLES TILLY. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1970. Pp. xxxii, 368. $9.95.

Professor Jacques Godechot argues that the storming of the Bastille was not a unique and unprecedented event; he places it within the broader context of the late eighteenth-century Atlantic revolutions. He maintains that European history is marked by recurring periods of social unrest. The sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century was a time of great disorder. Severe economic dislocations and religious ferment produced wars and rebellions throughout Europe. This period of 135 years was followed by over a century of relative social peace, but insurrectionary activity resumed at the close of the eighteenth century. Rapid population growth, inflation, and declining real wages led to widespread anxiety. By 1770 demographic expansion had outstripped the ability of agricultural production to keep pace with increased demand. Bad harvests made it ever more difficult to feed the populace. Moreover, increasing food costs obliged consumers to spend more on food and less on manufactured products, a situation that created increased unemployment while food prices continued to climb. The economic and demographic crisis created mass anxiety and discontent as people blamed their governments for the worsening conditions. The widely propagated ideas of the Enlightenment further stimulated growing demands for change. There followed a series of popular revolts in Britain's American colonies, in rural France, in London, Geneva, and Holland. Strangely, Godechot has chosen to ignore the peasant unrest in Eastern Europe and the revolution in Belgium. With the exception of the American rebellion, these insurrections were either limited in scope or failed because of foreign intervention.

Godechot then demonstrates why revolution succeeded in France. He provides an analysis of the French social structure, emphasizing the inequalities and tensions. He also describes Paris, its people and the methods of policing the city. He then discusses the development of a revolutionary mentality arising from the aristocratic rebellion, the royal capitulation, and the summoning of the Estates-General, and goes on to explain the growing economic plight of the masses, which was due to the unfortunate combination of an economic recession and spiraling food costs resulting from the poor harvest of 1788 and the popular expectation of sweeping reforms. These events in turn led to the revolt of the Third Estate, to the court's plan for a counterrevolution, and finally to the Parisian rising designed to check the court's blow against the National Assembly. Finally, Godechot offers a detailed study of the assault on the Bastille, the symbolic act marking the defeat of the Old Regime. The author also supplies an extensive bibliography dealing with both the Atlantic and French revolutions.

Godechot has placed the momentous events of 1789 within the eighteenth-century revolutionary milieu, thus emphasizing the outstanding importance of the first successful popular revolution in Europe.

STEVEN T. ROSS
University of Texas

KYUNG-WON KIM. *Revolution and International System.* New York: New York University Press. 1970. Pp. xxi, 145. $6.95.

This work by a political scientist is an attempt to study history in order to develop a theory of international relations. More specifically, Professor Kim examines how the French Revolution led to the breakdown of the international system of the *ancien régime.* From this study he arrives at a number of hypotheses to explain the process of international destabilization. He expresses the hope that further comparative studies of other historical events and periods will validate his findings.

Despite the author's insistence that the book is not primarily a historical monograph, historians are obliged to examine the validity of the author's historical treatment on the basis of their own knowledge and method. From this point of view, even though Kim has read widely in original and secondary sources, the

story of the interaction of conservative Europe and revolutionary France is not new. Correct in its broad outlines, it contains a number of inaccuracies. It is, for example, incorrect to assert that the monarchs of the old regime could neither tax nobles nor conscript commoners for military service, to refer to "the dictatorship" of Robespierre, or to state that after Fructidor the Directory was definitely under Napoleon's control. Occasional carelessness and many typographical errors also mar the book.

Kim's special concern with "international system," however, brings into sharper focus certain historical developments. In analyzing the origins of the war in 1792 and its progress, he notes, for example, the gap between reality and the perception of reality both by the leaders of revolutionary France and of conservative Europe. The limited perspective of the governments of the latter, acting within the framework of traditional international relations and concerned only with the balance of power, allowed the Revolution to survive. The war, by revolutionizing the Revolution, unleashed total war. The consequent unprecedented dynamism of France culminated in Napoleon's completion of the process of destroying the classical balance of power system.

Kim's hypotheses explaining international destabilization include the role of ideological heterogeneity (with the resultant probable increase of distortion in perception), the strength of the feedback effect of the revolutionary power's international action on its domestic political system, and the degree of "system" orientation in the traditional international system. The experience of the French revolutionary era leads Kim to conclude tentatively that, in the last analysis, the stability of an international system depends upon the ability of conservative regimes to transcend the constraints of that system. This interdisciplinary work should interest historians as well as political scientists.

JOSEPH I. SHULIM
Brooklyn College,
City University of New York

JAMES KEMBLE. *St. Helena during Napoleon's Exile: Gorrequer's Diary.* With introduction, biographies, notes and explanations, and index of pseudonyms. Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books. 1969. Pp. ix, 297. $9.50.

Major Gideon Gorrequer was aide-de-camp and acting military secretary to Sir Hudson Lowe, the governor of St. Helena during Napoleon's exile. He lived with the Lowes at Plantation House, ate at their table, and by day read and copied dispatches and ran errands. At night he retired to his room and vented his grievances in a diary. By tremendous effort James Kemble has deciphered the manuscript of the diary, identified persons concealed by pseudonyms, and annotated the allusions. The editing is excellent. Only the content of the diary itself is a disappointment. Gorrequer at the British headquarters lived at one of the two centers of action on the island, the other being Longwood, Napoleon's residence. The major knew nearly everything that was going on within the British sphere, yet the diary is filled mostly with the petty and prolonged altercations among Sir Hudson Lowe, his wife, his aide-de-camp, the Allied commissioners, the captains of the British East India Company, and, occasionally, the French. To be sure, Wellington's judgment of Lowe, as stupid, unused to the world of large events and good manners, suspicious, jealous, and not up to the position of being Napoleon's keeper, is again thoroughly confirmed. Also, we learn that Gorrequer, who publicly supported Lowe, was in private rather understanding of Napoleon's plight and psychological condition and critical of Lowe's harassing procedures. But otherwise we glean little. We turn the pages of the diary in high expectation that something new and important about Napoleon will be on the next page, but nothing new and important ever appears.

HAROLD T. PARKER
Duke University

JEAN-MARIE MAYEUR. *Un prêtre démocrate: L'Abbé Lemire, 1853–1928.* ("Religion et sociétés.") [Paris:] Casterman. 1968. Pp. 698. 45 fr.
ÉMILE POULAT. *Intégrisme et catholicisme intégral. Un réseau secret international antimoderniste: La "Sapinière" (1909–1921).* ("Religion et sociétés.") [Paris:] Casterman. 1969. Pp. 626. 45 fr.

The Abbé Jules Lemire (1853–1928), elected

deputy from Hazebrouck in 1893, successfully retained his seat through eight legislatures, an achievement matched by only one other neophyte of that year. Lemire authored no outstanding legislation, founded no party. The priest-deputy's career, however, serves as a remarkable guide to the evolution and interaction of the political and religious history of the Third Republic and to the social and ideological conflicts inextricably present in the Republic's history. Lemire's earliest convictions reflected the piety, royalism, and ultra-Montanism of his vocation and agrarian environment. But his own open spirit made possible his development as a convinced republican; fervent Christian Democrat; defender of the legitimacy and merits of the laic state; and ardent advocate of the compatibility of religion, modernity, and French society.

Jean-Marie Mayeur's study is a model of political, social, and religious historical research perfectly fitted to the format of biography. His analysis alone of the political and socio-economic evolution of Hazebrouck and the department of the Nord is worthy of the best regional electoral studies in the *Annales* tradition. His biography lucidly follows the complicated lines of the Christian Democratic movement and illuminates with brilliant clarity the conflicts within the Catholic community that were provoked and sustained by those adamantly hostile to progressive thought and action. Material of the first importance documents the efforts of some of the hierarchy, and in particular those of Monsignor Alexis Charost, bishop of Lille, to crush and humiliate Lemire. The ill-will and pursuit of vengeance that characterized the Conservatives never flagged; their brutal tactics graphically reveal the social and institutional infrastructure of reactionary Catholicism in France.

Mayeur's book is indispensable to any student of the Third Republic. The fifty-page bibliography is a serious contribution to the literature of the period; historians will long be dependent on the highly instructive biographical and explanatory footnotes. The regional, national, ecclesiastical, public, and private archives are exploited in a fashion that can only arouse the envy of historians who would seek to imitate Mayeur's gifts at finding significant *inédites*.

The historian cannot yet state whether anti-revolutionary Catholic action has been defeated in France or in Europe. It is Émile Poulat's view that the hard-core antimodernist conspirators were and are infinite in their guile and skilled capacity to strike clandestinely at their fellow religionists. Poulat has now established the authoritative documentation on the infamous secret society, *La "Sapinière,"* the *Sodalitum Pianum* organized by Monsignor Umberto Benigni (1862–1934). In 1906 Benigni was appointed undersecretary of the Congregation of Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs, a post that in 1908 placed him in the fifth highest office in the papal secretariat of state. From this post he wove together in 1909 a secret international organization designed to hunt out, defame, and destroy liberals, modernists, and democrats within the Church. The members of this limited society were supplied with a code book of the damned, a public journal *La Correspondance de Rome,* and frequent covert newsletters.

The documents published by Poulat after exhaustive research in France, Belgium, Holland, Rome, Germany, and Poland indicate that the society was as formidable in its friends and allies as it was hysterical in its search for heretics and revolutionaries. Pius x thrice blessed its work, though he may not have been fully aware of its full conspiratorial talents; Poulat is, however, very severe in his judgment of the complicity of Pius x with the spirit of *La "Sapinière"* and of his unrestrained sympathy for Monsignor Benigni. The Vatican in 1921 thought it "inopportune" for the society to continue, but those admired by *La "Sapinière,"* such as Monsignor Charost, who suspended the priestly faculties of Lemire, continued to affirm its goals. Benigni ended his days as an honored ecclesiastic while acting, according to Poulat, as *"un pourvoyeur important de l'antisémitisme italien,"* and in close rapport with the Fascist regime.

Poulat's *notes introductives, notes justificatives,* and *notes explicatives* for every document are of fundamental importance for the religious and political history of the Roman Catholic world from the eve of World War I

to the rise of fascism. No thinker, no political figure, no churchman of his time can be discussed henceforth unless he has been first checked out in Poulat's dossier to determine his relationship as friend or foe of *La "Sapinière."* Secret history is often *petite historie,* but the documents in this work suggest darker currents that involve the wider history of the past, present, and future of the Church and modern society. Poulat, a sociologist, has fulfilled the dream of every historian—to bring things covered by secrecy, myth, and fiction into the sharp light of factual, objective history.

EDWARD T. GARGAN
University of Wisconsin, Madison

ROGER GLENN BROWN. *Fashoda Reconsidered: The Impact of Domestic Politics on French Policy in Africa, 1893–1898.* (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 88th Series [1970], Number 1.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1970. Pp xi, 157. $7.50.

Roger Glenn Brown has put together an intriguing little study that intelligently adds another qualification to the sweeping generalizations frequently made about European imperialism. Concentrating on the domestic aspects of the Fashoda crisis, he demonstrates the role corridor politics and public opinion played in the realization of this disastrous aspect of French colonial activity, and in so doing he reminds us once again of the symbiotic relationship maintained between the advocates on the homefront and the practitioners in the field.

The study offers two separate but interrelated aspects of the Fashoda crisis: first, the origins of the expedition inspired by the small coterie of colonial enthusiasts connected with the Comité de l'Afrique française; and, second, the intensification and complication of the Fashoda incident as a result of the Dreyfus case, with its dire domestic and international repercussions.

The first aspect is the better treated and documented; it will no doubt be the more interesting to students of French colonial affairs. To some scholars the role of that rather amorphous group, the *parti colonial,* has been as fascinating as elusive. Where Henri Brunschwig was suggestive and sketchy in his treatment of the activities of this group in his *Mythes et realités de l'imperialisme colonial français* (1960), Brown has been closely attentive to now available documents in his assessment of the decisive action taken by the group first in fostering and then in foisting on the government the Fashoda project. This latter endeavor was facilitated by ministerial ignorance and competition and by governmental turnover, but it was equally facilitated by the strong support of Delcassé as undersecretary of state for colonies and by the enthusiasm of well-placed and ambitious colonial officers.

The second aspect of the study is a judicious attempt to relate the Dreyfus case to the Fashoda crisis. Questions raised by previous historians about the influence of Fashoda are well answered, and, above all, the complicated role of Delcassé in the crucial months of late 1898 is described and explained with clarity.

If the style of this very short study is spare, the documentation is ample and the analysis of it careful and rigorous. Brown proves what we all have known and perhaps have at times ignored: the history of modern imperialism still needs to be written from the inside out, not the other way around.

RAYMOND F. BETTS
Grinnell College

ANTONIO MESTRE. *Ilustración y reforma de la Iglesia: Pensamiento político-religioso de Don Gregorio Mayáns y Siscar (1699–1781).* (Publicaciones del Ayuntamiento de Oliva, Number 1.) Valencia: [the Ayuntamiento and Anales del Seminario de Valencia.] 1968. Pp. 509.

The Spanish historian Mayáns y Siscar is less well known than he deserves. After studying at the Universities of Valencia and Salamanca, he became royal librarian in the 1730s. When his desire to eliminate fables from early Spanish history clashed with the leaders of the new Academy of History (he was one of the first to doubt the coming of Santiago to Spain), he retired to his native Oliva and remained there the rest of his life, becoming a leader of the eighteenth-century intellectual flowering of the kingdom of Valencia.

Antonio Mestre's biography of Mayáns is based on exhaustive use of his extensive manu-

scripts and correspondence. Although Mestre's topical organization leads to repetition of his conclusions and at times makes Mayáns' career hard to follow, this is an impressive work, a good example of the achievements of a rising generation of Spanish historians. It bears out Mestre's contention that historians have not paid sufficient attention to the role of Valencia in introducing the Enlightenment to Spain.

Mestre presents Mayáns as a typical representative of the Spanish Enlightenment, but the lesson I see in the book is how different his outlook and career were from those of writers who flourished later under Charles III. Although not a clergyman, Mayáns was primarily interested in religious questions. He gave little thought to political philosophy, economics, or science, and he disliked Montesquieu and Voltaire. He was attracted to sixteenth-century Spanish philosophers like Vives and Arias Montano and recent foreign opponents of Rome: Bossuet, Fleury, Van Espen, and Muratori. He was an eighteenth-century Jansenist rather than a philosophe. He also felt more threatened than the writers under Charles III. Because his views on history and clerical reform angered leading religious authorities, in 1743 the Council of Castile confiscated all his papers, and in 1747 the Inquisition withdrew his permission to read prohibited books. After these blows he virtually limited himself to expressing his ideas in private correspondence. As he realized, abuses could be attacked with impunity only when a king should appear who sincerely desired reform.

RICHARD HERR
University of California, Berkeley

STANLEY G. PAYNE. *The Spanish Revolution.* (Revolutions in the Modern World.) New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1970. Pp. xvi, 398. $7.95.

Stanley Payne has contributed still another important book—his third in less than a decade—to twentieth-century Spanish historiography. Although not nearly so ambitious as his recent *Politics and the Military in Modern Spain* (1967), this new work is extensive in scope nevertheless. Its 375 pages of text are almost equally divided between a survey of the Spanish working-class Left from the late nineteenth century to the Popular Front elections of February 1936 and an analysis of the immediate origins and course of the Spanish Civil War.

The first half of the book is the least original since it relies chiefly on secondary sources and borrows much of its theoretical framework from the ideas of Juan Linz. Its most signal service lies in its unravelment of the complicated social and political history of Catalonia, particularly the role of the anarcho-syndicalists during the *pistolero* era of 1917–23 and that of the *rabassaire* controversy during the Republic. The second half of the book is more the product of primary research, especially in newspapers and the Bolloten Collection of the Hoover Institution. As in his previous works, Professor Payne makes excellent use of memoirs. He also remains one of the few American historians of Spain who systematically employs Catalan sources. Finally, he performs something of a tour de force by drawing upon Russian-language materials.

The contributions of this second half of the book are legion. Payne lends new perspective to the importance of Communist policy in the immediate prewar period. He uses the latest Spanish scholarship to prove that army support of the military insurrection of July 18, 1936, was not nearly so unanimous as once supposed. He uncovers much new data on the social and economic revolution of late July and August, though his estimate that the peasantry seized about one-third of the arable land in the Republican zone seems far too low. Because of his previously proven ability to follow complex political maneuvering, he adds many details to our knowledge of the conflicts among anarchists, socialists, communists, and POUMists. His chapter on the "Republican People's Army" is by far the best available. He completes his work with a truly outstanding bibliographical essay that will be of great help to future scholars, though in this particular case he is partly compensating for his failure (presumably due to the format mistakenly prescribed by his publisher) to document many of his sources in the main body of the text.

Along with these many merits, the book has one central flaw: its active lack of sympathy—indeed, its near hostility—toward almost every manifestation of the radicalism and revolution

that were the very essence of the Spanish Left. This bias expresses itself in many ways. One can easily understand why Payne damns Azaña for his romantic radicalism; yet also to call him a "bureaucrat" (pp. 85, 90) and to imply that in the crisis of 1936 he was more of an officer-seeker than a principled individual facing an extraordinary dilemma (pp. 179, 190) seem to be contradictory and gratuitous criticisms. Besteiro, the moderate Socialist, is justly lauded for his antirevolutionary pleas, but the sterility and political irrelevance of the policies he recommended are not noted. Nor does Payne address himself directly to Noam Chomsky's recent effort to justify anarchosyndicalist tactics during the war; the evidence he presents implicitly undermines Chomsky's arguments, which I also think to be erroneous, but these are so forcefully presented and important as to deserve more explicit treatment.

Middle-class radicalism indeed failed in the prewar era, though partly because it was not radical enough. The revolutionary policies of the working-class movements from 1933 onward also undeniably led to disaster. Payne's greatest service probably lies precisely in reminding us of this and thus in helping us overcome the generally leftist bias of most histories of modern Spain. Yet by exaggerating the achievements of the constitutional monarchy, by failing to appreciate fully the misery in which most of Spain's population lived, by concentrating too much on the day-to-day maneuvering of political factions and not enough on their critiques of society, Payne is left with an excessively narrow basis for understanding why large numbers of decent men were driven to actions that ultimately proved to be catastrophic. He therefore runs the risk of introducing a new bias that would be as misleading as the one his otherwise excellent book seeks to destroy.

EDWARD E. MALEFAKIS
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GOTTFRIED LORENZ. *Das Erzstift Bremen und der Administrator Friedrich während des Westfälischen Friedenskongresses: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des schwedisch-dänischen Machtkampfes im 17. Jahrhundert.* (Schriftenreihe der Vereinigung zur Erforschung der Neueren Geschichte E.V., Number 4.) Münster: Verlag Aschendorff. 1969. Pp. xxii, 264. DM 44.

This book is a must for scholars interested in the diplomacy through which small German principalities sought to survive during the Thirty Years' War. Scholars interested in mid-seventeenth-century Danish-Swedish relations should look at it. All others can forget it. The author has very successfully limited his subject. We are mainly given a chronicle of the sterile diplomatic effort by which Frederick, son of Christian IV of Denmark, sought to retain the Archdiocese of Bremen, which he had obtained earlier in the war. The decisions were made on the battlefields, however, and Swedish success against Denmark made Frederick's diplomacy about as academic as Lorenz' dissertation.

The author makes a contribution of some value in the footnotes and appendixes, which together with his text provide explication of some of the complicated relationships that snarled statecraft in seventeenth-century Germany. He reached for greater significance by trying, as his subtitle indicates, to tie the Bremen story into the broader Danish-Swedish power struggle of that time. Unfortunately he does not do this very successfully. Although he uses some Swedish sources to supplement what he has from Copenhagen and Lower Saxony, he never makes Sweden's interest come alive in its true complexity. Limiting himself to diplomacy he takes only passing note of military considerations and none at all of economic ones. This leaves the discussion of diplomacy without depth. Since he also avoids the canebrakes of Swedish-Imperial and Swedish-French relations, the diplomacy surrounding Bremen is not very broad either. A considerable talent for research has been confined to too narrow a compass.

HEINZ E. ELLERSIECK
California Institute of Technology

WALTHER HUBATSCH. *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche Ostpreussens.* Volume 1; Volume 2, *Bilder ostpreussischer Kirchen,* edited by ISELIN GUNDERMANN; Volume 3, *Dokumente.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1968. Pp. ix, 598; xxiv, 166, 715 plates; vii, 588. DM 39 each.

HARTMUT LEHMANN. *Pietismus und weltliche Ordnung in Württemberg: vom 17. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert.* Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag. 1969. Pp. 406. DM 58.

Though both Professor Hubatsch of Bonn and Professor Lehmann of Kiel deal with German Protestantism, the contrast between them is striking and typical of the generation gap among German historians. Hubatsch has lived through the hopeless disasters of Germany in the first half of this century and is indebted to the conservative tradition of German Lutheranism. His book expresses warm feeling for the church in which he was raised. Lehmann received his formative influences during the 1950s and 1960s, the time of growing prosperity in West Germany. He shares the decidedly liberal orientation that is characteristic of today's German intellectuals. His approach is that of the cool, disinterested political historian.

Hubatsch traces the history of the evangelical, that is Lutheran, state church in the former duchy of Prussia and later province of East Prussia from the Reformation in 1525 until the flight and expulsion of the population in 1945. His work consists of three parts: volume 1 contains Hubatsch's text with an extensive bibliography, volume 2 is devoted to church architecture with a large collection of views of churches, volume 3 offers a fine selection of documents and lists of parishes. Although Hubasch's approach is traditional and at times less critical and more concerned with detail than might be warranted, his book surprises by its richness. Hubatsch pays very close attention to the structural changes within the church that reflected the constitutional changes in the state of Prussia. The various theological tendencies that centered in the university and city of Königsberg are discussed. Hubatsch's book also offers a colorful social history of Protestantism in East Prussia, dealing with the formation and disappearance of parishes, the training, social position, and life of the pastors, and the various forms of parish life. Very interesting sections are devoted to the non-German-speaking minorities, the Lithuanians and Masurians. More than other churches, the Lutheran church of Prussia faced smaller rivals from the beginning: spiritualists, Mennonites, Bohemian Brethren, Unitarians, and from the seventeenth century onward, Calvinists of German, French, and English-Scottish origin, who enjoyed the special favor of the Calvinist Hohenzollern dynasty. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Prussia was a very fertile ground for a host of sectarian groups. More important, however, were the new forms of religious life that Pietism introduced into the Lutheran church. The work of numerous church-related groups, which tried to deal with the many social problems of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, is closely described. Hubatsch also discusses the development of religious literature, the cultivation of church music, and the development of church architecture. Though the Third Reich was never able to subject the core of the Lutheran church of East Prussia, Hubatsch notes that state and party had their hold on the minds of the mass of people until finally the catastrophe of 1945 swept away the church with its people. Due to its rich diversity, Hubatsch's book will be indispensable to the student of German Protestantism.

Professor Lehmann's book is concerned with the social and political beliefs and attitudes of the Pietists. By limiting his study to Württemberg with its rich Pietist tradition, he has been able to discuss the views of the various leaders in great detail. By carrying the story from the late seventeenth to the mid-twentieth century, he has been able to describe with great skill the changes and the continuity of this strange religious sect that in general remained within the Lutheran church. Lehmann's book is far more than a study of religious and political beliefs. It also discusses the reaction of the Pietist leaders to concrete political events such as the revolution of 1848 and the social causes that conditioned their attitudes.

In the first half of the eighteenth century the Pietist leaders exhibited an extraordinary intellectual creativity but they never envisaged political, let alone revolutionary, action to change society. Instead they concentrated on leading pious lives that would allow them to be gathered by the Lord whose return the eminent Pietist theologian Bengel predicted for 1836. Only in the nineteenth century did most Pietists modify this inward-looking atti-

tude. Shaken by the new revolutionary and atheistic forces, they engaged in a wide variety of religious and charitable works, such as publishing ventures, Bible societies, pedagogic institutions, and social work. At the same time, however, they adopted a very conservative political position. They also strongly welcomed the unification of Germany by Prussia although they were disappointed when it did not lead to a moral and religious revival of the nation. According to Lehmann, these conservative and nationalistic trends proved to be the bane of most Pietists: they allied them with the reactionary bourgeoisie, prevented them from seeing, let alone solving, the social problems of their age, and rendered at least some of them defenseless to the Hitlerite propaganda.

It is not easy to read this very detailed book, but Lehmann admirably portrays the political world of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century Pietists that appears so misguided to him. It is another question whether the vitality of the Pietist movement should be judged on the basis of their political philosophy. Religious movements might require other criteria. There might have been much spiritual strength in the Pietist circles in spite of their unfortunate political views.

Lehmann's book is based on such an amazing amount of archival and published material and it is so penetrating in its analysis that it will undoubtedly become one of the standard works on Pietism in Württemberg. The social historian, however, might wish that the numerical strength and social structure of the Pietists had been more thoroughly investigated. Lehmann might also have told us more of the actual daily life of the Pietists and the new communities that they founded in Württemberg and abroad. But these are minor flaws in an otherwise first-rate piece of scholarship.

CLAUS-PETER CLASEN
University of California, Los Angeles

HEINRICH VOLKMANN. *Die Arbeiterfrage im preussischen Abgeordnetenhaus, 1848–1869.* (Schriften zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte, Number 13.) Berlin: Duncker & Humblot. 1968. Pp. 218. DM 39.60.

The dramatic shift in the historiography of the *Reichsgründung* period in German history precipitated within the past few years by the publication of impressive monographs by Helmut Böhme, Hans Rosenberg, and Theodore Hamerow has engendered a renewed interest in the socioeconomic milieu of the period. By reason of its systematic analysis of a very compact and significant theme and its author's assiduous research, this workmanlike monograph is an important contribution to this shift. The significance of Volkmann's monograph lies in its detailed analysis of the role played by political parties and the ministry in the passage of social reforms benefiting factory workers in Prussia and the North German Confederation from the time parliamentary institutions emerged in Prussia until the passage of the North German Confederation's industrial ordinance in 1869. Although Volkmann offers no major historical revisions, he presents the most balanced and carefully documented analysis of the ideological and political motivations behind industrial reform and of the changing role of party politics in the development of *Sozialpolitik* in mid-nineteenth-century Prussia.

The plan of the book is straightforward. After a perceptive introduction and first chapter in which he discusses the ideological image of the *Arbeiterfrage* during the *Vormärz* and revolutionary periods, Volkmann turns to Prussian industrial reforms during the reactionary period of the Manteuffel ministry, the New Era, the period of the army-constitutional conflict, and in the North German Confederation until 1869. Volkmann focuses on the proceedings of the *Abgeordnetenhaus* and the Reichstag, upon the government's bills and the proposals and arguments of a relatively small number of deputies committed to *Sozialpolitik,* especially Harkort, Schulze-Delitzsch, and Wagener. Although the ideological and political considerations behind specific working-class reforms, especially those promoted by the minister of commerce, August von der Heydt, are critically scrutinized, more could have been done to relate these developments to the socioeconomic matrix of the *Arbeiterfrage.*

JOHN S. WOZNIAK
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ELIAHU BEN ELISSAR. *La diplomatie du III^e Reich et les Juifs (1933–1939).* [Paris:] Julliard. 1969. Pp. 521.

Hitler's domestic, racial policies were somewhat sensitive to pressures from abroad. One hiatus in the racial campaign lasted almost two years. Joseph Goebbels had earlier convinced Hitler that prestige could be gained from the Berlin Olympics of 1936. When disgust with the Nazis produced threatened withdrawals of French, British, and, especially, American athletic teams, the Nazis eased up on the Jews. But the period of relative calm ended in mid-1938 with nearly simultaneous outbreaks of swashbuckling diplomacy and anti-Semitic outrages.

The Jews were victims of appeasement, a process Ben Elissar dates from April 1933 with the reluctance of the British and the Americans to boycott German goods. The outlines of the "final solution" were obscure until early 1940 when the racial fanatics were isolated from foreign opinion.

The author uses vast quantities of archival materials to document the origin and demise of schemes to save lives: plans to shift millions of desperate persons to Palestine, Angola, Madagascar, or Shanghai. All failed due to a lack of funds and of vigor on the part of the Reich's enemies. Ben Elissar agrees with Raul Hilberg that the Nazis' decision to slaughter was an administrative one. There was no place to put those despised, living bodies. We also learn some strange things. Julius Streicher, for example, caused a minor diplomatic ruckus when he accused Pius XI of being half Jewish.

There are some awful ironies in the author's thematic presentation. Ben Elissar, himself a tough Israeli patriot, depicts Hitler's enemies as torpid, tight-fisted, hypocritical anti-Semites. Only Hitler acted with boldness and ideological consistency. The author of the book, like the author of the holocaust, believes that the assimilation was an error and that the Jews should have been taken away from the Gentiles. It was the decadence of the Nazis' opponents abroad that let the lives of millions of potential Israelis slip away.

RICHARD D. MANDELL
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ANTHONY N. GROBOVSKY. *The "Chosen Council" of Ivan IV: A Reinterpretation.* Brooklyn: Theo. Gaus' Sons. 1969. Pp. vii, 171. $7.00.

Grobovsky's short monograph argues that the traditions of interpretation of the dynamics of political rivalry in the 1550s under Tsar Ivan IV of Moscow rest on an accumulation of often unfounded assumptions that have obscured our understanding of this crucial period in the development of the Great Russian state. The term "chosen council" (*Izbrannaia rada*) originated in Prince A. M. Kurbskii's probably contemporaneous history of Ivan's reign, *Istoriia o velikom kniaze moskovskom.* Grobovsky contends that Kurbskii's *rada* was a figurative expression describing as a league of righteous servitors those whom Ivan had persecuted. After an excellent historiographical review, Grobovsky shows that historical arguments that have transformed the *rada* into an institution or reform party with definite membership, policies, and dates of origin and collapse, cannot be substantiated in the sources. He concentrates his analysis on the "first thorough attempt" (p. 89) to establish the membership of the *rada:* S. V. Bakhrushin's "'Izbrannaia rada' Ivana Groznogo," in Volume 2 of *Nauchnye trudy* (Moscow, 1964), and on variations of it in recent works by S. B. Veselovskii, I. I. Smirnov, A. A. Zimin, S. O. Shmidt, and others. Except for the unfortunate omission of R. G. Skrynnikov's *Nachalo Oprichniny* (Leningrad, 1966), Grobovsky's research is as thorough as it is accurate. His argument, like the subject, is complex; but, despite a ponderous style, it is clear and convincing. Although the subject is narrow and of interest mainly to specialists, Grobovsky's ideas are important and, in view of current attempts to re-evaluate Ivan's reign, most timely.

DAVID B. MILLER
Roosevelt University

SERGEI A. ZEN'KOVSKII. *Russkoe Staroobriadchestvo: Dukhovnye Dvizheniia Semnadtsatogo Veka* [Russia's Old Believers: Spiritual Movements of the Seventeenth Century]. (Forum Slavicum, Number 21.) Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag. 1970. Pp. 528. DM 96.

ROBERT O. CRUMMEY. *The Old Believers & the World of Antichrist: The Vyg Community & the*

Russian State, 1694–1855. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1970. Pp. xix, 258. $10.00.

After a short summary in English, Zen'kovskii provides an extensive treatment of the Russian Old Believers in Russian to preserve the flavor of the original sources. The movement originated in the 1630s with the so-called *Bogoliubtsy* (Seekers of God), who desired liturgical and moral revivals, particularly among the clergy. The leaders were Archpriests Stephen Vonifatiev, the tsar's confessor, Ivan Neronov, and Avvakum. They endeavored to make Russian Orthodoxy dominant throughout the East in accordance with the slogan, "Moscow the Third Rome." When Metropolitan Nikon became patriarch in 1652, he favored the aims of the *Bogoliubtsy*. Soon, however, he adopted a program of making the patriarchal office equal or even superior to that of the tsar. While Alexis Mikhailovich was young, this strong-willed patriarch had his way. In order to secure hegemony among the other Orthodox patriarchates, Nikon thought it necessary to revise the Russian liturgical texts and traditional church practices in conformity with the current Greek usages. He did not know that the Russian texts and ritual were actually closer to early Byzantine forms than the contemporary Greek texts. These reforms caused disagreement and finally a rupture between the reforming party and the patriarch. Nikon, however, met opposition with severe, even cruel, reprisals; he removed recalcitrant bishops and archpriests from their sees and positions by methods that were often openly unjust and autocratic.

In the meantime, Tsar Alexis returned from the long, drawnout wars with Poland and Sweden, having greatly matured in his views of the tsarist prerogatives. During his absence Nikon had acted as the regent of the country, and had actually assumed the tsar's own title of *"veliky gosudar."* Alexis now would not stand for Nikon's autocratic ways. Thereupon the patriarch divested himself of the patriarchal functions and retired to a monastery. The church was bereft of its supreme hierarch, yet no one knew whether Nikon could be deposed and a new patriarch elected.

Under these conditions Alexis accepted the plan of calling a council consisting of two Greek patriarchs, many bishops, and the Russian hierarchs. The council met in Moscow in 1666–67, and, as could be expected, the Greek contingent approved the changes in the Russian liturgy and rites but deposed Nikon.

This action was, then, the direct cause of the Schism (*Raskol*), which soon reached surprisingly large proportions. In the nineteenth century at least one-quarter, or perhaps even one-third, of the Russian population belonged to various Old Believers' organizations; even so, some one million left Russia.

The state then undertook a savage repression of these recalcitrants. Some escaped to the far north, where the Solovky monastery was their center. Their communities repudiated the official church and state as dominated by the antichrist, refused the Nikonian hierarchy and priesthood, and one group of them lived without priests and sacraments, including even marriage. These *bezpopovtsy* preached extreme asceticism, even self-starvation and immolation, and they adopted apocalyptic teachings. Their original leader, Capiton, was succeeded by Vavila and Avvakum, both of whom were later put to death.

Zen'kovkii's work is the most comprehensive and authoritative modern treatment of this very important phase of the Russian church and national history. The author is so thoroughly conversant with his subject that his work will remain the standard treatment for many decades to come.

Crummey's work covers briefly the events leading up to the Council of 1666–67, which approved the liturgical reforms of Patriarch Nikon. Those who refused to accept the changes broke away from the official church. Since the government of Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich ordered the tsar's subjects to accept the reforms unconditionally, the Old Believers (or *Raskolniki*, that is, Schismatics) found themselves in radical opposition to the state as well as to the church. They rejected both as being under the rule of the antichrist. To escape persecution they sought refuge in distant, sparcely settled territories. When confronted by the troops sent against them, they immolated themselves, often in large numbers.

The settlement chosen by the author for a detailed study is the Vyg community near the

White Sea. This is the first thorough study of this and related groups, based on exhaustive research of all available manuscript and published sources. The Vyg community was organized in 1694, during the reign of Peter I, by Daniel Vikulich, but its most important leaders were his successors, brothers Andrei and Semen Denisov and Peter Prokopiev. Of the three, Andrei was the most energetic organizer and leader. From the beginning, the form of the community was monastic. At first it contained both men and women, but later the women were settled under the Abbess Solomoniia, Denisov's sister, in the nearby Leksa convent, over which the Vyg monastery retained general supervision. The combined membership numbered about one thousand. Since there were no ordained priests in the community (they had been rejected as being ordained in an apostate church), no sacraments could be canonically ministered. Yet a strict devotional regime and monastic discipline were imposed. Private property was forbidden and all earnings were paid into a common treasury from which all expenses were paid. All members were assigned tasks and were strictly supervised. Anyone who refused to submit to the rules was expelled.

The severe persecution suffered during the reign of Regent Sophia was somewhat modified under Tsar Peter I. Nevertheless, he imposed legal restrictions on the dress and the shaving of beards of the dissenters, and exacted double taxes from them. They, in turn, regarded Peter as antichrist. Despite all, the Vyg community prospered, particularly when iron ore was found in the neighborhood and was processed into finished products in the Olonets factories. In return for labor in extracting iron, the Vyg community was granted toleration. In course of time, other industries, such as fishing and extensive agriculture, were engaged in and resulted in guarded and yet steady contacts with the government, although the regime was still regarded as impious.

In the succeeding reigns the situation was not greatly changed because Peter's laws remained in effect. Only when Empress Catherine repealed the obnoxious laws could Vyg prosper in safety.

The reign of Nicholas I, nevertheless, witnessed the final destruction of Vyg. Its chapel reverted to the state church, its buildings fell to ruin, and the old books and icons were confiscated. The last leader died in 1915.

MATTHEW SPINKA
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MICHAEL CONFINO. *Systèmes agraires et progrès agricole: L'assolement triennal en Russie aux XVIII^e^–XIX^e^ siècles. Étude d'économie et de sociologie rurales.* Preface by ROGER PORTAL. (École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI^e^ Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Études sur l'histoire, l'économie et la sociologie des pays slaves, Number 14.) The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1969. Pp. 495. 51 gls.

Inspired by the pioneering work of Marc Bloch, Professor Confino has broadened his own previous study of Russian agrarian history to examine the evolution of the three-field system in Russia from about 1760 to 1861. To city-bred historians like myself who have only a nodding acquaintance with rural life and agricultural history, such an enterprise might seem doomed to produce results of little interest. Such is not the case here, however, for Confino has employed an impressive array of approaches and evidence that inject intellectual excitement into his difficult subject. He has carefully assayed previous scholarship—indeed, specialists will welcome his comprehensive, thirty-nine page bibliography—and has skillfully drawn on sources as diverse as the works of the Imperial Free Economic Society, poetry, and folklore. His theses are thoughtfully formulated, subtly argued, and clearly presented. Particularly valuable for the nonspecialist are his remarks upon the interplay of institutional factors—such as serfdom, the system of labor dues (*barshchina*), and the peasant commune—with the psychological attitudes of lords and peasants. Thus he emphasizes that the three-field system was only one element of an exceptionally cohesive social structure that engendered a psychological outlook inimical to change. The routine of the three-field system protected the enserfed peasantry against the oppression of their lords, while it lent stability to a basically marginal rural economy by insuring that the bulk of production was consumed by its producers. It was this network of economic and psychological interdependencies that made the system so difficult to change.

In refusing to indict the three-field system as the chief villain of Russia's agrarian backwardness, Confino suggests that it was neither so ancient, so widespread, nor so rigid a system as some scholars have thought. He deftly criticizes Soviet interpretations concerning an alleged "crisis of the three-field system," reminding us that agrarian change invariably requires much longer time spans and assumes more varied forms than does industrial progress; hence precise periodization is impossible. Confino's scholarship is impeccable. His latest work is at once a fundamental contribution to the study of modern Russian history and a model demonstration of history enriched by borrowings from other disciplines.

JOHN T. ALEXANDER
University of Kansas

JOHN T. ALEXANDER. *Autocratic Politics in a National Crisis: The Imperial Russian Government and Pugachev's Revolt/1773–1775.* (Russian and East European Series, Volume 38.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press for the International Affairs Center. 1969. Pp. xii, 346. $8.50.

Professor John T. Alexander's recently published book, *Autocratic Politics in a National Crisis,* is a welcome addition to historical literature. With a sure touch the author traces in twelve vivid chapters the great social rebellion from its obscure inception to its important aftermath. Moreover, as the title indicates, he interprets his task very broadly. The preface emphasizes such issues as "how Catherine II and her government viewed the Pugachev revolt at its various stages," the interplay of this perception with the foreign and domestic policies of the government, "the government's ideological response," and "the lessons" that it drew from the rebellion (p. x). The actual narrative has at least three principal focuses the rebellion; foreign affairs, especially in regard to Turkey; and court and government intrigues and politics. It is in his dealing with the last set of problems that Professor Alexander shows the grestest originality. The preface and the twelve chapters are followed by a list of abbreviations, by notes relegated quite unfortunately to the back of the volume, by "works consulted," and by an index.

Professor Alexander's study speaks well of its author and even of the training of young American scholars in Russian history. Dedicated to Professor Michael Ginsburg of Indiana University and acknowledging gratefully the guidance and help of other Indiana specialists in the field, it also pays tribute to Professor V. V. Mavrodin and certain other Soviet scholars who aided the author during his year of concentrated research in the USSR. More impressive than explicit acknowledgements is the fact that the book is soundly based both on archival sources and particularly on a very wide reading in the published materials, Soviet, pre-Soviet, and non-Russian. Use is made even of the contemporary press, in Russia and several other countries. Professor Alexander's judgments are sensible, careful, nuanced, and generally convincing. It is notable that the author underplays, if anything, rather than exaggerates the importance of his particular subject for the general evolution of Russia. The book is highly readable and on the whole well produced, although one might object to Françoise as one of Voltaire's given names (p. 346), or, on methodological grounds, to the description of a writer, in this case M. M. Shcherbatov, as "a conservative, unpleasant man, who was nevertheless an able historian" (p. 120).

Autocratic Politics in a National Crisis is a major contribution to Russian history in the English language. That it is not also a major contribution to Russian history *tout court* is really a tribute to the author's predecessors.

NICHOLAS V. RIASANOVSKY
University of California, Berkeley

A. WALICKI. *The Controversy over Capitalism: Studies in the Social Philosophy of the Russian Populists.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1969. Pp. 197. $6.25.

Andrzey Walicki, a Polish Marxist, has for years concerned himself with the history of nineteenth-century Russian thought. The essay under review is devoted to "some aspects of the ideology of *classical* Russian populism." The author is only marginally interested in the populist revolutionary movement and at pains to distinguish developmental phases in the history of populist thought. He stresses the diversity of ideas—from Herzen to Vorontsov, from Bakunin to Tolstoy—encompassed within

populism's ample confines. Walicki is at his best in the treatment of the content, implications, and interrelations of ideas. He points up interesting connections or parallels between certain populist conceptions and those of such important Western social thinkers as Tönnies, Durkheim, and Mannheim.

The book's central thesis reads: "Marxism . . . should be recognized as the main frame of reference for the proper understanding of classical Russian populism; classical populism, in its turn, should be recognized as one of the most important chapters in the history of a broadly conceived reception of Marxism." This view, not entirely unfamiliar to students of the subject, is here stated much more forcefully than usual. Actually, parts of the book traverse well-trodden ground; other sections, though of considerable interest, are not clearly related to the central theme. For the rest, the not inconsiderable and persuasive evidence offered in support of the thesis seems to me to fall short of the claims made.

Nevertheless, this study decidedly merits attention. It is marked by a sensitive appreciation of important insights in the work of Lavrov, Mikhailovskii, Vorontsov, and Danielson—men usually subjected to scathing criticism by Marxist writers. The populists are seen not just as representatives of peasant interests but as men who first came to grips with the acute problems set for backward countries—notably uneven development—in the process of modernization. Good though this book is, it might have been better had the author taken into account the works of Professors Malia, Fischer, Von Laue, and, if I may be immodest, my study of Plekhanov.

SAMUEL H. BARON
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A. M. ANFIMOV. *Krupnoe Pomeshchich'e Khoziaistvo Evropeiskoi Rossii (Konets XIX–Nachalo XX Veka)* [Large-Scale Landlord Economy in European Russia (End of the 19th to the Beginning of the 20th Century)]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii SSSR.) Moscow: Izdatel 'stvo "Nauka." 1969. Pp. 392.

For those who still have doubts, Anfimov's book offers yet one more massive reassurance that Lenin was right. In particular, he was right in 1906 when he said: "Landed estates in Russia are run more on the basis of serf-bondage relationships than on capitalist organization."

For those who want to know how large landed estates actually operated and developed in Russia during the period 1890–1914, Anfimov provides a smattering of relevant information, drawn partly from archives. This information is more wide ranging than organized. Anfimov's purpose is to show what landed estates failed to do, not what they did; thus, his book is not as informative as it is encyclopedic. All this notwithstanding, the agricultural historian will find that it deserves careful reading.

Anfimov's main subject is the economic relationship between landed estates and the peasantry. His main point is that most estates operated by renting their lands out to peasants on a short-term basis in exchange for labor rather than money. Short-term rental insured that no one would use advanced agricultural methods on rented lands. Whether the peasants rented the estate lands or labored upon them in order to pay their rent, in either case they did not generally work as free laborers, but as small farmers who had to do essentially *corvée* work (*barshchina*) for estate owners in order to maintain their own tiny allotments. In effect, then, serfdom survived the emancipation of 1861 and continued right up to 1917 to oppress and impoverish the peasantry while keeping agriculture primitive. Anfimov concludes that the big estates were not leaders in agricultural progress, as so many scholars have said. On the contrary, they were obstacles to progress. This is why Lenin denied that bourgeois agriculture could develop in Russia as it had in the West. Russian landed estates were not capitalistic, said Lenin, and Russian agriculture could not become capitalist as long as big estates continued to impose the old serf relationships on the Russian countryside. Russian agriculture would have to develop around the peasant movement to destroy the estates, not, as in Germany, around the evolution of capitalistic relationships among landed estates and the peasantry.

Anfimov's description of agricultural backwardness on the big estates is convincing; his (and Lenin's) much-repeated assertion that the landed estates imposed this backwardness

is not. What Anfimov does, in effect, is to describe the conditions under which the estate owners worked and then to blame the estate owners for these very conditions. He never speaks of Russian peasant society and the difficulty of introducing modern agricultural methods to peasants, though he seems to be aware of A. V. Chaianov's works. He refers to Engelgardt's condemnation of estate owners but ignores Engelgardt's own failure to persuade peasants to adopt new methods. Now and then Anfimov refers casually to peasant "darkness" (see, for example, p. 368), but on the whole he places all the blame for Russian agriculture's failure to match German standards on Russian estate owners. At one point he refers to the existence of effective legal institutions in German peasant society, as if he intended to contrast this with their absence in Russia (pp. 360–62). Instead, however, he contrasts German peasant institutions with "irresponsible" *(dikie)* Russian landowners, which is simply not relevant. Anfimov's high point of absurdity comes in his description of forestry on the landed estates. At the end of a long passage devoted to the failure of Russian estate owners to preserve forest resources, he announces proudly that the great October Revolution saved Russia's forests from extinction at their hands (p. 254).

Regrettably, the book does not have a bibliography.

GEORGE L. YANEY
University of Maryland

K. F. SHATSILLO. *Russkii Imperializm i Razvitie Flota Nakanune Pervoi Mirovoi Voiny (1906–1914 gg.)* [Russian Imperialism and the Development of the Fleet on the Eve of the First World War (1906–1914)]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1968. Pp. 366.

The development of the Russian navy in the wake of the debacle of the Russo-Japanese War and in the age of widespread attention to naval construction and naval power has heretofore received little attention. But even through the smokescreen of the controlled Soviet historiography, this study provides considerable help in understanding why the Russian navy lagged as it did in comparison with the sea power of the other major nations. The subject is expressed through a well-known theme, the relationship between international finance capitalism and the development of Russia in the age of imperialism, the last stage of capitalism.

The book has an introduction devoted largely to a discussion of the sources used. These are basically archival materials relating to the politics, planning, and process of the naval construction program, to the role of the Duma in the fleet rearmament effort, and to the influence of militarization on the development of the national economy. The main body of the book consists of five chapters dealing with Russia in the setting of the naval rivalry of the early years of the twentieth century. The naval reconstruction program after 1905 is considered regionally, mainly as to its course in the Baltic and Black Seas. The last two chapters deal with the rebuilding program in its relationship to the Duma and with the financial aspects of the program.

It need hardly be added that the tone of the book as well as its value judgments are expressed in the Soviet historical tradition. Nevertheless, its wide reference to archival and other source materials and its publication of documents give it considerable value. It portrays the protracted process of the formation of a Russian naval policy, rendered unusually difficult by the struggles over the allotment of funds and even by the hazards of determining the mission and composition of each of the regional fleets.

JOHN A. WHITE
University of Hawaii

E. N. BURDZHALOV. *Vtoraia Russkaia Revoliutsiia: Vosstanie v Petrograde* [The Second Russian Revolution: The Uprising in Petrograd]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR. Nauchnyi Sovet po Kompleksnoi Probleme "Istoriia Velikoi Oktiabr'skoi Sotsialisticheskoi Revoliutsii." Moskovskii Gosudarstvennyi Pedagogicheskii Institut Imeni V. I. Lenina.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1967. Pp. 405.

Of the many books that appeared on the fiftieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution, this is perhaps the most impressive. It is, in fact, one of the finest historical works to be

published in the Soviet Union since the death of Stalin. The author, a former editor of *Voprosy Istorii,* the leading Soviet historical journal, refutes a number of myths of Stalinist historiography relating to the February Revolution of 1917 (the "second" revolution of his title, the first being that of 1905). He shows, for instance, that the revolution was essentially a spontaneous affair, neither organized nor directed by the Bolshevik party, which, like all other political groups, was pulled along by the tide of events, and which remained in disarray until the arrival of Lenin in early April. Rather, it was the workers themselves who occupied the forefront, supported by the Petrograd garrison, whose cooperation guaranteed the success of the uprising.

This is not to say that the Bolsheviks had no role in the February upheaval. But taken unawares and plagued by internal divisions, they were unable to assume leadership of the revolutionary movement or to guide it toward any preconceived goals. What is more, where they did play a significant part, as Burdzhalov shows, they did so in close cooperation with the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries, who shared their ambition to overthrow the autocracy. Burdzhalov even has a good word for Martov and Trotsky, who, far from being chauvinistic "defensists," as they are falsely portrayed in Stalinist historiography, eloquently denounced the First World War as an imperialist struggle for power and profit with the masses serving as mere cannon fodder.

All this is extremely refreshing and is presented in a lucid style that, for all the complexity of the events described, is always easy to follow. There is a valuable and detailed chapter on the formation of the Petrograd Soviet and its activities in the first days of the uprising, during which the Mezhraiontsy, a small group of Social Democrats hovering between the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks, appear to have exerted an influence out of all proportion to their numbers. Another chapter offers an equally valuable account of the Petrograd garrison in which close attention is given to the merging of the workers and soldiers into a unified revolutionary movement. Of particular interest is the critical role of female workers in winning over the troops and in spreading the strike movement from factory to factory. Furthermore, there is a careful account of the abdication of Nicholas II and the transfer of power from the defunct autocracy to the provisional government. The abolition, as Burdzhalov notes, by freeing the soldiers from their oath to the tsar, eased their shift to the support of the revolution, whose destiny ultimately lay in their hands. Finally, Burdzhalov shows that the February Revolution was not a bloodless affair, as often depicted, but that nearly two thousand were killed or wounded in Petrograd alone.

Roughly one-quarter of the book deals with events leading up to the revolution. Burdzhalov sees a new revolutionary wave taking shape as early as 1912 and reaching its crest on the eve of the war. He believes that the war, far from hastening the revolution, in fact delayed it. But unfortunately this controversial thesis, recently elaborated in this country by Leopold Haimson, is not developed in any convincing way. The rest of the book is confined largely to events in Petrograd during the first week of the revolution. Burdzhalov does not discuss the spread of the revolution to the provinces, a subject that he has reserved for a subsequent volume whose appearance scholars will await with eager anticipation. Meanwhile, we are already deeply in his debt for this excellent study of the uprising in the capital.

PAUL AVRICH
Queens College,
City University of New York

REX A. WADE. *The Russian Search for Peace: February–October 1917.* Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1969. Pp. vii, 196. $6.50.

V. A. SHISHKIN. *Sovetskoe Gosudarstvo i Strany Zapada v 1917–1923 gg.: Ocherki Istorii Stanovleniia Ekonomicheskikh Otnoshenii* [The Soviet State and the Countries of the West, 1917–1923: Outlines of the History of the Establishment of Economic Relations]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii, Leningradskoe Otdelenie.) Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka," Leningradskoe Otdelenie. 1969. Pp. 438.

In Russia in 1917 only an end to the war could have checked the army's revolution for peace at any price. Irakli Tsereteli, leader of the Soviet and major figure beside Kerensky in the second provisional government, was not, like Lenin, prepared to make a peace that by

strengthening Imperial Germany would destroy the revolution. Tsereteli, seeking a democratic peace through appeals of reason to the peoples and governments of the belligerents, hoped that Russia, in addition to renouncing her own annexationist ambitions, might be able to persuade her allies to follow suit. Tsereteli's "revolutionary defensism," which became the foreign policy of "democratic" Russia through much of 1917, hinged upon the army's willingness to remain in the fight while the slow mills of diplomacy and international socialist conferences ground out a peace agreement for which there was never much chance short of total victory by one side. Meanwhile Lenin rode the rising tide of military anarchy to an easy victory.

Professor Wade, although much too sparse on the subject of bolshevism, has delivered an altogether masterful and marvelously concise analysis of the so-called foreign policy dilemma, focusing sharply on those tragic figures of Russian socialism—Tsereteli, Kerensky, Skobelev, Chernov, Martov, and others—who erroneously assumed that the revolution was an exercise in political democracy.

From 1917 to 1923 Russia had a most difficult time overcoming her ostracism by tenaciously establishing trade—and thereby political—relations with the outside world. Despite the obvious consideration that Russia desperately needed foreign products, Western writers have viewed Soviet trade policies in this period as geared largely to political designs. From 1917 to 1920, it is said, Russia courted hostility with Western governments because of "world revolution" and "capitalist encirclement." The year 1921 is said to have initiated a transformation in that Lenin "manipulated" the term "coexistence," and Soviet foreign policy became nationalistic because of the *Krach* of world revolution and the post–civil war economic crisis. The same point of view regarded Lenin's concessions policy as intended to divide the capitalist powers while fostering closer relations with Germany.

Thanks to such stereotypic attitudes, notes V. A. Shishkin, the early establishment of Soviet trade relations with the West has been given no serious scholarly attention. His book, however, drawing extensively upon Soviet, German, and Czech archives, has done this most carefully, making it clear that it was not Russia but the West whose bids for trade were politically tinged. The Soviet regime from the outset, he proves, tried to trade for one and only one reason: Russia needed trade. The changeover ascribed to Soviet politics in 1921 was not a "cynical" gesture by Lenin but grew largely out of capitalist desires to further the restoration of capitalism in Russia that the new economic policy seemed to herald. Shishkin points an accusing finger at Deutscher, Fainsod, and Barghoorn, among others, for perpetuating a myth through tendentious writings. He chides official Washington for basing its mistaken views on the "Soviet specialists of the Harvard and Columbia research centers," and he tears into George F. Kennan as the chief schematizer of the manner in which the Soviet government allegedly "politicalized" its trade relations. This outstanding scholarly opus is a needed reminder to United States "experts" on Russia of the virtues of humility. It has brought home to me, blushing with shame, that only artificial circumstances permitted the historians of one great country to dominate for a brief time the historiography of another.

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G. D. ALEKSEEVA. *Oktiabr'skaia Revoliutsiia i istoricheskaia Nauka v Rossii (1917–1923 gg.)* [The October Revolution and Historical Scholarship in Russia (1917–1923)]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1968. Pp. 298.

L. V. IVANOVA. *U Istokov Sovetskoi Istoricheskoi Nauki (Podgotovka Kadrov Istorikov-Marksistov v 1917–1929 gg.)* [At the Sources of Soviet Historical Science (The Preparation of Cadres of Marxist Historians, 1917–1929)]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Mysl'." 1968. Pp. 197.

These are two succinct, perceptive, remarkably complementary studies, indispensable to students of Soviet historiography. Whereas the first one covers the short period of 1917–23, the other goes beyond, carrying the subject through the 1920s. Alekseeva describes mainly the profound impact the October Revolution, with all its faltering steps in search of new interpretations of the past, had upon the writ-

ing of history. Ivanova, on the other hand, delves deeper into the same field and describes the strenuous efforts that had been exerted during the entire 1920s in order to train new cadres of Marxist-oriented historians who were expected to teach as well as to rewrite the entire course of national history.

Though both works bristle with familiar platitudes they simultaneously reveal certain meritorious details. Both authors sometimes unwittingly show the impoverishment of historical philosophy that prevailed during those early years. They describe the plight that befell such old guard historians as S. F. Platonov or M. K. Liubavskii. At times the reader is given the impression that "bourgeois" historians were predestined to obsolescence while the Marxist-Leninist school, as the only viable one, was rightfully entitled to the exclusive privilege of interpreting the past correctly.

Numerous vignettes and episodes show the savage drive against many of the pre-Revolutionary historians. Some of these were forced to flee abroad; others, the "homeland emigrés," were to be exploited cynically by the party rulers. Thus, when in February 1921 Lenin urged the director of the recently founded Marx-Engels Institute to gather and publish every available document related to the founding fathers of materialism, he recommended that some of these records might be purchased from "the mercenary scum (*prodazhnaia svoloch'*) of [Philipp] Scheidemann & Co."

When in April of the same year E. M. Iaroslavskii sought Lenin's view as to whether two Menshevik leaders (Axelrod and Deborin) might be employed as lecturers at the Sverdlov University, the reply was brief and characteristic. "My opinion," Lenin stated, "is that both be invited for they will defend Marxism. [But] if they start to advocate menshevism we will catch them; they must be watched." Such was the atmosphere in which the new historical science was to emerge!

Students of Soviet historiography should read these two studies, which graphically describe the untrod paths Soviet historians followed during the 1920s. Many aspects for reasons only too well understandable are dealt with gingerly. On the other hand, one will find most illuminating if not startling many details that describe the truly critical and formative decade during which Soviet historical science began to emerge and take command of the "historical front."

ANATOLE G. MAZOUR
Stanford University

N. IA. GUSCHIN *et al.*, editors. *Istoriografiia Sovetskoi Sibiri (1917–1945 gg.)* [Historiography of Soviet Siberia (1917–1945)]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Sibirskoe Otdelenie. Institut Istorii, Filiologii i Filosofii.) Novosibirsk: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka," Sibirskoe Otdelenie. 1968. Pp. 246.

As a source book for bibliography on the Sovietization of Siberia, this work will be welcomed by scholars who are conducting research on that area. It is divided into chapters dealing with the Revolution and civil war, the working class, the socialization of agriculture, cultural development, and socialism in the national regions, and Siberia during the Second World War. Each section ends with a list of problems that need further investigation. The authors grant only cursory attention to anti-Bolshevik literature and none to non-Russian-language studies.

The book will be particularly useful to those who are interested in the development of Soviet historiography. Russian historians have recently become less restrained by ideology than they were in the past, and, in that regard, the book reflects both the old and the new. Naturally enough, Lenin is put forward as the source of all methodological guidelines, and, in keeping with a somewhat different tradition, the writings and speeches of Stalin and Khrushchev are completely ignored. Tiresome phrases about "henchmen of imperialism" and "bourgeois falsifiers" do little to gain the confidence of non-Soviet readers. Yet such remarks are relatively rare, and the authors recognize that there was little objectivity during the Stalinist era. Furthermore, they acknowledge that the most consistent weakness of earlier works was the absence of documentation from anti-Bolshevik writers, socialist and capitalist alike. Indeed, they point to the "one-sided" nature of much of the research done on Soviet Siberia to date.

Useful as a list of Soviet writings on Siberia, interesting as a representative work of Soviet historiography, the book will accomplish much if other Russian scholars take up the challenge posed by its authors and expand the

scope of their research on the last fifty years of Siberian history.

J. LAURENCE BLACK
Laurentian University

PAUL AVRICH. *Kronstadt 1921.* (Studies of the Russian Institute, Columbia University.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1970. Pp. 271. $8.50.

In his well-documented *Kronstadt 1921,* Paul Avrich deals objectively with the background, causes, program, possible foreign connections, and eventual suppression of the rebellion at the Kronstadt naval base just outside of Petrograd. Since the Kronstadt sailors had been among the most radical and enthusiastic supporters of the Russian revolutions of 1917, and since they were in reality "plus communiste que Lenine," to change the old quote, their revolt in 1921 could well have appealed to the idealists in the Bolshevist movement and brought about the fall of the Lenin government. Thus a study of the causes of this revolt, with the benefit of half a century of perspective, is most interesting to those studying the development of Russian communism.

While Mr. Avrich's book does not reveal anything astonishingly new or unknown, it does gather together and organize a significant part of the important material connected with this revolt and points out many of the erroneous conclusions that at times have been drawn. Thus, for example, the historian who often has been annoyed by journalistic liberties with facts can only smile knowingly when he reads (p. 97) that the New York *Times* on March 14, 1921, went so far as to state that the "sailors had taken full control in Petrograd and were defying the troops sent by Trotsky to dislodge them."

When Mr. Avrich points out the surprisingly humane and correct treatment of the Bolshevik prisoners and officials by the Kronstadt garrison, the reader might feel like asking why Communist historiography, which so strongly castigates the Thiers government for the harsh reprisals instituted against the Paris Communards (who, after all, did execute prisoners and did attempt to burn down Paris) has only approbation and no words of condemnation for the execution and brutal treatment meted out to the surrendered Kronstadters.

Kronstadt 1921 is in general a valuable addition to the literature available in English about an important event and an important period in history. I personally would have found this book a bit more readable had there been somewhat less footnoting.

NORMAN LUXENBURG
University of Iowa

N. ZUBOV. *F. E. Dzerzhinskii: Biografiia* [F. E. Dzerzhinskii: A Biography]. 2d rev. ed.; Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Politicheskoi Literatury. 1965. Pp. 364.

Its most devoted liegeman while he lived, the founder and first head of the Soviet secret police has continued to render yeoman service to the Communist party of the Soviet Union since his death in 1926. In an organization marked by a cruelty and brutality exceptional even by twentieth-century standards, he has served as an example of untarnished devotion to an exalted cause. To a powerful institution subject to the recurrent temptation to rival the party, he bequeathed the tradition of unquestioning subordination to the dictates of the party's leadership. And to a younger generation prone to adopt a careerist and cynical attitude toward party ideology, he has served as the embodiment of total dedication to the ideals and goals of communism.

No wonder, then, that biographies of Dzerzhinsky, collected editions of his writings, and studies of his career continue to appear in the Soviet Union, while his successors in office, with the marginal exception of Menzhinsky, have been consigned to the outer darkness.

N. Zubov (Nikolai Ivanovich Zubov) is an old hand in the field of Dzerzhinsky studies, having published a "short biography" of him less than ten years after his death (Moscow, 1933; second edition, Moscow, 1942). Taking advantage of the fairly extensive publication of documents on the Cheka after 1956, as well as of the partial relaxation of political controls that characterized the Khrushchev era, Zubov published in 1963 what was in effect a new biography of Dzerzhinsky, of which the work under review constitutes the second edi-

tion. Zubov's book provided a reasonably full and accurate account of Dzerzhinsky's career, and while it offered no sensational disclosures concerning his work as founder of the Cheka, it did enable the reader to understand better how Dzerzhinsky's earlier career had fitted him for successfully carrying out that responsible and exacting task.

A principal reason, no doubt, why a new edition was required after such a comparatively brief period was the need to expunge the favorable references to Khrushchev that appeared in the first edition. The new edition has been substantially reworked, however, and Zubov has made good use of such newly available materials as the memoirs of Dzerzhinsky's widow and the recollections of K. Ye. Voroshilov, who was politically in disgrace in 1963.

In addition, the 1965 text contains some new details that will be of value to the historian, for example, an expanded list of Old Bolsheviks who worked in the Cheka. On the other hand, the historian must still consult the first edition, since it provided important materials, such as a list of workers in the Cheka, that have been eliminated from the 1965 text.

ROBERT M. SLUSSER
The Johns Hopkins University

IU. L. MOLCHANOV. *Komintern: U Istokov Politiki Edinogo Proletarskogo Fronta* [The Komintern: The Origins of the Tactics of the United Proletarian Front]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Mysl'." 1969. Pp. 338.

The introduction of the tactics of the united front in 1921 represented a major turning point in the history of the Communist International, formed only two years earlier. These tactics called for communist parties to create a united proletarian front to resist the capitalist offensive and to strive for the support of a majority of the working class. By implication, efforts to prepare an armed uprising by a militant minority of workers under communist leadership were no longer acceptable. It is not surprising that many European communists saw in the united front the destruction of their dearest hopes and highest ideals.

The Soviet historian Iurii Molchanov has written a detailed history of the development and application of these new tactics in 1921 and 1922. He is interested mainly in the activities of the central Comintern organization, the executive committee, and of the Third and Fourth Comintern congresses, which met in 1921 and 1922. He obtained access to the major archival center of Comintern documents, the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, but apparently was shown only published documents. There is no evidence, either in the text or in the footnotes, that he was able to consult the unpublished minutes of meetings of the executive committee or the secret documents of the secretariat. Thus his book adds no new material to the history of the Comintern. It is valuable still as a source of information on the painful process by which this revolutionary movement gave up its hopes of quick victory through open, armed struggle.

For Molchanov, the tactics were the necessary response to the changed conditions in Europe and the evident weakness of the Comintern sections. Lenin appears as the farsighted leader concerned for the welfare of the European revolutionary movement, whose leaders, as he stated in 1921, "must not become nervous" and take the decisive step "too early." His analysis was certainly correct, though that fact was not recognized by the more enthusiastic Bolsheviks like Zinoviev and Radek, or by the leaders of the French and Italian parties. From their point of view, the united front was opportunistic and reformist. Forty years later, the Chinese Communist leaders would make similar attacks upon Soviet leaders, accused of neglecting the revolutionary tactics of armed struggle. The problem of the united front is still alive in the revolutionary movement today.

DANIEL R. BROWER
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NEAR EAST

HAMID ALGAR. *Religion and the State in Iran, 1785–1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period.* (Published under the auspices of the Near Eastern Center, University of California,

Los Angeles.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1969. Pp. xviii, 286. $9.50.

This kind of monograph on nineteenth-century Iran is most welcome. Compared to Western scholarship on several other countries of the area, that on modern Iran has lagged lamentably. Until many more such monographs appear, no adequate or definitive history of the period can be produced.

The subject of this study is of prime importance. It clearly requires thorough knowledge of the relevant literature in Persian; this the author demonstrates. Bibliographical coverage and documentation are excellent. Primary sources are well exploited, but it is a sad commentary on the state of Persian historiography that secondary works in Persian—mostly written in the last two decades—outnumber period sources three to one. Few Western scholars have so well explored modern Iranian scholarship dealing with Qajar history, nor to such judicious result, since so much of it has to be used with critical caution.

Professor Algar's thesis is cogently clear: the significant part played by the Shi'i clergy in events culminating in the Constitutional Revolution of 1906 was but the climax of a century of struggle between the *ulama* and successive Qajar rulers, the clergy championing the nation in its struggle against the state and opposing the latter's efforts toward centralization of power and Westernization, understood by the majority of *ulama* and people as inimical to Islamic Iran.

This thesis gives historical perspective for understanding the resultant paradox: "The obtaining of the constitution was a climax to a century of friction and conflict . . . and at the same time tended to reduce the influence of the clerical classes on politics and society. It may thus be fittingly regarded as the final episode in the exercise of their dominant role in Qajar Iran" (p. 256). It may be added that in Pahlavi Iran that role may not be dominant, but it is still to be reckoned with and properly assayed, and for that purpose also this study is welcome.

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University of Nairobi

AFRICA

ROBIN HALLETT. *Africa to 1875: A Modern History.* (The University of Michigan History of the Modern World.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1970. Pp. xii, 483, xx. $8.95.

The task of preparing a general history of Africa remains great, and the results—despite several efforts during the last decade, one of the latest being the book under review—are still less than satisfactory. There is a vast body of uneven research that is difficult to treat comparatively; there are many societies among which one selects arbitrarily rather than representatively in building generalization; and marked recent changes in critical techniques and interpretive standards are still subjects of unresolved debate.

Formerly a civil servant in British Africa, now an associate fellow of St. Anthony's and research officer for the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, Oxford, Robin Hallett has previously published studies of recent West African affairs and of European penetration into Africa. These experiences are reflected in the present work, which is strongest in the sections dealing with northern and western Africa and in the treatment of the century before 1850, the heyday of penetration prior to annexation.

The author attempts to resolve the conflicting demands of a need for enormous diversity and of a need for focus by dividing the book into an introduction plus two main parts: part 1 is an extensive resumé of the history of the largest possible number of component societies in each of eight regions of Africa from the beginning of time to 1850; part 2 is a review of a selective cross section of polities in each region about the year 1850. There is a final, short, general review of the continent in the third quarter of the nineteenth century that brings the volume down to 1875; plus there are notes at the end, a bibliography, and an index.

The introductory pages attempt to raise basic questions and to indicate the major research problems in African history. In many

ways the treatment is digressive and the information inconclusive, so that the questions and problems—even when, as is often the case, they cannot be answered—are not as clear as they might be. Typically, one here encounters difficulties that persist throughout the work, such as reference to race and language terms now rejected by most scholars (for example, references to "Hamites" and mixed populations derived from them or to the alleged Caucasoid influences on Hottentot cattle raising and upon Fulani physical appearance). Yet these references stand alongside terms and categories that can be obtained only from the writings of the very specialists who have questioned such notions.

The division of Africa into eight regions, admittedly arbitrary, is well suited to the development of thumbnail histories of the large number of societies treated. It has the great advantage of permitting some framework of continuity through whatever time span is known for each group. It almost totally precludes, however, any larger synthesis or analysis—admittedly dangerous but nonetheless necessary to consider if a work is to be turned from a catalogue into a general history—and this breakdown makes critical comparisons almost imperceivable for readers unfamiliar with Africa. Certain events and societies are more important than others; the general historian by definition cannot avoid commiting himself to such judgments. He cannot improve much upon the sources he must use for local data and detail, though he may in his cataloguing function standardize them so that his *raison d'être* as a generalist must still be justified. In this respect chapters 5 through 7, grouped as "Regional Variations to 1850," are disappointing and diffuse.

Quite a different impression is conveyed by the next nine chapters, which are effectively grouped around the theme of "African Polities in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century." This is a veritable Baedeker of historical forces in action and interaction in the period the author knows so well. There is an interesting and thought-provoking interplay of autonomous and cross-cultural elements at work, and the definite focus upon African territory keeps indigenous and alien forces in balance. The choice of the year 1850 is felicitous; while not itself momentous, it encompassed changes and included major personalities that well illustrate the process of development and historical transformation that has taken place in Africa as well as other continents. Quite distinct in tone and depth from the preceding sections, in many ways these chapters are the substance and primary value of this work.

Part of the author's difficulties in compiling this book may be reflected in the bibliography. In the main it is a competent and broad survey of the major literature, but, except for well-known publications grouped around a few current debates, it almost entirely excludes the groundswell of literature issued in the five to seven years preceding its publication. This may be one reason for the perpetuation of dubious hypotheses and many points of view that have recently been questioned, and it would also explain why the survey of affairs for 1850 is superior to the efforts at historical chronology or long-range synthesis.

There are ten pages of maps, though it is regrettable that they have not been more effectively integrated with the textual material or more clearly prepared.

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ASIA AND THE EAST

JOHN Z. BOWERS. *Western Medical Pioneers in Feudal Japan.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press for the Josiah Macy, Jr. Foundation. 1970. Pp. xi, 245. $8.95.

In very readable narrative and with helpful appendixes including a chronology, a glossary, and a bibliography, the author has succeeded in bringing together in compact form a wealth of information on the activities and observations of five Western medical pioneers who had visited and worked in Japan between the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries.

Using the biographical approach, the author has treated each of the pioneers—Ten Rhijine, Kaempfer, Thunberg, von Siebold, and van Meerdervoort—in the order of their

appearance in Japan and has woven into each biography relevant explanations of the sociopolitical background of the times. If the inclusion of background material appears to some to be excessive, it must be remembered that no satisfactory assessment of the impact of Western medicine on the Japanese would have been possible without frequent references to the peculiarities and contradictions of the sociopolitical background of Tokugawa Japan (1600–1868)—a peaceful, flourishing society ruled by a privileged, hereditary class of professional fighting men and a society eager for foreign intercourse but denied the right to go abroad or to receive foreigners except for a handful of Chinese and Dutch, or Dutch-sponsored Europeans.

To others the author's penchant to digress—often far afield—into such areas as the customs of the Hottentots of Africa or the history of the founding of the British Museum may be annoying. But here again the reader should be reminded that men like Kaempfer, Thunberg, and von Siebold were scientists of wide repute and were a part of the larger movement known as "the expansion of Europe," which brought Western civilization to all corners of the world and which itself developed and was enriched by the new cultural contacts. Thunberg was a pupil-disciple of the famed Linnaeus. Kaempfer's voluminous writings on Japan had become a part of the Sloanne Collection, which later was sold to the British government and which formed the beginnings and the core of the British Museum. Thus, what may appear at first glance as digressions are really integral parts of the great phenomenon of European expansion.

This book is, therefore, not only an informative book on medical concepts and practices in feudal Japan, but it is also, and perhaps more significantly, an illuminating chapter on cultural expansion and cultural interchange of the period during and following the Age of Discovery.

MINORU SHINODA
East-West Center
University of Hawaii

H. D. HAROOTUNIAN. *Toward Restoration: The Growth of Political Consciousness in Tokugawa Japan.* (Publications of the Center for Japanese and Korean Studies.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1970. Pp. xviii, 421. $10.00.

The years from 1853 to 1868 inflict upon students of the Japanese past torturous problems of interpretation. The historian is perplexed less by what happened during these years—confused and entangled as the events were—than by their relation to what ensued. The political crisis provoked by Perry and resolved by the Meiji Restoration of 1868 led to a generation of breathless reform that launched Japan into the modern world. Seeking the roots of this revolutionary behavior in the political movements that led to the overthrow of the old regime, the historian encounters an apparent paradox of a reactionary ideology sponsoring a revolutionary political movement. He finds opponents of the Tokugawa order expressing no clear vision of a new society but instead apotheosizing traditional values and urging a return to prefeudal monarchy. Albert Craig's study of Chōshū concluded that the Restoration was not a revolution but "a change carried out in the name of old values . . . a change brought about by men intent on fulfilling the goals of their inherited tradition . . . a change brought about unwittingly by men who before 1868 had no conception of its eventual social ramifications."

Professor Harootunian has little patience with this view. Criticizing recent historiography for its "inordinate effort to minimize the revolutionary dimensions of the Meiji Restoration," he argues that Restoration activists radically rejected (or, at least, transformed) their intellectual heritage. Harootunian concedes that they possessed no clear blueprint for the future but maintains that they were "no less eager to repudiate history than French revolutionaries in 1789. The values they espoused were traditional in name only. They used the only vocabulary they had at their disposal, but the content was new." He feels that "the appeal to tradition was simply a device," and he chooses to stress the conscious destruction of inherited norms of behavior and the importance of extremism and "revolutionary rage" in preparing the way for the Restoration.

In a comparative context the historian of the Japanese experience is impressed by the

pragmatic, experimental approach toward politics that emerged in this period as a response to the Western challenge. Harootunian greatly enhances our understanding of the dynamics and process of this development by tracing the erosion of Neo-Confucian dogmatism and the growth of political realism. This transformation of "a moribund ethical culture into active political culture" grew out of dynamic new concepts of history and the functions of government that were latent in the cultural heritage but that were evoked and developed by the opening of the country. Restoration activists were thereby "liberated from the lifeless world of ethical abstraction"; and the way was opened for "a rigorous political realism founded on an investigation of contemporary society."

This is not an easy book; the author's matérial and his diffuse style sometimes combine to make it hard going for the reader. Occasionally one may wish for a more carefully organized and tightly reasoned presentation. Harootunian's approach to intellectual history is, nonetheless, intelligent and imaginative. He treats the ideas of the individual activist not on their own terms but on the basis of their function in the changing structure of thought and behavior in this period. He offers bold, new interpretations of two major figures: Sakuma Shōzan and Yoshida Shōin; and he tells us much about two other less noticed figures: Maki Izumi and Yokoi Shōnan. In all, he has given the Western literature on Japan its best study of late Tokugawa thought.

KENNETH B. PYLE
University of Washington

GERALD H. ANDERSON, editor. *Studies in Philippine Church History*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1969. Pp. xiv, 421. $14.50.

Few subjects interest historians less than church history in a Far Eastern setting. Yet, there is no more interesting story than the Roman Catholic Church's conduct in the Philippines during the Hispanic and American colonial regimes. The relationship of the Philippine Catholic Church and colonial governance had no parallel anywhere. Ecclesiastical interference in the local governments led to clashes with Spain's civil authorities who were unwilling or unable to challenge the missionaries (or friars, as they were known popularly). Spain's inability to stop friarocracy led to hatred for the friars on the part of the indigenous elite. This group resented friar domination of their lives. Moreover, the friars' refusal to yield control of established parishes angered the elite's sons who found that their path to ecclesiastical preferment was being blocked by the Spanish friars. By the mid-nineteenth century the elite became convinced that relief from friarocracy would never be obtained from Spain. Furthermore, they believed that Rome would never heed their pleas for redress until they controlled their political destinies. And the close relationship of Church and state was not altered appreciably when the United States annexed the Philippines. It was the frustrations caused by that annexation and by papal refusal to recognize the worthiness of the local clergy for the episcopacy that caused a schism in the Philippine Catholic Church. The nationalist Philippine Independent Church might have gained the loyalty of most Christians if Governor William H. Taft had not favored the Roman Catholic Church. The American governor, however, counted on the Catholic Church's conservatism to instill obedience to America. But if the favors shown the Roman Catholic Church by the American colonial authorities permitted it to challenge successfully the nationalist Philippine Independent Church, American sovereignty opened the door to American Protestant activities. The growth of Protestantism bears testimony to the hatreds aroused by friarocracy and inept Spanish rule.

This then is the subject of the nineteen essays found in this work. It is difficult, however, to assess the efforts of seventeen different essayists. All that can be said is that they address themselves to the subject in the very best historical manner. Of the seventeen authors, half are professors of theology or church history in the Philippines; the others are Philippine or American scholars interested in Philippine history. Students of the Philippines and Church history will value this work for its insights into the depth of Church involvement in colonial governance.

MICHAEL PAUL ONORATO
California State College, Fullerton

EMILY SADKA. *The Protected Malay States, 1874–1895*. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1968. Pp. xv, 464. $13.50.

This work is a close view of four Malay states prior to and following British intervention in the last quarter of the nineteenth century when the Western powers were continuing to spread their imperialist grip on Southeast Asia. The work is based on research done in Malaya and later presented as a doctoral thesis at the Australian National University. The author, born and educated in Singapore and the United Kingdom, presents in great detail a historical account of the British residential system of government administration in the protected Malay states during the period 1874–95. This study will amplify greatly the former works of *The Making of Modern Malaya* (1965) by N. J. Ryan and *Malaysia Prospect and Retrospect* (1968) by Richard Allen, both of which make only general reference to the residential system.

One of the principal values of this work is a detailed description of the way in which the British officials exercised authority in the Malay states nominally under advice, and the part played by Malay rulers, the chiefs, and local Malay authorities in governing the states. The policies that evolved to carry out programs related to economic and social change are well documented.

It is emphasized that notwithstanding the official policy and strategy in London that was active in bringing about British control over the Malay states, it was primarily the local administrators, with their economic motives, who pressed strongly for actual intervention. The British administrators, finding an already established tin mining industry with Chinese labor and management, were desirous of participation in the existing mining enterprise by bringing in British capital, machinery, and management. There were also plans on the part of the British to establish large-scale agriculture on a plantation basis.

During the period when the British residents became established in certain states of Malaya, various facets of the social structure were radically changed. The population settlements were altered due to the immigration of thousands upon thousands of Chinese and Malays, not to mention the indentured Indian immigrants—all of whom eventually were employed in the tin mines or the rubber plantations. New lines of communications were established, necessary labor and land policies emerged, settlement patterns changed, and a whole new form of government was put into practice.

The work is very well documented and concludes with a commendable bibliography of source materials, including reference to the unpublished private papers of the Anson Correspondence, the Swettenham Papers, and the Journal of Collector and Magistrate of Kuala Langat.

CECIL HOBBS
Library of Congress

AMERICAS

EDMUND RANDOLPH. *History of Virginia*. Edited with an introduction by ARTHUR H. SHAFFER. (Virginia Historical Society, Documents, Volume 9.) Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the Society. 1970. Pp. xliv, 347. $10.00.

Publication of a modern, scholarly edition of Edmund Randolph's *History of Virginia* complete with a thoughtful introduction by the editor and a brief account by John Melville Jennings of the unfortunate history of the manuscript is a welcome event. Written by Randolph between 1809 and 1813 during the last years of his long, involuntary retirement from public office, the *History* was never published during the nineteenth century, despite several proposals to do so, and two complete copies seem to have been destroyed by fire. The text of the present edition, small portions of which were published in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* in the 1930s, is from an imperfect and incomplete copy discovered in the Virginia Historical Society in 1870 and apparently the only surviving version.

The *History*'s value derives from neither the

exhaustiveness of the research nor the comprehensiveness or originality of the narrative. Indeed, almost half of the work is devoted to Virginia's first two decades and is taken almost entirely from William Stith's *History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia,* while substantial portions of the material on the War for Independence is copied from John Marshall's *Life of George Washington.* Moreover, Randolph dispenses with the 145 years between the dissolution of the Virginia Company and the Stamp Act crisis in a mere sixteen pages so that the section on the coming of the Revolution, which comprises slightly more than a third of the volume, is the only part that is entirely original and reasonably comprehensive.

What makes the *History* so valuable are the insights it provides into some of the central concerns of the leaders of the Revolutionary generation in Virginia, a generation of which Randolph was a conspicuous member. Because of limitations of space, only two of those concerns can be discussed here. The first was to establish Virginia's primacy in the Revolution. Randolph stated this concern in his second sentence with the sweeping claim that it was Virginia's "influence which largely contributed to the establishment of American independence and to the formation of that most illustrious among civil acts, the Constitution of the United States." But an even more basic concern, which gives shape to the entire history, was to explain how Virginia—alone of all the colonies—should have been able to exert such an extraordinary influence. Randolph found the explanation for this phenomenon not primarily in Virginia's superior wealth and population but in its special character, a character that had gradually taken shape during the colonial period. The essential ingredients of that character—an abiding commitment to moderation, order, virtue, personal independence, and the public welfare—had been so thoroughly internalized by Virginians as to become integral parts of their personality and to make it almost inevitable that they would assume the direction of the Revolution. Randolph's handling of these and other main themes makes his *History* an invaluable index to both the self-conceptions and the ideal imperatives of the political culture of the Revolutionary generation in Virginia.

JACK P. GREENE
The Johns Hopkins University

MARCHETTE CHUTE. *The First Liberty: A History of the Right to Vote in America, 1619–1850.* New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1969. Pp. xii, 371. $8.95.

The first difficulty raised by Miss Chute's way of writing history is that she writes as though history raised no problems. She has evidently read very carefully in many of the standard collections of printed sources and has accumulated much information, which she transmits in lucid and unpretentious prose. She begins her story with the Virginia Company, touches on the Levellers and the Putney Debates, and carries the reader through all of the leading colonial and early national debates and crises that involved the suffrage, concluding with Dorr War in Rhode Island. Much of this work has been accomplished with unostentatious technical skill and with a real feeling for the persons about whose actions her story turns. But it remains essentially a story turning on individuals rather than an interpretation of problems. It is hard to see what a student who has read the leading recent works on early American suffrage and politics is likely to learn from this book.

The suffrage is fully as important as Miss Chute holds it to be, but it cannot really be treated separately from the related problems of the size of constituencies, length of service, relations between voters and their representatives, publication of debates, and the whole nexus of issues that have occupied the scholarship of the last ten or more years. Miss Chute has tried to follow the single thread of suffrage, only occasionally complicating her narrative by letting in the problems to which it was politically related, as she does rather lightly, in connection with Virginia in 1829. Her methods no doubt make for a certain cleanness of line, but they lead her, for example, to give an account of the successive drafts of the Pennsylvania Frame of Government in which all the amendments appear to be due to modifications in Penn's personal opinions. Her closeness to the printed sources has been admirably

thorough and correct; one would not wish to fault her statements, and such modest conclusions as she offers are not misleading. She seems, however, to have missed much of the monographic writing—going back as far as W. F. Craven on the Virginia Company—that has elucidated the meaning of these sources. In redress, it should be said that she has brought a great deal of information into a skillfully balanced narrative, which is accurate, sensible, and pleasant to read.

J. R. POLE
Churchill College, Cambridge

THOMAS T. MCAVOY, C.S.C. *A History of the Catholic Church in the United States.* Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1969. Pp. v, 504. $14.00.

Perhaps the most misunderstood and wrongly maligned minority in the United States are the Roman Catholics. Representing an unusually wide divergence of ethnic and economic backgrounds, they today comprise an estimated twenty to twenty-five per cent of the total American population. Because of their numbers and their principally urban orientation, and because of traditional biases stemming from the Reformation, so many myths have developed concerning them that neither Catholic nor non-Catholic truly understands the American Catholic minority.

Father McAvoy's book goes a long way to dispel many of these myths. The first general history in more than two generations, *A History of the Catholic Church in the United States* is principally an institutional history, tracing the development of the organized Church from its vague beginnings in colonial Maryland through to the revolutionary changes of the Second Vatican Council. For purposes of cohesion it focuses chiefly on the older archdioceses and on only one or two prelates in each period of growth or change.

Myths are dispelled as the narrative describes the impact such diverse challenges as American religious pluralism, lay trusteeism, and the immigrant status of Catholics had on transplanted Old World patterns of institutional structure. No monolithic organization is apparent as each of the dozens of dioceses struggled with its interpretation of the common leadership of Rome. Nor does an identifiable membership emerge as uniformly concerned with specific issues, even those directly involving basic questions of faith.

Unlike his predecessors, Father McAvoy is not defensive. On the contrary, he is highly critical of the Church's inadequacies in adapting itself to the breadth of American society. His strongest criticisms are leveled at a weak educational system, internecine struggles of the hierarchy, Vatican policies based on misinformation, and a general indifference among the laity. Surprisingly, however, he tends to ignore the American Church's weak stand on social questions, especially in the light of Rerum novarum and Quadragesimo anno.

And this is the principal weakness of the book. There is too little discussion of Catholic activity, or the lack of it, in terms of the ghetto, labor unions, abolition and civil rights, and politics. Yet, it must be admitted, such discussion would expand the book enormously. The combing of diocesan archives is in itself a monumental task, which, incidentally, points out the primary difficulty confronting Catholic historiography.

Besides being a much needed narrative account, *A History of the Catholic Church in the United States* serves additional important functions. It provides for the first time a reference source on U.S. Catholicism. And, typical of McAvoy's approach to scholarship, it asks more questions than it answers. It dramatically indicates the gaping holes that must be filled before a complete understanding of American Catholicism is possible. Thomas McAvoy, along with John Tracy Ellis, has shown how these gaps are to be filled. And finally, the book is a fitting memorial to a lifetime dedicated to maintaining high levels of the dual integrity required of the priest-scholar.

FRANK T. REUTER
Texas Christian University

ROBERT G. POPE. *The Half-Way Covenant: Church Membership in Puritan New England.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1969. Pp. xi, 321. $10.00.

Robert G. Pope's survey of the varied reactions of the New England churches to the principles of the synod of 1662 is a competent, creditable, and scholarly effort. It is, however,

a monograph of severely limited interest and utility. What Mr. Pope has written is actually a "descriptive survey" (p. 10) of an index to a half century of institutional and social crises. Relying on sermons and other published religious works, government records, and local church records (where available), Mr. Pope discovered a tenacious lay opposition to innovation, and the significant role that extraneous factors played in determining the response to the new membership criteria. The struggle over the half-way covenant soon became subservient to other more important, more fundamental issues—such as the competition between congregationalists and "presbyterialists" in Connecticut, politics in Massachusetts, and personalities and local custom everywhere. Mr. Pope even interprets the final adoption of the half-way principle as a result of the insecurity and anxiety produced in the 1670s and 1680s by King Philip's War and the loss of the charter.

That Mr. Pope could confuse a symptom of change with more basic processes is a result of, first, an over-dependence on Perry Miller's "model" of New England history and, second, the absence of any overt methodology to check his untested assumptions about social behavior. Certainly religion was fundamentally important to seventeenth-century New Englanders. But was not theology also the language used to express and work out social and psychological problems? Mr. Pope assumes that there was a direct causal relationship between the published ideals of Puritanism and actual behavior among New Englanders. He also assumes that there must have been a high degree of consistency between church institutions and the formally expressed "religious" needs of the institution's constituency. Neither of these assumptions is necessarily valid; and if Mr. Pope is incorrect in his premises (as I believe he is in this instance), then his book is of value primarily to historians interested in the descriptive history of Connecticut and Massachusetts Puritansim per se. Mr. Pope pursues his subject diligently and completely, but as it stands his monograph has unfulfilled potential.

DAVID KOBRIN
State University of New York, Albany

G. B. WARDEN. *Boston: 1689–1776.* Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1970. Pp. 404. $12.50.

G. B. Warden's *Boston: 1689–1776* is a handsomely designed book that will provide a public interested in the approaching bicentennial celebration of 1776 a readable and satisfying introduction to political events in Boston prior to independence. Warden's narrative is clearly written, often entertaining, and fully in sympathy with the patriotic Bostonians. As a scholarly contribution to the continuing analysis of politics and the revolutionary crisis of the eighteenth century, however, this study of Boston will be deeply disappointing to most historians.

The first half of Warden's book covers a period (1689–1760) that is still relatively unfamiliar. He emphasizes the recurring political antagonism between the governors and the Bostonians, especially the elder and younger Cooke, who established "Boston's first political 'machine'" (p. 91), and local issues such as the creation of a borough system to replace the town meeting, regulation of the public markets, and paper currency. Beneath these issues Warden sees a continuous "half-formed desire to break away from English policies" (p. 71) and an extraordinary degree of local control, based upon the town meeting, that fostered the feeling within the community that it was "not merely an imitation of English society but an autonomous community, an independent entity" in which "harmony, independence, responsibility and freedom" were "daily realities" (p. 79). Yet Warden also asserts that "It is something of a miracle that a revolution did not occur" in Boston in the 1720s, a decade repeatedly described as one of chaos, when severe financial crisis, smallpox, clerical disputes, and political confrontations formed a situation that "included nearly every element which usually precipitates violent social and political change" (p. 81). From the evidence provided, however, this portrait of incipient revolution seems grossly exaggerated. After a chapter on attempted reforms of the town's institutions and practices between 1730 and 1741 and another on conflicts over taxation and currency (1741–60), Warden devotes the second half of the book to a narrative of the familiar events and personalities connected with the crises of the 1760s and early 1770s.

In view of the penetrating studies now

available of politics in England and America, Warden's study of Boston during the prerevolutionary era seems extremely superficial. Minimizing the role of ideology, he sees "the sequence of events . . . as a protest movement which had few revolutionary qualities in its early stages" and as a "process influenced not simply by the inherent logic of ideas or deterministic forces," but also "by the subtle interplay over time of ideas, conditions, decisions, passions, mistakes and gradual awareness of hidden assumptions" that "finally" made men into revolutionaries (p. 362). Given his assumptions, it is remarkable that he speaks continuously of "the Bostonians" as though they formed a homogeneous group, yet never analyzes the population in terms of wealth, status, occupation, demographic characteristics, family connections, living arrangements, residential patterns, education, religious affiliations, or other aspects of the lives of the Bostonians that would help to illuminate the nature of their community and their politics. Even when lists of participants in groups such as the North End Caucus are available, indicating an "interlocking membership" in patriot organizations, he fails to analyze the composition of these groups. Thus we still do not know who actually participated in the revolution in Boston. Surely in a town as small and static as this, one could identify and scrutinize the individuals who favored, who opposed, or who stood neutral on the issues of the 1760s and 1770s. Warden rarely does.

Part of the explanation for the inadequacies of Warden's study undoubtedly rests with the sources themselves, since he often notes (pp. 48, 51, 61, 73, 108, 115) the absence of evidence, including Boston's tax lists. Yet it is clear from his footnotes—but not from the bibliography, which lists only printed primary and secondary sources—that he has done a prodigious amount of research in extensive manuscript collections pertaining to Boston. Surely there is more in these sources than Warden has chosen to reveal in his book. If not, historians will never be able to understand the dynamics, best seen on the local level and through the lives of individuals and the activities of groups, of the revolution in Boston.

PHILIP J. GREVEN, JR.
Rutgers University

JAMES F. RICHARDSON. *The New York Police: Colonial Times to 1901.* (The Urban Life in America Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. xii, 332. $8.50.

The current debate over the relationship between police and the communities they serve has unmistakable nineteenth-century origins, as this study clearly suggests. The small and generally well-ordered town of colonial years had only a night watch, but the industrial city required well-defined police measures. In this book James Richardson analyzes the municipal response to urban crime and violence caused by heavy immigration, massive poverty, and periodic riots stemming from racial, ethnic, and religious rivalries. Constantly punctuated by police brutality, departmental corruption, political tampering, patronage appointments, administrative inefficiency, and uneven law enforcement, the story is hardly one of which New York's "finest" can be proud. The varying views New Yorkers held about the police provide a central theme; some believed in strong authority as necessary to maintain a peaceful city, while others felt the police posed a threat to liberty. Thus in the 1840s libertarians opposed a uniformed force, seeing it as a kind of standing army. Later reformers faced the dilemma of demanding rigorous law enforcement while simultaneously seeking to limit or divide police authority. Much like contemporary Americans, nineteenth-century New Yorkers could not agree on the role of the police in urban society. The department was continually embroiled in debate and conflict between city and state, mayor and police commissioners, Republicans and Democrats, reformers and regulars, immigrants and native Americans, police and people. By the twentieth century New York City still did not have a professional police force. The department remained subservient to Tammany, and men sought and bought police appointments and promotions to line their pockets with payoffs from gamblers, prostitutes, and saloonkeepers.

While revealing much about urban attitudes and the tensions of nineteenth-century city growth, the book is especially good at illuminating the intricate interconnections between police administration and politics. Urban themes are handled knowledgeably, and

there is an excellent section on the draft riots of 1863. Richardson has effectively utilized extensive published city records, newspaper and periodical sources, personal accounts of policemen, and numerous manuscript materials in the New York City Municipal Archives, including the papers of various nineteenth-century mayors. The destruction of most departmental records early in this century, however, made it difficult to reconstruct police history from the view of the average patrolman. Although narrowly focused on New York, this book is a solidly researched and important monograph in urban history, comparable to Roger Lane's recent study of the Boston police.

RAYMOND A. MOHL
Florida Atlantic University

JOHN L. KESSELL. *Mission of Sorrows: Jesuit Guevavi and the Pimas, 1691–1767*. Foreword by ERNEST J. BURRUS, S. J. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1970. Pp. xvi, 224. $10.00.

This impressive volume relates the story of what the author calls "a crumbling ruin ten miles northeast of Nogales, Arizona." This is what is left of an important link in the Jesuit missionary enterprise among the Pima Indians: Los Santos Angeles de Guevavi, which served its apostolic purposes in Pimeria Alta from 1691 to 1767. Here we have a completely satisfying account, researched in depth and written in an admirable manner. One only hopes, after perusal of John L. Kessell's work, that this promising young scholar will go on to other such studies. Few are as well prepared to do so as he.

Ernest Burrus, S.J., also of outstanding competence in the field, refers in his foreward to the fact that Kessell's study derives its extraordinary significance from its uniqueness as the first and only study in depth of the mission of Guevavi. In many ways it is a sad story, and not for nothing does Kessell call his account *Mission of Sorrows*. Readers will agree, however, that the account as presented from archival and other sources reveals that heroism was not lacking among those Jesuits who manned the apostolic ramparts in this remote part of Pimeria Alta. In this regard, mention should be made of the balanced appraisal of this same missionary apostolate with its plus and minus features frankly discussed by the author.

It is a pleasure to praise the literary dress in which the Guevavi story appears. The University of Arizona Press is indeed to be commended for its product here. There are several relevant illustrations as well as some excellent maps. What a distinct pleasure it is to salute a first-class volume that is worth the price asked for it.

JOHN BERNARD MCGLOIN, S. J.
University of San Francisco

ANTHONY F. C. WALLACE, with the assistance of SHEILA C. STEEN. *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca: The History and Culture of the Great Iroquois Nation, Their Destruction and Demoralization, and Their Cultural Revival at the Hands of the Indian Visionary, Handsome Lake*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1970. Pp. xiii, 384, xi. $8.95.

Of the rash of books produced by the current flurry of interest in Indians, this is perhaps the best. Wallace is a practitioner of ethnohistory, or history in the round, as it has been called. Trained in anthropology, he is equally at home with the manuscripts the historian considers his special province. This versatility has produced an account of the rise of Handsome Lake, the Seneca prophet, that provides us the best description yet of one of the phenomena known as Indian messiah movements.

The first part of the three-part volume Wallace devotes to describing the Iroquois society that produced Handsome Lake. The political and social systems of these much-studied people are detailed in a writing style pleasantly free from the difficult constructions that usually afflict such treatments and repel the nonspecialist.

The second part traces the decline of the Iroquois Confederation as French power in North America faded, and with it the Iroquois strategy of playing one power off against the other. The American Revolution briefly breathed new life into what Wallace calls the Play-off System, but the physical beating the Iroquois took during that war left them exhausted in 1783. Some of the Senecas

would be involved in the efforts to withstand, with British backing, American expansion between 1783 and 1812, but for most Iroquois, collaboration or flight to Canada were the responses to the new situation.

In the third and last part, Wallace details the role of Handsome Lake and his visions in the rebirth of the Senecas and, through them, the Iroquois. The prophet's ministry began with his first vision in 1799 and terminated with his death in 1815. Aided and inspired by devoted Quaker missionaries and the United States government—the Quakers motivated by their will to do good and the government more impressed by the necessity of pacifying a nation of warriors—Handsome Lake proved a real reformer. He persuaded his people to embark on a new road that blended religious conservatism and secular progress and that a generation after his death was institutionalized in the Handsome Lake Church, the longhouse religion.

Only a scholar with Wallace's qualifications could have given us such a satisfactory account. His descriptions of the elements of Iroquois culture and the realistic picture of Iroquois degeneration are particularly good and a welcome relief from the romanticized nonsense that pervades so many of the volumes being rushed into print by publishers eager to capitalize on the present market.

WILLIAM T. HAGAN
State University of New York, Fredonia

WILLIAM L. MCDOWELL, JR., editor. *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, 1754–1765.* (Colonial Records of South Carolina.) Columbia: University of South Carolina Press for the South Carolina Department of Archives & History. 1970. Pp. lv, 657. $20.00.

This impressive volume concludes series 2 of the *Colonial Records of South Carolina.* The series reproduces the manuscript "Indian Books" of the South Carolina Archives and makes easily available in its three large volumes the extensive material that relates to the problem of Indian affairs for South Carolina. Book 1 appeared in the first volume for the period from 1710 to 1718; books 2–4 were in the second volume for 1750 to 1754; and the remaining books 5–6 along with the "Journal of the Directors of the Cherokee Trade, 1762–1765" fill the final issue that is the subject of this review. The manuscript "Indian Books" was kept by a clerk who transcribed a variety of original documents such as letters, journals of Indian traders, trade lists, Indian "talks," and muster rolls. Since most of the original documents are no longer extant, these books provide a valuable source of colonial records, and they have substantial information that can contribute to a better ethnohistorical account of the Indians. Three brief documents in the volume are in French.

Indian affairs were important for all of the American colonies in the French and Indian War, and they were of particular significance for South Carolina, which occupied a pivotal position for the Southern colonies. Governor James Glen projected Indian affairs and other frontier problems to a foremost position where they continued to receive major attention under Governor William Henry Lyttelton and other successors. Containing information about such Indian tribes as the Catawbas, the Creeks, the Choctaws, and the Chickasaws, the records deal most extensively with the Cherokees, whose size and location made them most critical to South Carolina both as friend and foe. The last "Indian Book" concludes with letters relating to the Cherokee War that erupted in 1760.

This volume maintains the same high standard of scholarly editing that characterized the first two publications in the series. Faithfully reproducing the documents without annotation, the editor adds a thirty-four page introduction as historical background and includes a convenient calendar of documents listed chronologically.

W. STITT ROBINSON
University of Kansas

HILLER B. ZOBEL. *The Boston Massacre.* New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1970. Pp. xi, 372. $8.50.

The Boston Massacre occurred on "the fateful fifth of March," 1770, when several wigmakers' apprentices began to taunt a lone sentry stationed in front of the Boston customs house. A crowd quickly gathered; Cap-

tain Thomas Preston and seven soldiers rushed to the sentry's aid; an order to fire was heard; the soldiers fired; five persons were killed, and others were wounded. According to tradition the massacre was the direct and inevitable result of British oppression, and the first blood sacrifice to American liberty and independence. As a sequel, John Adams' successful defense of Captain Preston and the soldiers at their trials stands as a noble monument to American justice.

Professor Zobel believes that the massacre was the result of a gradual breakdown of law and order in the face of controlled violence. During the Stamp Act crisis Boston radicals allied themselves with the Boston mobs. The decision to use the mobs was momentous. "The radicals sought a political goal by physical means, and they achieved it. . . . But in doing so at such an early stage in the dispute, they ensured that the future course of disagreement could never be resolved without force." The attempt to support law and order with military force failed. "Soldiers," as John Adams said, "will always occasion two mobs, where they prevent one. They are wretched conservators of the peace."

Professor Zoble, a lawyer and co-editor of the legal papers of John Adams, examines the breakdown of law and order and the massacre largely through court records that have been little used by earlier historians. Although legal evidence does not resolve all of the ambiguities surrounding the massacre, Zobel suggests several amendments to the traditional interpretation. The massacre, for example, was as much the result of the radicals' escalation of violence as of British oppression. The famous trials seem to have been shams. "No matter what went on at the court, the defendents would not have been executed. Preston's jury was safely packed; the soldiers if convicted would have received reprieves and pardons."

The general excellence of this work is marred by the exaggerated influence and power attributed to Samuel Adams. According to Zobel, Adams manipulated nearly everything and everyone in Boston from 1765 until relative calm returned in 1771. Adams was a skillful politician, but he was not all-powerful. Moreover, Oliver Dickerson's assertion that John Hancock was the near victim of British revenue racketeers deserves comment in connection with the *Liberty* affair.

DAVID R. MILLAR
Hamilton College

IRWIN H. POLISHOOK. *Rhode Island and the Union, 1774–1795.* (Northwestern University Studies in History, Number 5.) Evanston: Northwestern University Press. 1969. Pp. x, 268. $8.50.

Polishook's book will long remain the standard work on Rhode Island between 1774 and 1795. In the opening years, both merchants and farmers supported colonial unity as represented by the adoption of the Articles of Confederation. But, as unity came to mean the Constitution as drawn up in Philadelphia and ultimately ratified during the winter of 1787–88, Rhode Islanders were no longer quite so certain. They broke into two major factions, with farmers wanting a paper money system with forcing acts at its center and merchants wanting the power of a revitalized central government to defeat the economic interests of farmers. The results are well known and Rhode Island, under threats of dismemberment, rejoined the Union.

Would that there were more state monographs of this quality focusing upon the Confederation.

The book does pose one problem, however, inherent within recent American historiography. According to the author's preface, the book offers the first fresh appraisal of the period in seventy years. But, in those seventy years since the late nineteenth century, historians have developed a new consciousness. The population of Rhode Island was highly diversified. Quakers existed in sizable numbers, Jews provided a portion of the mercantile population, blacks comprised part of the laboring population. And yet, with rare exception, there is no mention of what each of these groups was doing and how they were interacting. The bibliography cites few works that might be classed as "ethnic"—two studies dealing with blacks in Rhode Island—and even these are mentioned only briefly in the text. The key to the book is given in such chapter headings as "Political and Economic Background," "Rhode Island Defeats the Im-

post," and "The Paper-Money Tangle." The history of Rhode Island from 1774 to 1795 may well have been less the history of white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants than Polishook unwittingly implies.

ROBERT A. FEER
Northeastern University

BROADUS MITCHELL. *Alexander Hamilton: The Revolutionary Years.* (Leaders of the American Revolution Series.) New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1970. Pp. viii, 386. $10.00.

No scholar of this century has done more to enhance the reputation of Alexander Hamilton than Broadus Mitchell. In the 1930s when the star of Hamilton's archrival, Thomas Jefferson, was in the ascendancy, Mitchell, anticipating the pro-Hamilton revival of the 1950s and 1960s, was one of the few scholars who defended Hamilton's claims to historical greatness. Some twenty-five years later this claim was convincingly set forth in a two-volume biography that pictured Hamilton as the farsighted nation maker whose fiscal policies assured the solvency of the Union. In the present volume, the first in Crowell's projected Leaders of the American Revolution series, Mitchell offers a more elaborate and detailed study of Hamilton's military career than was warranted in his balanced biography.

Professor Mitchell does not contend that Hamilton played a part of major importance during the Revolution. After all, his military service, unlike that of Nathanael Greene, Horatio Gates, or a host of other lesser generals, had no significant impact on the war; his political influence (exercised chiefly as an indefatigable letter writer to men in positions of influence) was minor compared to that of leading congressmen such as Henry Laurens and John Jay. Nevertheless, Hamilton's Revolutionary years, as Mitchell demonstrates, are significant as an essential backdrop to his subsequent accomplishments as statesman and financier. It was then that his ideas on government, society, and economics began to take shape. It was then that he established with George Washington that relationship of trust and esteem that was invaluable to his future career.

Hamilton was appointed aide-de-camp to Washington on March 1, 1777, and served until February 16, 1781, when, in a churlish display of pique at a minor reprimand by the general, he resigned. During these years he proved to be Washington's most capable and brilliant administrative assistant. His duties, Professor Mitchell writes, "extended to every sort of service, as Washington's assistant or proxy. Not only was he depended on at headquarters and as an aide conveying orders in battle, but the general charged him with missions, as much diplomatic as military, in which he had to use his own discretion." Hamilton's most notable service, however, was neither in diplomacy nor military operations. Just as "the commander in chief's battle was to summon ways and means, while being deferential to confused and often incapable civil authority," so Hamilton's major contribution "as aide and on his own initiative" was to assist in this effort. "In fact," Mitchell asserts, "he went beyond Washington in outlining and urging needed reforms." Enterprising and competent as Hamilton may have been, he nevertheless remained an aide-de-camp—a minor character rather than a star in the Revolutionary drama —and any account of his army career is meaningful only in the perspective of Washington's tribulations and accomplishments, strategy and tactics. It is thus understandable that Mitchell's military biography of Hamilton turns out to be, in large part, a military history of the American Revolution as seen from the vantage point of the commanding general's headquarters.

The subtitle of this volume—*The Revolutionary Years*—is somewhat misleading, for the last one-fourth of the book deals with Hamilton's career after the Revolution. One chapter is devoted to his service as a delegate to the Continental Congress, with particular emphasis on his role in the famous Newburgh affair. Another chapter focuses on his role in the suppression of the Whiskey Insurrection of 1794, "this earliest overt instance," Mitchell writes, "of vindicating central constitutional power." The book's final two chapters describe the crisis in Franco-American relations that in 1798 developed into a quasi war and to Hamilton's appointment as inspector general of the army. Military preparedness, including augmentation of the

army, remained a paper project, however, if only because support could not be won from the nation at large for mobilization of a land war that was never imminent. Hamilton may thus have misapplied his energy and talents; but, as Mitchell remarks, "to the degree that American military preparations helped to persuade France to abandon her hostility, a result which Hamilton all along wished, his work was not in vain."

That much of the information in this volume could be culled from Mitchell's two-volume biography of Hamilton does not detract from its merits. It is "definitive" in the sense that, nuances of interpretation aside, it will remain for the foreseeable future the indispensable guide to Hamilton's military career.

JACOB E. COOKE
Lafayette College

JOHN A. WILLIAMS, editor. *The Public Papers of Governor Thomas Chittenden.* (State Papers of Vermont, Volume 17.) Montpelier: Richard C. Thomas, Secretary of State. 1969. Pp. xxii, 1027.

Libraries that do not contain the *Records of the Governor and Council of Vermont* (1873–1880), the Vermont Historical Society *Collections* (volumes 1, 2, 1870–71), and Slade's *Vermont State Papers* (1823), volumes that have long been out of print, now have an opportunity to obtain, conveniently arranged in chronological order, a modern printing in one volume of the most significant material yet compiled relating to the early history of Vermont, specifically for the years 1778 to 1797. To the documents previously available in the above-named works, the editor, John A. Williams, has added all of the additional items that he could find pertinent to his project in the manuscript collections of the Vermont Historical Society, the University of Vermont, the Library of Congress, and the Public Archives of Canada.

Mr. Williams does not uniformly make it clear whether he has relied for his text upon previous printings or whether he has gone to the original manuscripts; there are references to both. Nor does he differentiate clearly his own notes from those that have been taken verbatim from earlier works. It would have been helpful if he had explained in more detail the principles upon which he based his text and prepared his copy. The inconsistencies in the form of references, and the erratic use of italics for manuscripts, titles of printed books, names of authors, titles of documents, and the location of manuscripts cause unnecessary confusion that could have been prevented by a more careful selection of type. Finally, the more than a thousand pages of heavy, good quality paper are too much of a strain on the end papers and on the gauze reinforcement provided in the binding.

ROBERT E. MOODY
Boston University

JAMES WILLARD HURST. *The Legitimacy of the Business Corporation in the Law of the United States, 1780–1970.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1970. Pp. xiii, 191. $6.50.

The three essays that are the heart of this volume examine public policy concerning the American business corporation as it has developed since 1780. The focus is on the legitimacy of the corporation as reflected in laws affecting corporate utility and responsibility in a changing society. In this context Professor Hurst finds that American corporation law has been peculiarly the product of our own needs and experience.

Utility conferred its own legitimacy in a nation anxious to get on with economic development. Although sparingly used in the early national period, the corporate form was found to fit the needs first of public utilities and then of a constantly expanding spectrum of enterprises. Legislatures met the demand by shifting from special charters, which Professor Hurst shows were surprisingly uniform in their provisions, to general incorporation laws. Corporation law came to provide a legally defined bulwark for those in authority in the firm, with the corporation's advantages in mustering capital a secondary but significant utility. The roles of legislative, executive, and judicial bodies, as well as problems of federal-state relationships, are analyzed in relation to these developments.

Professor Hurst shows that the areas and nature of corporate responsibility, especially as the market system lost disciplinary force,

have proved more troublesome to the law than corporate utility. The result has been imposition of *ad hoc* regulation from outside the corporation, exemplified by the SEC. Although a rough equilibrium of policy has been achieved in a pragmatic fashion, Professor Hurst sees need for further legislative response to corporate power.

As a stimulating, concise, and incisive survey of the development of public policy in relation to the American corporation, this book has obvious utility for the historian. Perhaps its greatest utility, however, is in its admirable demonstration that the study of institutions in a narrowly focused framework need neither exaggerate nor underestimate their social importance.

ARTHUR M. JOHNSON
University of Maine, Orono

EVERETT DICK. *The Lure of the Land: A Social History of the Public Lands from the Articles of Confederation to the New Deal.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1970. Pp. xii, 413. $9.50.

Of the Western historians active since 1930, Everett Dick, along with Thomas D. Clark and Philip D. Jordan, has been particularly interested in the social history of the westward movement. In this, his fifth book, Professor Dick is interested, he tells us, in the "human side" of the "process of land distribution . . . how the land-hungry pioneer interpreted the land laws, or ignored them; his success in 'handing up laws' to Congress by frontier usage when existing statutes were inadequate for his needs; his custom of illegally exploiting the natural resources; and the final end of exploitation and the coming of a policy of conservation." The narrative sweeps across our history from the precedents of the colonial period to the consolidation of the United States Land Office into the Bureau of Land Management in 1946. It describes the changing system of land disposal and ends with a chapter of interpretive summary in which Dick attributes many of the anomalies and shortcomings of American distribution procedures to a conflict of values between East and West concerning the proper uses of the nation's natural resources.

Dr. Dick writes with felicitous clarity, and his chapters reveal much evidence of work in local and original sources. He is clearly most interested in colorful, curious, or exciting incident—the squatter's farm that United States surveyors divide among four townships and six sections, the frantic dash of the timber cruiser to beat a rival to the land office, the ingenious perversions of land law, the odd judicial ruling, or the confrontation of "little fellows" with capitalists or corporations. The curious layman or college freshman will find this book an interesting, perhaps even fascinating, introduction both to the ways in which the title to a vast public domain passed from the federal government to its citizens and to the background of our current conservation problems and policies. The advanced student or specialist in land history may find Professor Dick's resolute progressivism rather predictable; he may be disturbed by Dick's failure to weigh the findings in various authoritative studies published during the last generation, and he may suspect that the emphasis of the book gives a distorted picture of the day-by-day operation of the land disposal system in the United States. Needless to say, Professor Dick's view of our land history is very different from the one that Douglass C. North and Robert W. Fogel have been developing in their recent work.

ALLAN G. BOGUE
University of Wisconsin, Madison

JAMES R. MORRILL. *The Practice and Politics of Fiat Finance: North Carolina in the Confederation, 1783–1789.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1969. Pp. 240. $7.50.

Despite the author's criticism of the "critical period" concept—included somewhat incongruously in his conclusion—his book makes it clear that financial affairs in North Carolina during the Confederation period were critical, indeed. Lacking specie or the means of acquiring it, the state resorted to fiat methods of finance: unbacked paper money issues and the retirement of the huge wartime debt largely by methods of repudiation. Morrill candidly bases his interpretation on E. James Ferguson's thesis that fiat finance was a traditional, logical, and unavoidable system that was generally

tolerated by the public. Nevertheless, he makes the point that wartime fiat policy had been "unusually burdensome," and holds that while North Carolinans were resigned to legal currency devaluation and retirement through taxation, "that resignation was accompanied by an unusual degree of disappointment and disillusionment." The book does not provide much insight into the direct economic consequences of repudiation, but they must have been great. It does show, however, that North Carolina was in reality far less prosperous during the period than it appeared to be.

Morrill's reconstruction of the details of fiat practice is excellent. He weaves his way through the incredibly tangled skein of state financial policy with clarity and skill. Dividing his book into two parts, he deals in part 1 with intrastate finance, considering in turn the retirement of the domestic currency and certificate debt, currency emissions, and the debt to Martinique—the last a neat little chapter that illustrates in smaller scale the critical nature of the larger problem. Part 2 deals with state-federal financial relations and includes chapters on the settlement of state and individual wartime accounts with Congress, the payment of the state's Continental Line, and the problem of a congressional revenue.

The author's treatment of the politics of fiat finance, on the other hand, is less satisfactory. Following Merrill Jensen and Ferguson, he holds that control of the public debt was the great prize contended for by Federalists and Antifederalists during the period, and he argues, perhaps correctly, that North Carolina's strong Antifederalism at the time of ratification was due largely to the fact that through fiat means the state had virtually liquidated its continental debt among its citizens and had reduced its state debt to relatively small proportions. The prospect of assumption therefore portended serious financial loss. The problem is that Morrill writes of the state's Federalists and Antifederalists in terms that are too general, never adequately identifying members of the two groups and too infrequently fortifying what he asserts to be their position with documented evidence. His treatment of speculators, to whom he attributes a sometimes important role in determining state fiscal policy, is subject to the same criticism.

These shortcomings aside, Morrill has produced a useful and well-written monograph on an important and demanding subject.

ROBERT L. GANYARD
State University of New York, Buffalo

JERALD A. COMBS. *The Jay Treaty: Political Battleground of the Founding Fathers.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1970. Pp. xi, 254. $7.75.

In this broadly challenging study Jerald A. Combs argues that the much-analyzed party clash over the Jay Treaty of 1794–95, negotiated and ratified by the Federalists against bitter Republican opposition, was not so much determined by party politics or ideological predispositions as by each party's own distinctive view of national priorities and the power available for their attainment. "Party politics and ideology rarely superseded power considerations in the foreign policies of men like George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, John Adams, John Jay, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison," he contends; even though "the approaches of both sides were affected by considerations of ideology and partisan advantage," most commonly "their major considerations were to balance their goals with the power available to the United States." Unlike Madison and Jefferson, who placed great confidence in the weapons of trade discrimination, the Federalist leaders not only believed that Britain would never give up her West Indian shipping monopoly, but, forseeing the failure of commercial warfare as inevitable, strove mightily to defeat all efforts to enact discriminatory duties and navigation acts. Nor was the Jay Treaty itself the unnecessary appeasement of an adversary that by skillful diplomacy could have been brought to yield much more. Given Britain's determination to use her seapower against her French enemy, the agreement that failed to uphold our claimed rights to carry enemy produce and export food to France if nothing else postponed war between the two countries until 1812.

Mr. Combs's economical, well-researched book will take its place as a major statement of the view that depicts the Federalists and Republicans as rational calculators of na-

tional means and ends. Although his differences with other historians of the Jay Treaty seem small on matters of detail, the total effect is a sharply etched portrait of the nation's leaders systematically pursuing preferred goals with tactics carefully accommodated to the nation's available power. His book will interest students of the period for other reasons as well. There are challenging interpretations of Hamilton, whose dream was to build a "heroic state" dominating the Western hemisphere and defying the world, and of Madison and Jefferson who more modestly yearned for national happiness within the framework of a "simple, republican, economically independent, agrarian nation." There are useful criticisms of Mr. Julian Boyd's contention that Hamilton unconscionably undermined presidential policy in the Nootka Sound crisis, and of Mr. Samuel Flagg Bemis' judgment that the United States went into the Jay Treaty negotiations with a strong bargaining hand.

A word of skepticism must be entered, however, about the book's major thesis. Mr. Combs is obviously not impressed with the importance of that marked strain of irrationality that historians like Marshall Smelser, John Howe, Jr., and others have detected in this first generation of party leaders. Those historians who, like myself, have been forcibly struck by the extraordinary anxieties and misunderstandings of this conspiracy-fearing age will find it difficult to accept wholeheartedly a thesis that puts such heavy weight on rationality and systematic calculation in the parties' respective foreign policies. Moreover, in arguing that the treaty's greatest service was to preserve peace with Britain, Mr. Combs does not show persuasively how war would have occurred if the agreement had not been ratified. Highly critical of the treaty when it first reached the United States in 1795, the Federalists only rallied to its support when the Republicans attacked it: was this the conduct of men who had long been committed to even an unfavorable agreement with England as the only way to preserve peace? Is it not possible that the battle over the Jay Treaty was less firmly founded on rational processes than this tightly argued monograph would allow, and that its major impulses were more deeply rooted in the perceptions and reactions of the party adversaries as they carried on their bitter struggle?

ROGER H. BROWN
American University

JULIUS GOEBEL, JR., editor. *The Law Practice of Alexander Hamilton: Documents and Commentary*. Associate editors, WINNIFRED BOWERS *et al.* Volume 2. (Published under the auspices of the William Nelson Cromwell Foundation.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1969. Pp. xx, 957. $30.00.

This second volume of Hamilton's legal papers is quite possibly even better than the first. As in the first volume, much valuable background information is given to aid the reader. Introductory chapters on the role of counsel and the economy in New York between 1783 and 1800 are excellent, as are many of the introductions to the documents, which are organized in three separate sections. The papers contained in this volume pertain to commercial transactions, maritime affairs, and admiralty and maritime jurisdiction. Most of them date from the time Hamilton left the Treasury Department to his death.

The section on maritime affairs, supervised by a new staff member, David A. Nourse, is the best in the volume and should be of broader interest than both the section given to commercial transactions (contracts, bills and notes, creditor's rights, and extrajudicial settlement of disputes) and the one dealing with admiralty and maritime jurisdiction, although there is much to recommend parts of these sections. Apparently, more information in the form of background material and extant records was available dealing with maritime affairs, and that part is organized in a fashion lending itself to an easier understanding of the complex area of marine insurance that dominates the section. The admiralty and maritime jurisdiction documents, on the other hand, deal almost exclusively with procedure, but they tell much about commercial activity during a difficult time for the United States on the high seas.

The commentaries in this volume are unmistakably written by lawyers. For the most part they are unusually readable and based on exhaustive research. Most of the introductory

notes are very well conceived and represent the kind of editorial management of legal papers that is worthy of emulation. Professor Goebel's direction of the project has produced, I am pleased to note, much more than a study of the law practice of Alexander Hamilton. The areas of New York legal history dealt with will not require redoing. When the third volume is completed, the set will provide a basis for learning much more about a part of Hamilton's life never adequately covered.

The only really bad thing about this book that should be noted is its price, two-thirds more than the first volume. Thirty dollars is more than most individuals will pay for such a work, and thus it will be bought primarily by libraries. I hope that this will not deter any historian from spending some time with it, for he is sure to reap reward from whatever form of investment he agrees to make.

CHARLES T. CULLEN
Institute of Early American History and Culture

VICTOR A. SAPIO. *Pennsylvania & the War of 1812.* [Lexington:] University Press of Kentucky. 1970. Pp. x, 206. $7.95.

"The causes of the War of 1812 have produced a historiographic controversy far out of proportion to the war's military importance," and this book discusses in detail the interpretations that have most frequently been advanced. Contemporary observers emphasized the desire of the United States to protect its maritime commerce and the rights of neutrals. These explanations, however, have never been entirely satisfactory, for the war was supported with enthusiasm in the South and West and bitterly opposed in New England, the commercial center of the nation.

Other reasons for the entry of the United States included "land hunger, fear of a British-supported Indian uprising, economic depression, and an exuberance of youthful patriotism," yet these interpretations, convincing as they might be, did not exhaust the possibilities. Sapio points out that American pride was hurt more than American interests by the policies of the British government, and the politicians who voted for the war were influenced by the necessity to defend republicanism (with both a small and a large R) from humiliation.

A neglected key to an understanding of American participation (this is Sapio's thesis) was the role of Pennsylvania, which provided more congressional votes in support of Republican measures than any other state and which made possible the re-election of President Madison in 1812. The embargo and the war both benefited Pennsylvania by encouraging the growth of domestic manufacturers, and the sixteen votes this state provided for the declaration of war constituted not only the largest single bloc in Congress but the highest percentage of support for the government in any of the larger delegations.

The tone of the book is patriotic—it is "straight" history of the sort that indicates that the state was to be congratulated because "the people of Pennsylvania supported the war effort as staunchly as they had supported the declaration of war and opposed every effort to end the war before a military victory [*sic*] had been won." It is an academic exercise designed to be read by members of the profession, summarizing the writings of the past and following them too closely.

JOHN M. COLEMAN
Lafayette College

ED BEARSS and ARRELL M. GIBSON. *Fort Smith: Little Gibraltar on the Arkansas.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1969. Pp. 349. $6.95.

The story of the forts built in the early years of the nineteenth century to guard the Western frontiers of America is an intriguing chapter in our national history, and that of Fort Smith is pretty much the prototype for all of them. The Louisiana Purchase opened a new phase in our national development. Its vastness and the barrenness of its Great Plains made it look like an unlikely place for white men to settle, and it seemed logical that the Indians living east of the Mississippi should be moved to this great land of the West.

The transfer of the Five Civilized Tribes began soon after the War of 1812, when some bands of the Cherokees were moved to present-day Oklahoma. But the Osage Indians objected

to this encroachment upon their lands, and a bloody Indian War was the result. To preserve the peace, Fort Smith was established in 1817 on the border of present-day Arkansas. Soon it became advisable, however, to erect a fortification deeper in the Indian country, and in 1824 Fort Smith was abandoned. When the Choctaws were moved to the Oklahoma country in the 1830s, the post was reactivated.

The original post was built of logs, but under political pressure a stone and masonry structure was begun in 1838. By the time it was completed in 1846 the purpose for which it had been built was no longer pertinent, and thereafter, with the exception of a brief participation in the Civil War, it served mainly as a supply base for the military posts deeper in the Indian country. In 1871 the post became the home of the Federal Court of the Western District of Arkansas, and under the jurisdiction of the notorious Judge William Story gained a reputation as a "hanging court." When the Federal Court was removed in 1896, most of the Fort Smith property was liquidated. In 1961 Congress designated the post as a National Historic Site, and reconstruction of the post began. The emphasis in the reconstruction program has been on that period when the fort housed the Federal Court.

The story of Fort Smith is important in understanding the history of the Western frontier. It was the southern anchor of a chain of forts for which Fort Snelling in Minnesota was the northern tie. In a remarkable way, the evolution of the two posts followed the same path, and each today is being restored to remind America of the day when the nation was young and enduring the pains of rapid growth.

ARTHUR J. LARSEN
University of Minnesota, Duluth

HOWARD S. MILLER. *Dollars for Research: Science and Its Patrons in Nineteenth-Century America.* Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1970. Pp. xi, 258. $9.50.

Judged as the specialized monograph, which its format and vestiges of a dissertation mode indicate, Mr. Miller's *Dollars for Research* is a piece of competent scholarship and a worthy contribution to knowledge. He brings together in a clear pattern much material that has been scattered through the slowly growing literature of the history of American science and many manuscript repositories.

Beginning with the Smithson bequest of the 1830s and ending with the founding of the Carnegie Institution of Washington in 1902, Miller performs the difficult task of matching thumbnail sketches of the principal scientists of the nineteenth century with their benefactors, a mixed lot who mirror much of American social history. Lacking an administrative class in the private institutions of the day, the scientists had to be their own entrepreneurs with few university presidents or foundation executives to help them. Contrary to widely held myths about the smallness of scientific enterprise and the indifference to science of people of wealth between 1830 and 1900, the scientists often operated on a scale that required large financing—in astronomy and paleontology as especially good examples. The nineteenth century produced a number of notable donors who were willing to listen to the arguments for pure science. Some were as self-effacing and foresighted as Elizabeth Thompson; others were as eccentric, though not often as wealthy, as James Lick. Miller has put these disparate personal and institutional stories together into a general pattern for the support of science in the nineteenth century.

The above appraisal, while eminently respectable and also as accurate as I could make it, is in its implication entirely inadequate. The place of science in American culture is a central theme in the history of the United States, not a peripheral one. Miller's book examines the essential transactions between scientists and the general society that makes the central theme understandable. Now that the chimera of endowment has disappeared and scientists have been forced again into the role of entrepreneurs, we can see in the nineteenth century earlier forms of the institutions and cultural processes with which we now struggle. The instability as well as the flexibility and creativeness of private support is still with us as the great foundations and the federal government have each had their turn in the patron's role. The meaning of American democracy is tied up in the choices made for

the support of science. General historians—radical or consensus—who ignore this book and its theme are missing something fundamental.

A. HUNTER DUPREE
Brown University

RICHARD L. HERRNSTADT, editor. *The Letters of A. Bronson Alcott.* Ames: Iowa State University Press. 1969. Pp. xxxvii, 846. $19.50.

All of the extant letters of Amos Bronson Alcott have been here collected and arranged in chronological order in a single, large volume. Excisions, corrections, and misspellings are meticulously noted, and brief identifying notes and explanatory comments are supplied by the editor. There is an index of correspondents and a general index—not exhaustive, however—of persons, publications, and organizations mentioned in the letters. Unfortunately, there is no topical index. It would have been helpful to users to know, for instance, which letters provide the most detailed exposition of Alcott's educational theories. But in general Professor Herrnstadt has adhered to the most rigorous modern standards of editorial scholarship.

Bronson Alcott is known best for his educational theories and practices in the 1830s, for his association with the Concord Transcendentalists, and for his abortive experiment in communal living at Fruitlands. Less is known of his later career, after the Civil War, when he became closely identified with William Torrey Harris and the St. Louis Hegelians, an affiliation that led to the organization of the Concord Summer School of Philosophy. Although the bulk of his surviving correspondence falls in the later period, it does not change my own view that Alcott's earlier activities remain the more interesting and important.

Alcott's pedagogical radicalism, derived from Pestalozzi, seems to have consisted in the cultivation of the moral and intellectual faculties of small children through the discussion of such classics as Milton, Bunyan, Spenser, and Wordsworth. When timid parents indicated their preference for more conventional methods by withdrawing the pupils, Alcott appropriately transferred his educational endeavors to the adults, going about the country holding "conversations" on various edifying topics. Much of his correspondence consists of letters to the family written while on circuit. For many years the arrangements for his speaking engagements were made from day to day, and Alcott often did not know where he would be on the morrow. As a communitarian, a vegetarian and food fadist, an advocate of women's rights, a spiritualist, and a homeopath, Alcott was distinctively a man for this season. It is surprising that with such resources his correspondence is not of greater interest.

Although this compilation will be a great convenience to specialists on Alcott as well as to students of American Transcendentalism, the general reader will find that too often there are brief allusions to matters that are not again taken up or amplified in rewarding detail. Unlike the carefully chosen excerpts from Alcott's journals published some years ago by Odell Shepard, the letters are not particularly rewarding when read by themselves. This may be a function of Alcott's peculiarities of character. He was content to live in abject poverty until past sixty (when his daughter Louisa's royalties came to the rescue), subsisting on occasional small fees from his conversations and on the charity of friends. It is remarkable that such a stubborn deviance from the norms of a pecuniary society did not sour or dampen the sunny simplicity of his character. But by the same token he sacrificed the trenchant criticisms and the cries of rage or anguish that would have seasoned his writings. Thus, for instance, his letters dwell in some detail on hopeful plans for the commune at Fruitlands, but there is not a word of the failure.

STOW PERSONS
University of Iowa

PORTER A. STRATTON. *The Territorial Press of New Mexico, 1834–1912.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1969. Pp. vi, 306. $15.00.

This book, a copiously documented study, unfortunately reads like the dissertation that it is. The author is to be commended, however, for his painstaking research in frontier journalism and for his inclusion in the appendix of an extensive checklist of newspapers in the New Mexico Territory. Such information will

doubtless be useful to some antiquarians and perhaps to a few professional historians, but it will hardly prove as "absorbing to any reader of Western lore" as the jacket blurb proclaims.

Journalism came to New Mexico rather late, not a surprising fact in view of the region's isolated location and the poverty and illiteracy of its population. No newspapers operated during the period of Spanish rule (1598–1821), and only three made their appearance under Mexican dominance (1821–46). But by 1912 at least 732 newspapers had been established, many of which survived for only one or two issues. The first three chapters of Stratton's work concentrate upon the most important of these territorial presses and their relationship to local economic, political, and cultural developments. The remaining five chapters relate to what the author refers to as "the contribution of the journalists in converting the wild and backward frontier of 1848 into the placid but progressive state of New Mexico of 1912."

I read the section concerning violence in New Mexico with considerable interest, primarily because of personal research on the particular subject. One would think that in the absence of other news, sensational acts of violence would receive extensive coverage. Yet, the author maintains, crimes were so common that many frontier editors did not bother to report them—even lynchings that occurred within sight of their offices. Robert Dykstra, interestingly enough, reached a somewhat similar conclusion from his extensive research in the newspaper files of Kansas cowtowns (*The Cattle Towns* [1968]).

Although God forbid that anyone should emulate Spiro Agnew's style, Professor Stratton could have profited by more frequent reference to *Webster's Dictionary of Synonyms*. Also, the constant repetition on particular pages of such adjectives and adverbs as "this" and "these" makes an otherwise unimaginative narrative sound even more pedestrian.

W. EUGENE HOLLON
University of Toledo

KENNETH W. WHEELER. *To Wear a City's Crown: The Beginnings of Urban Growth in Texas, 1836–1865*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. 222. $6.95.

The thesis of this comparative study of the rise of San Antonio, Galveston, Houston, and Austin between 1836 and 1865 is that cities often antedated agricultural settlement and, although small in size, became the focal points for the development of their regions. The concept of the urban frontier has become a familiar theme, usually modeled on Richard Wade's seminal study of the early Ohio Valley cities.

In terms of descriptive social history, Wheeler has effectively pictured the unique quality of each city's character. European-oriented Galveston put a greater emphasis on culture than did other Texas cities. While it had certain geographical advantages, the domination of a merchant elite unwilling to take risks eventually led to stagnation. Houston was more progressive, with wealth more evenly distributed. In order to compete successfully for the trade in cotton and sugar, Houston energetically improved its water and rail connections. San Antonio was the oldest and poorest of the four cities. Its population, predominantly Mexican, slowly became Americanized, but the city maintained its cosmopolitan, picturesque features. Prior to the cattle boom of the 1860s, San Antonio relied primarily on Mexican trade for its economic existence. Austin, an artificial city housing the state's political system, had little concern for commercial growth.

Wheeler's comparative approach puts each city into the kind of perspective not possible in studies of single communities. Similarities and differences become apparent, necessitating explanations for both. The value of this approach, however, would have been greatly increased if Wheeler had broadened his comparisons to include the urban frontier in other areas.

Wheeler has drawn upon a basic list of sources useful for local history, especially municipal records, newspapers, and travelers' accounts. By the standards of an earlier generation of urban historians, the results are impressive. In terms of the new urban history, however, many basic questions remain, particularly concerning the nature of the process of urbanization in early Texas. Many urban historians are asking questions and employing methods of analysis that have resulted in

some basically new insights into the social dimensions of American urbanization. The works of Dykstra on internal conflict in the Kansas cowtowns, of Barth on the characteristics of the elite in San Francisco and Denver, of Thernstrom on social mobility of laborers in Newburyport, and of Warner on the relationship between changing technology and residential patterns in Boston are only a few examples. This is not meant to downgrade Wheeler's work, for his emphasis is a major advance over the traditional approach to frontier history. Rather, it is to suggest that historians of the urban frontier could broaden the significance of their work by using the methodology developed by social scientists.

GILBERT A. STELTER
Laurentian University

PAUL KLEPPNER. *The Cross of Culture: A Social Analysis of Midwestern Politics, 1850–1900.* New York: Free Press. 1970. Pp. x, 402. $9.00.

Paul Kleppner has written a provocative book that is both an examination of Midwestern voting behavior in the Gilded Age and a manifesto for the newer methods of political history. Concentrating on the states of Ohio, Michigan, and Wisconsin, he argues that religious and ethnocultural allegiance rather than economic or class affiliation determined electoral results. A full array of quantifying techniques buttress conclusions about "the group bases of politics," help explain how the political stalemate of the 1880s became the Republican dominance of the mid-1890s, and enable Kleppner to construct an interesting interpretation of the election of 1896. His close scrutiny of the ethnic appeals of McKinley and Bryan suggests that more work can still be done on the most studied of the presidential contests.

This book also demonstrates the complexity and subtlety of the American political environment between 1865 and 1900. Kleppner brushes aside old stereotypes about corrupt politics and corporate influence and shows that voters made decisions on the basis of rational perceptions of issues relevant to their immediate experience. Politicians wooed constituencies that were more intricate and complicated than historians have realized. The patient work that Kleppner has done underscores the need for intensive research in state politics in this period. His observations on Ohio and Wisconsin, for instance, should prompt a fresh appraisal of such important figures as Joseph B. Foraker and Robert La Follette.

On the other hand, the author sometimes assumes that all states in the Midwest were essentially identical, and he plays down the influence of the federal system on local affairs. His content analysis of the tariff in the early 1890s seems more an effort to explain away the issue than to measure its potency. And if it is "unlikely" that voters "perceived the ways in which" national policies affected their daily lives, Kleppner does not disclose why politicians continued to emphasize these issues.

The author's research and analysis are excellent. His prose is not, however, and clumsy passages and stylistic lapses may deter prospective readers. Names of obscure leaders and counties clutter the pages and slow the narrative. The absence of maps is unfortunate. An earnest, didactic tone, symbolized by the excessive use of italics, often slips into monotonous jargon. But students of the Gilded Age and of American politics generally should overlook the awkward writing and pay close attention to the important contributions of Kleppner's work.

LEWIS L. GOULD
University of Texas, Austin

SISTER MARY KARL GEORGE, R.S.M. *Zachariah Chandler: A Political Biography.* East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 1969. Pp. x, 301. $8.50.

There is an odd quality to this volume, for as aggressive and brash as this Republican senator from Michigan was, so timid and cautious is his biographer. Sister Mary Karl George clearly and ably recounts the high points of Chandler's political career. She has read diligently in Chandler's papers and those of his friends, and she writes lucidly. But she skirts the basic issue of how we are to understand Chandler or his times.

Chandler entered politics in the 1850s, having first made a small fortune in trade and investments. Putting his organizational skills, his strong opposition to the extension of slavery, and some of his funds at the service of the

new Republican party, he rose quickly through its ranks. He was senator from Michigan from 1857 to 1875, and for two years served as Grant's secretary of the interior. His career, as this account substantiates, was surrounded by controversy. One of Chandler's first important political acts was to do what he could to prevent any last-minute compromise with the seceding states; as an active member of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, he was convinced that an aggressive military policy would quickly end the war, and accordingly found constant fault with Lincoln and his generals. He was one of the few senators prepared to starve Confederates in Northern prisons to retaliate for the treatment of Union soldiers in the South. Throughout his life, he found no charge or language too strong to level at the Democratic opposition, and he was convinced that Confederates had forfeited all their rights. A fierce critic of Andrew Johnson, he was an intimate friend and supporter of President Grant. All the while he was a fiscal conservative, a leader of the hard-money camp.

Although the controversies surrounding Chandler in particular and Radical Republicans in general are intense and complex, Sister Mary Karl George is reluctant to enter them. One wonders what she thinks of this man after her years of research. Were his instincts, as Gideon Welles contended, "low and debasing, always"? Was he, as one newspaper charged, part of a clique that was the most "reckless and unscrupulous set of fanatics and agitators" ever to sit in Congress? Or was he, as some of his letters suggest, a fanatic perhaps, but one with noble instincts? One wonders also about the nature and extent of Chandler's support in Michigan. His biographer includes details on the backroom politics behind his senate elections, but does not explore the popular base of his strength as a politician or further our knowledge about the relationship between national patronage and state machines. And, finally, one wonders about the popular and institutional position of Chandler and his supporters in Washington. Sister Mary Karl George believes that they dominated moderate Republicans for at least a decade but is not able to tell us why. A study of a figure as important and interesting as Chandler might have offered us many clues to the motives and power of stalwart and Radical Republicans. This volume, however, is more of an outline than a penetrating analysis of a man's career and period. It is incomplete both as biography and history.

DAVID J. ROTHMAN
Columbia University

HUGH GEORGE ANDERSON. *Lutheranism in the Southeastern States, 1860–1886: A Social History.* (Studies in American History, Number 10.) The Hague: Mouton. 1969. Pp. 276. 40 gls.

This monograph is a history of Lutheranism in the states south of the Mason-Dixon line and east of the Mississippi River, beginning just prior to the Civil War and culminating in the establishment of the United Synod of the South in 1886.

The author depicts briefly the movement of German Lutherans into the South and the gradual progress toward ecclesiastical organization in union with the General Synod North. In spite of various attempts to do so this fragile unity could not be maintained during the Civil War, and sectionalism triumphed. Anderson characterizes the individual synods, analyzes the effects of the war on congregational and synodical life, and describes the cooperative efforts of Southern Lutherans to form their own general body, noting that, with the exception of the separatist Tennessee and Holston synods, "where on the political side southern Lutherans wanted 'States' Rights,' on the ecclesiastical side they voted for a controlling power." The last four chapters illustrate in topical fashion the life of Southern Lutherans during the two decades immediately following the Civil War, concluding that the churches made real advances on the local level even though the general synodical work of Lutherans did not show much progress. The author includes portrayals of developing Lutheran worship, the varieties of church architecture, the role of laymen, and the life of the pastors. He concludes his work with a discussion of the gradual growth of the General Synod, which climaxed in the formation of a general body to include all of the Southern synods. In general, he pictures a church characterized by great diversity moving inexorably toward a specifically Lutheran identity.

In his efforts to write a "social history" the author's approach issues in a concern for the life of individual Lutherans rather than in the "structural" or "external history of Lutheranism as a denomination." The book is well documented and has more than adequate bibliography, footnotes, and index. The author has read and quoted widely the minutes of the individual synods, which is both strength and weakness. Occasionally the concern for encyclopedic detail becomes tedious. The analysis of Southern Lutheranism as a whole is forced into a secondary role.

Except for the war and Reconstruction the story of Southern Lutherans takes place in a vacuum; it would be helpful to place it within its historical context. Certain questions could well be raised. What contributions to Southern history, society, and politics did Lutherans make? A financial crisis is mentioned briefly, but what was the nature of this crisis? Given the fact that Lutherans primarily were farmers, where did they stand in the face of the one-crop system that developed after the war? Other than encouraging immigration, what did Lutherans do to help the farmer improve his lot? Where did Lutherans stand on Negro suffrage? Nor is there any mention, for example, of the disputed election of 1876. These and other questions could be raised by the author.

In conclusion, however, the book does provide for the scholar or serious student a wealth of material on Southern Lutherans and is a welcome contribution to the field of sectional religious histories.

H. WAYNE PIPKIN
Baylor University

JAMES R. WILBURN. *The Hazard of the Die: Tolbert Fanning and the Restoration Movement.* Austin: Sweet Publishing Company. 1969. Pp. x, 12–288. $4.95.

Tolbert Fanning was an important Southern preacher in the nineteenth-century restoration movement led by Alexander Campbell. When he died in 1874 he had spent four and a half decades as an editor, educator, and evangelist among the Disciples of Christ in the South. In addition, Fanning was a successful businessman and agricultural reformer; he was a widely respected citizen in middle Tennessee. But his lasting influence stems from his work as mentor and molder of a generation of young Southern preachers who formed the vanguard of religious conservatism in the Disciples of Christ in the last half of the nineteenth century. When the Churches of Christ emerged as an independent group early in the twentieth century, it was led by a coterie of Fanning protégés —David Lipscomb, William Lipscomb, and Elisha G. Sewell.

Professor Wilburn traces Fanning's influence on the doctrinal issues that ultimately led to division within the Disciples. His discussion of Fanning's changing thought on church organization is a good analysis of this crucial question. In fact, the book is basically a simple study of Fanning's religious thought as revealed in his rather extensive published writings. Professor Wilburn has researched this subject diligently; he has produced a readable and useful narrative that will be welcomed by Disciples scholars.

The chief limitations of the book are those imposed by the subject. The thought of Tolbert Fanning will be of little interest to those not directly concerned with Disciples history. But the most important weakness of the book stems from the lack of primary materials on Fanning. No collection of Fanning material exists; as a result, Professor Wilburn tells little about Fanning the man or the personal struggles of a religious leader in the nineteenth century. The author has done the best he could within these limitations; the result is one of perhaps five books about the nineteenth-century origins of the Churches of Christ that is worthy of serious reading.

DAVID EDWIN HARRELL, JR.
University of Alabama, Birmingham

JOHN Y. SIMON, editor. *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant.* Volume 2, *April–September 1861.* Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 1969. Pp. xxxiii, 399. $15.00.

Every library that receives this journal should add this splendid volume to its collection. For here, in the hero's own words, are the beginnings of a military Horatio Alger story. In bare outline the story covered in these letters seems commonplace enough. It happened dozens of times during the Civil War. A patriotic man

offers his services to his government, after a time becomes the colonel of a regiment, and finally is given an important territorial command. The state is Illinois, but it might just as well have been Iowa, Indiana, or Vermont, or, for that matter, South Carolina, Mississippi, or Virginia. But, present-minded as it sounds, the intriguing thing here is that the reader knows the writer of these letters will rise above the madding military crowd, will eventually break through the military logjam and become the supreme commander of the Union armies, and, even later, will twice be elected president of the United States. Every word Grant utters and every move he makes—his constant references to his children, his ceaseless complaints about money, his mourning for his dead brother, his minor orders to his regiment, his appointment of Captain John A. Rawlins as his aide—thus become overwhelmingly fascinating. Here, then, in chatty letters filled with misspelled words and addressed to his wife, to his father, and to his sister and in reports to his military superiors and subordinates is the opening chapter of "The Making of the President, 1868."

It is indeed an intriguing story, and the Ulysses S. Grant Association, the editors of the volume, and the Southern Illinois University Press—all of which contributed to its telling —have given it to us in a form worthy of the noble and inspiring man with whom they deal. The Grant Association put up the money for the book; the editors have collected and arranged the material and have explained it in footnotes that follow each letter; and the publisher has produced a volume that will beautify any bookshelf. A great general and a much misunderstood and cruelly maligned president, Ulysses S. Grant is now having his say.

STANLEY P. HIRSHSON
Queens College,
City University of New York

JAY J. WAGONER. *Arizona Territory, 1863–1912: A Political History*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1970. Pp. xii, 587. $12.00.

Arizona Territory, 1863–1912 is correctly subtitled "A Political History," but it is political history narrowly conceived. Chapters are allotted to the territory's seventeen gubernatorial administrations, with four additional chapters on the Civil War in the Southwest, political parties and elections, the Indian wars of the 1870s, and the Arizona Rangers. Each of the latter four chapters has its defects: the political developments would be better covered in conjunction with the appropriate administrations; the Indian chapter stops abruptly in the 1870s even though the Indian wars did not; and disproportionate attention is devoted to the Civil War and the Arizona Rangers, although both deserve a place in the book.

The episodic treatment of the successive administrations results in a number of inadequacies. Each of the governors receives roughly equal coverage although some were more important to the history of the territory than others. There is a strong tendency to focus narrowly on each administration as a separate entity, thus losing sight of themes that cut across several decades. There is considerable repetition, but little insight into such major themes as Indian policy, mining law, and railroad grants. This is also true for certain specific incidents; for example, the Wham payroll robbery, an event with important political consequences, is discussed in four separate places, but the issues involved are never precisely identified or clarified. The maneuvering that resulted in the multiplication of the original four counties into fourteen and the question of control of military policy are other issues adumbrated but not developed.

The book is most noteworthy for the information it provides on the sixteen territorial governors, one of whom served two separate terms. Mr. Wagoner has made good use of the territorial appointment papers and other records in the National Archives in order to describe the rationale for appointments, the governors' activities in office, and their subsequent careers. Mr. Wagoner's evidence on these points supports those historians who have argued that territorial governors were often either incompetent or corrupt carpetbaggers who served a short term in office. The primary criteria for Arizona appointments were either political or personal. Some governors, including Alexander Brodie, Theodore Roosevelt's fellow Rough Rider, were competent and conscientious, but most, among them John Charles Frémont, were political disasters. Mr. Wagoner

presents an impression of a territory beset with problems and with administrations that were either incapable or preferred to expend energy to keep political fences mended. The real political power in Arizona rested in the hands of economic leaders or with the federal government. The power of these forces is not a major concern of the author, although it should be, even in a political history.

Arizona Territory is not good history, but will prove useful as a source of information for future historians of Arizona or the Southwest.

KENT RICHARDS
Central Washington State College

HOWARD A. WHITE. *The Freedmen's Bureau in Louisiana.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1970. Pp. 227. $7.50.

Ex-slaves in 1865 faced enormous problems including the often overwhelming matter of destitution. This closely focused study of the Freedmen's Bureau never loses sight of this fact, and Professor White concludes that the crucial test of the agency was met with its "pioneering, wise, and beneficial" performance of its welfare function.

The book adds impressive evidence to the case now generally made that the Bureau stands acquitted of old charges of vengeful motives and malicious practices, but it does not put the Bureau to the test to which the freedmen themselves would have put it. And the test involves the matter of the blacks' readiness for freedom, a probability Mr. White, like most writers of Reconstruction history, holds in doubt. With a leadership class unique in the South, the freedmen of Louisiana may have been more ready than Professor White suggests when he salutes the Bureau for its ability to "plant the concept of freedom and dignity in the hearts of a freed people." His own evidence suggests that it was already there. After all, it was the black New Orleans *Tribune* that taught Assistant Commissioner Thomas Conway that freedom meant the power of the ballot and of the pocketbook right in Louisiana rather than exportation to Africa, and not the other way around. Although White is correct in citing the lack of financial support from Congress as a major reason why the Bureau did not reap a harvest of success for the freedmen, he does not explore the possibility, fully documented in his work, that the Bureau itself contributed to the destruction of their hopes. If the agency could offer badly needed welfare services it could also be used as an effective tool for keeping the freedmen in their place as a landless subservient labor force.

A humane spirit with respect to racial matters is reflected throughout the book, and its most compelling chapter discusses medical treatment for the freedmen. This is an area of Bureau activity of larger scope than most studies have suggested—indeed the only twentieth-century vestige of this nineteenth-century federal effort to serve the needs of a dependent people is the annual appropriation for the Freedmen's Hospital in Washington. White's attention to detail should point the way for other such state studies. It would be interesting, for example, to compare Virginia to Louisiana and see what the former's assistant comissioner, Dr. Orlando Brown, prescribed in the way of hospitals and treatment.

WILLIAM S. MCFEELY
Mount Holyoke College

WILLIAM LYNWOOD MONTELL. *The Saga of Coe Ridge: A Study in Oral History.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1970. Pp. xxi, 231. $8.95.

The Saga of Coe Ridge is a handsomely illustrated study of a small, isolated black community in the mountains of central Kentucky, which was established after the Civil War by the ex-slaves of a Cumberland Valley planter. Lacking written records—even the county courthouse had been burned—the author has written an account based almost entirely on oral tradition, eked out by data in local histories and manuscript census returns. Interviewing both black survivors of the now extinct community and older white residents of the area, Professor Montell has produced a convincing historical sketch of this community.

The author is at his best in describing the technology of log-cabin construction, the deadly feuds with the community's white neighbors at the turn of the century, the economic evolution of Coetown from logging and subsistence farming to moonshining, and its destruction

by revenue agents after the Second World War. On the other hand we are told little, and nothing systematic, about such matters as diet, food preparation, farming methods, and religion—subjects the folklorist should surely be able to illuminate. Again, there is a good deal of factual material about contacts with specific whites, but no real analysis of the system of race relations. Many historians may find the genealogical data and the presentation of variant oral accounts of the same events tedious. Although this particular volume will be of interest mainly to folklorists and specialists in local history, it demonstrates convincingly that, given a paucity or lack of other sources, generations-old oral tradition, carefully and intelligently employed, can often be a most useful tool in the reconstruction of the past.

AUGUST MEIER
Kent State University

RICHARD O. CURRY, editor. *Radicalism, Racism, and Party Realignment: The Border States during Reconstruction.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1969. Pp. xxvi, 331. $10.00.

The border slave states have hardly had a place in the story of Reconstruction as it has heretofore been presented. The general histories either ignore them or give them only passing mention. And it may be suspected that teachers of Reconstruction courses follow a similar procedure. The reasons for the neglect are understandable. Four of the states usually classified in the border group did not secede: Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, and Missouri; and a fifth, West Virginia, came into being during the Civil War under federal sponsorship. Consequently these states did not experience the impact of congressional Reconstruction, and to historians they have seemed to be outside the Reconstruction process. State studies of the process on the border have been pitifully few.

Now this traditional view has been challenged, as other views of the period have been challenged in recent years. Editor Richard O. Curry and the contributors he has enlisted in this volume of essays ask us to give attention to the border states. Curry, indeed, goes farther. In his introduction he declares: "Present conceptions of the Reconstruction process must be broadened to include intensive studies of *internal* politics in both northern and border states." These states, rather than Washington or the South, were the "crucial battlegrounds" where "the future course of American history" was determined. Moreover, in studying these states, "it is necessary to investigate in greater depth the continuities that exist between antebellum, Civil War, and Reconstruction politics. A comprehensive treatment of Reconstruction politics must first come to terms with the nature of Civil War struggles in the North."

Curry's clarion call has a degree of exaggeration in it, as calls for new approaches are likely to have. But he is on solid ground in insisting that the border states should be studied as a part of the Reconstruction story. To launch such a study he has assembled a group of able collaborators. Six of the essays deal with Reconstruction in specific states, the five listed above and Tennessee. The latter is included because, as Curry explains, "her readmission to the Union in 1866 created a political situation that conforms to border state patterns."

The state studies and their authors are as follows: Missouri by William E. Parrish, Tennessee by Thomas B. Alexander, West Virginia by Curry, Kentucky by Ross A. Webb, Maryland by Charles L. Wagandt, and Delaware by Harold B. Hancock. These essays focus on political developments in the states but give due attention to economic, social, and racial aspects of the time. Other essays are by Jacqueline Balk and Ari Hoogenboom on the origins of border state Liberal Republicanism, by W. A. Low on the Freedmen's Bureau in the border states, and William Gillette on federal enforcement of voting rights in these states. The essays are based partly on previous research by their authors and partly on new research. They are of even and good quality and are well worth reading even by specialists.

The book has, however, to be read to be appreciated. Its quality is difficult to convey in a review. Written by various authors and dealing with a variety of subjects, it naturally lacks a theme. Another reason for the absence of unity is the necessary state-by-state approach. Political developments in the border states did not follow a consistent pattern. Thus during the first years of Reconstruction, Republicans were in control of the governments in Missouri, Tennessee, and West Virginia. In Maryland,

Henry Winter Davis' Union party, which included some Republicans, dominated at first. In Kentucky and Delaware the Democrats ruled throughout the period, and of course in the end this party took over in all the states. Extreme bitterness marked border politics. The Republicans enacted, or sought to enact, proscription laws that disfranchised former Confederates, that is, Democrats. Democrats resorted to terrorism to intimidate Negro Republicans and keep them from voting.

Contradictions also characterize the social legislation of the states. Education for Negroes was provided, but in segregated schools. The greatest stimulus to black education came from the Freedmen's Bureau. Negro suffrage was pushed by some Republicans but, in the words of Balk and Hoogenboom, primarily as "a weapon, not a cause." Because the border states were the first to overthrow Republican rule, they were, as Gillette puts it, the first to "embrace reactionary redemption." But Gillette also contends that during the 1890s, when the status of the Negro in the rest of the South was being harshly defined, the border states returned to moderation and made some progress in race relations.

The book is a contribution to Reconstruction literature and should stimulate additional research by students of the period.

T. HARRY WILLIAMS
Louisiana State University

LOUISE R. NOUN. *Strong-Minded Women: The Emergence of the Woman-Suffrage Movement in Iowa.* [Ames:] Iowa State University Press. 1969. Pp. xv, 322. $8.75.

"Whatever happened to our history?" ask the modern advocates of women's emancipation. Recent publications treating the struggle for equal rights have begun to answer that question with respect to one phase of women's changing status. The volume under review is the first contemporary study of the woman suffrage movement in Iowa. Unfortunately, for all its good intentions, it falls short of being a worthy model for women's history.

The narrative centers on the years from 1866 to 1872 when suffrage became a major public issue in Iowa. Sharing the opinion of many Americans that they were the principal guardians of respectable culture, numerous Iowa women organized societies dedicated to moral and intellectual uplift, temperance, and suffrage. The adoption of Negro suffrage in the state in 1868 encouraged women leaders to believe that their right to vote would be readily attained. But woman suffrage made little headway against mounting, often derisive opposition, and the effort to push a suffrage amendment through the state senate failed narrowly in 1872. Iowa's women were not enfranchised until ratification of the federal amendment in 1920.

During these formative years a group of vigorous local and state suffrage leaders emerged as lecturers and organizers. Like advocates elsewhere, they tended to be well educated and well fixed, both socially and financially. Their efforts were enhanced by recurrent visits from distinguished Eastern suffragists. The supporters of suffrage in Iowa were not strong minded enough, however, to avoid the clashes that split the Eastern suffrage movement. The controversy surrounding Victoria Woodhull and the "free love" issue seemed especially volatile and, according to the author, may have influenced the suffrage defeat in 1872. A final superficial chapter, treating the career of Carrie Chapman Catt, shifts the book's focus awkwardly.

There are a number of weaknesses in this study that detract from its usefulness. The narrative itself is episodic and jagged, cluttered with minute details about meetings and other events, and interrupted frequently by biographical digressions. The emphasis is on description rather than analysis, and the author accepts too easily and quotes too extensively the words of participants recounting their actions. The book includes a good index but no documentary footnotes and exhibits several obvious typographical errors. More than seventy illustrations accompany the text, but some of these are poorly reproduced.

As a case study of the suffrage movement in a single state, a work of this kind should offer insight into the peculiar circumstances that influenced the local situation as well as an assessment of the relationship between events in the state and the changing national context. It could be a vehicle for imaginative interpretation and comparison. *Strong-Minded Women*

fails to exploit in any systematic way the opportunities inherent in its subject.

KEITH E. MELDER
Smithsonian Institution

ALLEN WEINSTEIN. *Prelude to Populism: Origins of the Silver Issue, 1867–1878.* New Haven: Yale University Press. 1970. Pp. x, 433. $10.00.

THOMAS A. CLINCH. *Urban Populism and Free Silver in Montana: A Narrative of Ideology in Political Action.* [Missoula:] University of Montana Press; distrib. by Montana Historical Society, Helena. 1970. Pp. xiii, 190. $4.95.

MARY ELLEN GLASS. *Silver and Politics in Nevada: 1892–1902.* (The Lancehead Series: Nevada and the West.) Reno: University of Nevada Press. 1969. Pp. xi, 242. $5.50.

JOHN A. BRENNAN. *Silver and the First New Deal.* Reno: University of Nevada Press. 1969. Pp. 187. $5.50.

These four monographs contribute to a reappraisal of the silver issue in American politics. While indicating that the unique circumstances of three depression eras produced different policies in each, these treatises disclose a developing continuity. Certain myths and accepted historical interpretations are overthrown by the authors. Weinstein modifies the conspiratorial "Crime of '73" and explodes the myth of "Bonanza King" responsibility for free silver agitation during 1876–78. He invalidates the Beard class-sectional interpretation by establishing an Eastern-Midwestern urban origin and leadership of the movement that synchronized with Nevada's demands for congressional action. If, however, he had consulted agricultural journals and noted the farflung farmer constituency of the Chicago *Tribune*'s bimetallic campaign, he would have discovered an urban-rural Middle West free silver movement, the prototype of the urban Rocky Mountain-agrarian West and South free silver alliance of the nineties and New Deal periods. If Weinstein had seriously analyzed the international bimetallic argument of 1873–78, such as Henry Demarest Lloyd reviewed in the Chicago *Tribune,* he could have identified the stereotypes that were revived by the American Bimetallic League in the nineties and by the Silver Bloc during the New Deal. This would make it possible to identify novel arguments grafted upon free silver propaganda in these later eras.

Clinch demonstrates that urban, labor reformer Montana Populists never accepted free silver as the essence of Populism, as Weinstein's title implies. Their advocacy of free silver involved no "sell-out" of broader reform, and anti-Semitism and residual right-wingism were lacking. Montana Populism was discredited only by the support given to William A. Clark's corrupt bid for United States senator by two Populist officials. Glass proves that Nevada's dominant Silver party of 1892–1902 was controlled not by mining interests but by the Southern Pacific Railroad, which blocked state reforms. Weinstein makes it clear that silver-mining business participation in the free silver movement began after 1878. Clinch and Glass indicate that this began in 1892 when the movement joined the already active agrarian West and South. Brennan describes the revival, led by Senator Elmer Thomas, of this alliance in the New Deal period and details the ill-coordinated activities of the discordant Silver Bloc and mining lobby. He discloses that the "broker leadership" of Franklin D. Roosevelt on silver policy was an administrative political reaction to the silver issue as part of a larger inflationary threat such as had confronted the Rutherford B. Hayes administration. The administration, however, of Key Pittman's international silver agreement and of the Silver Purchase Act of 1934 by Henry Morgenthau, Jr. injured Nationalist China, failed to establish a high international silver price, and accumulated a great silver hoard without increasing money in circulation. That hoard was marketed to American industry, as Brennan does not observe, at great profit after World War II, and it more than wiped out the $1,500,000,000 cost claimed by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. for the Pittman-Roosevelt-Morgenthau policy.

All four authors are to be congratulated upon their adherence to critical historical realism and their freedom from preconceptions derived either from both the interest and political groups analyzed or from accepted historical assumptions. It is regrettable that this was not accompanied by complete coverage of the subject in one instance (Weinstein), by adequate use of background literature in another (Glass), by thorough analysis of ideological as-

pects of the subject (all four), and by recognition in Brennan's case that the Thomas-Father Coughlin alignment linked the latter's large urban following to the agrarian-Rocky Mountain silver alliance. Clinch's assertion that the Populists sought a fifty dollars per capita increase in the currency is a clear misinterpretation of the Omaha platform. Brennan's careless proofreading accounts for the omission of at least three footnotes, while his presentation would have been improved had he submitted it to stylistic criticism in advance of publication.

CHESTER MCARTHUR DESTLER
Berkeley College, Yale University

MICHAEL JAY MJELDE. *Glory of the Seas.* (The American Maritime Library, Volume 1.) Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press for the Marine Historical Association. 1970. Pp. x, 303. $9.95.

Glory of the Seas was the last clipper ship designed and built by Donald McKay, doubtless the most famous American naval architect and shipbuilder of the nineteenth century. Launched at East Boston in 1869, her remarkably long career ended only when she was burned for her metal fastenings at Seattle in 1923. After a single round voyage across the North Atlantic, *Glory of the Seas* was employed successively carrying cargo between New York and San Francisco by way of Cape Horn, in the grain trade from California to Europe, carrying coal from Vancouver Island and Puget Sound to California, transporting lumber along the Pacific Coast, and finally as a floating salmon cannery in Alaska.

Although this is primarily a detailed biography of one ship, it reveals a great deal about the men who owned, managed, and sailed her; about life on board, both in the after cabin and before the mast; and about the various deepwater and coastwise trades in which she served. The last of the great American clippers, *Glory of the Seas* was pushed out of one service after another by more efficient competition, and her career was representative of a whole phase of American maritime history.

Michael Jay Mjelde, an engineering draftsman of Bremerton, Washington, put a dozen years of research into this book. His footnotes and bibliography reflect extensive work in public documents, newspapers, business and family archives, and twenty personal interviews, as well as standard references. Although sometimes tantalizingly brief and lacking in specific detail, these references give evidence of painstaking, persistent, and resourceful research. Mr. Mjelde is obviously enthusiastic about his subject, but he usually succeeds in avoiding florid, overly dramatic writing.

The book is splendidly illustrated; there are over forty photographs of the ship, of ports she frequented, and of men who served in her, as well as five plans drafted by the author and reproductions of a number of paintings and documents.

JOHN HASKELL KEMBLE
Pomona College

CHARLES N. GLAAB and LAWRENCE H. LARSEN. *Factories in the Valley: Neenah-Menasha, 1870–1915.* Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1969. Pp. ix, 293. $5.95.

In recent years urban history has been primarily concerned with the larger cities of America. In contrast, *Factories in the Valley* is a rather intensive review of Neenah and Menasha, two small Wisconsin cities destined to become a portion of an important industrial development in the Fox River Valley. Running northward from Lake Winnebago to Green Bay, the forty-mile-long Lower Fox River had a remarkably constant flow of water that made an abundance of power available for manufacturing. Adjacent communities, separated only by the river, the two towns were politically separate, but clearly had a common economic unity.

As in dozens of other cities, the local boosters in Neenah and Menasha visualized for the future a giant industrial center based upon water power and the abundance of local natural resources. In the early postwar years the two cities obtained rail connections with Milwaukee and Chicago. Flour milling was the major industry, with more than half of the local capital invested in fifteen mills. Within a few years, however, a shift in Wisconsin agriculture from wheat to dairy farming, plus the failure of the local millers to adopt

new milling techniques, led to a decline in the flour industry. In the 1880s local business leaders like John A. Kimberly, Charles B. Clark, and George A. Whiting shifted the industrial base from flour milling to papermaking. By the turn of the century Neenah-Menasha had become a modest part of a sprawling paper manufacturing complex serving a growing national market.

Professors Glaab and Larsen have written a worthy companion volume to Alice E. Smith's earlier *Millstone and Saw: The Origins of Neenah–Menasha* (1967). The authors bring much life and detail to their story as they trace patterns of urban development from the early dreams of grandeur through years of modest growth to early twentieth-century industrial maturity. The volume is strong in biographical material for both the business leader and the mill hand. Included are excellent treatments of significant nineteenth-century technological developments for both flour milling and papermaking. While the essay on sources is quite brief, the volume is fully documented. The authors have used a wealth of sources including local newspapers, county histories, confidential credit rating reports, and the business records of several Neenah-Menasha firms. *Factories in the Valley* should be welcomed by all students of business, social, and urban history.

JOHN F. STOVER
Purdue University

GEORGE MARTIN. *Causes and Conflicts: The Centennial History of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, 1870–1970.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1970. Pp. xviii, 436. $10.00.

This book is an unusual study of a voluntary association. It is an official history for which the author received and exercised a free hand. It is also a popular history of a professional elite. Though trained as a lawyer, the author expressly adopts "a layman's view" of the organization. Seldom has a bar association generated more pleasurable reading. The "layman's view," however, inevitably limits the book's utility for professional historians.

The objectives of the New York City bar association are to provide library and social facilities for leading lawyers, to improve the professional standards of bench and bar, and to furnish occasional leadership in public affairs. All these subjects are considered in a chronological narrative covering three-fourths of the volume, but the emphasis is explicitly on the role of the association in public controversies—and its "causes and conflicts." This approach is understandable in view of the problems and personalities involved. The association was born in the fight against the Tweed Ring and has won glory in sundry battles since. Its list of presidents—for examples, Evarts, Root, Hughes, Stimson, Patterson, and Brownell—includes illustrious names in American history. Concentration on conflicts dramatizes the organization's links to interesting people and times, not to mention the everlasting agony of governing New York City.

The dramatics, on the other hand, produce an imbalanced interpretation. One chapter devoted to the grievance committee does not offset overemphasis of the association's spasmodic reform efforts or neglect of its sustained contributions to legislation and policy debates. The explanation of its continuing failure to change New York's system of electing judges rises little higher than that bad-guy politicians outfoxed good-guy lawyers. A questionable method of implicating the organization in reformist activities of individual members, such as Charles Evans Hughes, is aggravated by failure to do likewise for antireformers such as Joseph H. Choate. For experts, moreover, several episodes may be twice-told tales. The only primary sources are association archives.

On balance, the work is still superior to most official organizational histories. Within its premises, it is a skillfully executed and lively study that should satisfy the curiosity of most lawyers and general readers regarding the country's first and foremost bar association. The main attractions for specialists are archive materials concerning internal disputes over the organization's mission, the feuds of David Dudley Field, and the association's renowned library.

J. WOODFORD HOWARD, JR.
The Johns Hopkins University

PAUL M. GASTON. *The New South Creed: A Study in Southern Mythmaking.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1970. Pp. viii, 298, vi. $7.95.

In recent years a number of books and essays have been written on aspects of Southern "mythology." Some of our most imaginative historians have attempted to analyze and explain the images and legends popularly associated with the South. *The New South Creed* is the latest effort of this kind. It is also one of the best. Paul Gaston has focused on the "New South" idea, which has received less attention than the legend of the "Old South" and has provided a perceptive account of how a programmatic creed developed into what he describes as an authentic social myth.

The "New South" program of the 1870s and eighties is easy to sum up: Gaston describes it succinctly as a call for "industrial progress, diversified agriculture, and cooperation with the North." In racial matters the proponents of a "New South" championed an allegedly benevolent version of white supremacy that crystallized as the "separate but equal" formula. This post-Reconstruction image of the South developed initially as an optimistic prophecy and as a program for action designed to bring pride, prosperity, and racial harmony to a region ravaged and humiliated by the Civil War experience. But the promises of economic development and amicable race relations were not fulfilled. Unable either to face this situation squarely or to take the action necessary to remedy it, Southern spokesmen were driven by the end of the 1880s to claim a success that had not actually been attained, thereby taking refuge in a "mythic view" of their society. Thereafter, Gaston points out, the leaders of Southern opinion were able to hide both from themselves and others the profound defects in Southern social, economic, and political life simply by repeating ritualistically that earlier predictions of prosperity, progress, and racial accommodation had actually been fulfilled. Thus a program for change became a conservative incantation that served to obstruct the kind of fundamental reforms actually needed to achieve the goals originally posited by Henry Grady and the "New South" movement. The inflated talk of Southern achievement, Gaston emphasizes, was not just propaganda, cynically concocted to buttress the privileges of a Southern elite; it was the product of authentic "mythmaking," a process by which man gives meaning to his social existence and erects defenses against realities that he is unable or unwilling to confront. He also finds an important "mythic" dimension in the cult of the "Old South" that came to full flower at the same time the "New South" was being heralded and was in fact promulgated by many of the same people. Taking mild issue with C. Vann Woodward, Gaston sees the romantic legend of the ante bellum plantation as more than a "sugar-coating" for the new departure into industrial capitalism and urbanization; it was also a deeply felt response to the deflation of the Southern ego after Appomattox and one important aspect of the revival of regional self-confidence.

It is difficult to find fault with this excellent work. One wonders, however, if the central concept of myth, drawn primarily from literary criticism, is as useful a device for understanding the function of the "New South" creed as the alternative concept of ideology would have been. To speak of a "New South" ideology not only suggests a pattern of belief that serves to prevent change by obscuring discordant realities but also points to the need for a further consideration of the class and caste relationships that underlay the growth of the "New South" mentality.

GEORGE M. FREDRICKSON
Northwestern University

MAURY KLEIN. *The Great Richmond Terminal: A Study in Businessmen and Business Strategy.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation. 1970. Pp. xiii, 323. $9.50.

The story of the Richmond & West Point Terminal and Warehouse Company is an unsavory but instructive episode in the business and economic history of the New South. Organized in 1880, the Terminal was a holding company through which officers of the Richmond & Danville, the East Tennessee, Virginia & Georgia, and the Central of Georgia explored the farther shores of speculation. Though it owned 8,883 miles of track, never did it

actually operate a railroad. Like some conglomorates of more recent memory, the Terminal was a vehicle for opportunistic ambitions rather than a device for effective developmental control. As such, it faltered then failed during the panic of 1893, was salvaged by the House of Morgan, and re-established as the less newsworthy but more sound Southern Railway Company.

Professor Klein tells these tales well, but his purpose is to use the Terminal to propagate a broader interpretation of post-Civil War railroading east of the Mississippi and south of the Potomac. He makes a good case. Klein discards John F. Stover's Northern-Southern dichotomy and opts for a variation of the approach used by Arthur M. Johnson and Barry E. Supple in their study of Middle Western roads. Generations of Southern railroad leadership, Klein argues, are more definable in terms of their strategic perceptions and tactical behavior than by their birthplace or residence.

Three generations are identified in the New South. The first (1865–80) comprised men with strong ties to particular trade patterns. Railroads to them were weapons to be forged, honed, and wielded in incessant interurban commercial war. These men were preoccupied with physical expansion, but their perspective was territorial and developmental. A second generation (1880–93) had few particularistic ties and was far more self- than community-centered. These men perceived railroads in financial rather than physical terms and sought their profits in extensive growth rather than intensive development. Their outlook was decidedly interterritorial and opportunistic. The third generation (after 1893) comprised practical, pragmatic, professional salvagers who sorted through the physical and financial shambles left by their immediate predecessors and fashioned longer-lasting balances between opportunism and developmentalism.

The proprietors of the Terminal, Klein argues, are examples of the second generation. He highlights the process and conceptualizes (but does not quantitatively measure) the costs and benefits of their reign. He also suggests that the sequence of generational change in the South differed from that documented for the Middle West by Johnson and Supple: a three-stage movement from territorial developmentalism to interterritorial opportunism and back again, rather than a steady progression from territorial opportunism to interterritorial developmentalism. Otherwise, he traces an all too familiar American pattern in which publics and governments were duped by the rhetoric of community ends into acquiescence in fraudulent corporate means.

JAMES P. BAUGHMAN
Harvard University

ODIE B. FAULK. *The Geronimo Campaign.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1969. Pp. ix, 245. $6.00.

Until his ultimate surrender to General Nelson A. Miles in September 1886, Geronimo and his band of hostile Apaches led the American army on a frustrating chase on both sides of the United States-Mexican border. It is this "campaign" of 1885–86 that is the subject of Professor Faulk's book.

The volume is not the definitive, thoroughly documented account that one might expect at this stage of Geronimo historiography. In much of his story Faulk adds little to other accounts, such as the recent *Conquest of Apacheria* by Dan L. Thrapp. What he does provide in greater detail is the story of the preliminary surrender of Geronimo to Lieutenant Charles B. Gatewood, based upon materials gathered by Gatewood's son. Perhaps because of heavy reliance on this family collection, Gatewood is the hero of the book, and the author laments that the lieutenant did not get the credit he deserved for his great feat. The whole story, to some extent, is told in terms of heroes, of whom General George Crook is close behind Gatewood, and villains, of whom General Miles is the blackest.

The last third of the book concerns events after the surrender. Here Faulk discusses what he calls the "betrayal of the Apaches" by the government in sending them to imprisonment in Florida, the controversy about who should get the glory for the capture of the Apache leader, and the subsequent careers of the chief actors in the campaign. His final conclusion that Geronimo was "a great American" would have come as strange news to

Gatewood, Crook, Miles, and many others in that episode of Southwest history.

FRANCIS PAUL PRUCHA
Marquette University

ROBERT MOSES. *Public Works: A Dangerous Trade.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1970. Pp. xxxvi, 952. $14.50.

MEL SCOTT. *American City Planning since 1890: A History Commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary of the American Institute of Planners.* (California Studies in Urbanization and Environmental Design.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1969. Pp. xxii, 745. $17.50.

Robert Moses' achievements in public works made him a legend in his own lifetime. His memoir is a witty and entertaining collection of office memorandums, speeches, press releases, and other memorabilia. They vividly re-create the situations surrounding the many projects he undertook and clearly expose the basic premises and biases underlying his ideas. Moses' personal dynamism enabled him to etch his vision of the physical environment into the very fabric of a city and state. "Vision" here is the key word, and the opening quotation sets the tone of the book: "Grant us the will to fashion as we feel. . . . Grant us the purpose, ribbed and edged with steel, to strike the blow." No one, neither millionaire nor neighborhood, was permitted to stand in the way of the realization of his vision.

Moses was an administrative genius and compounded the solutions to the problems confronting his many offices only out of the stuff of the possible. His deep understanding of the prime political and economic forces that moved the wheels of change underlay his keen sense of the revolutionary impact that the mass production of the automobile would have on the physical environment and the future of cities. But it is the many public parks and beaches that he was instrumental in creating that will stand as his great monuments. His belief in the automobile as the prime mode of urban transportation, and his lack of respect for both the dense urban fabric and local opinion and feeling must stand as great question marks in the assessment of his incredible career. But then had he broadened his vision to include something more than only the possible, it would not have been so readily realizable—and looking at either Long Island or Third Avenue today, perhaps more worthy of the fight.

Mel Scott's history of the growth of the planning profession and of the "planning function in modern government" over the past eighty years was commissioned to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the American Institute of Planners. It is a fascinating story. It begins in the last decade of the nineteenth century with George E. Kessler's ambitious park plans and the prophetic movement for a regional plan for Greater Boston. The limitations of formalist planning, the negative legacy of the first zoning ordinances, and our long-standing failure to deal with urban social problems are all brilliantly documented, as is the period of intense introspection in the second decade of this century, which led to the formation of the Institute of City Planners. Scott's examination of the many reform movements is consistently thorough, and the book is worth while for its bibliography alone. Its high point is clearly the delineation of the century-old housing crisis that continues to plague our cities. It is depressing to discover how well most of our contemporary urban ills were defined eighty years ago and that most of the solutions advocated still wait serious trial.

This raises a key problem, which is unfortunately not dealt with in either book. What is the relationship, in our profit-oriented society, between the decision-making mechanism and the role of the planner? For example, whose interests does the planner represent—those of economic and political forces, or those of the poor and politically powerless? As a civil servant he finds the former difficult to escape, and as an advocate for the latter, he has been neither effective nor welcome. Moses carved a position of power out of the first alternative. But the appalling record of misery and destruction wrought on both the urban poor and marginal sector of the urban economy by the public housing, interstate highway, and urban renewal programs compels a reassessment of the relationship between the planner and those affected by his plans. Significantly, Jane Jacobs, whose neighborhood

group fought for a decade to defeat Moses' crude plans for Greenwich Village, is not mentioned in Moses' book and is given short shrift by Scott. She is a sore point, having questioned both the range of the planners' competence and exposed the often simplistic and personal biases that underlie so many plans. This she claimed was a poor substitute for the local resident's firsthand knowledge of his neighborhood. But surely the one need not exclude the other, and what is lacking in Scott's otherwise outstanding book is a hint of the more complex mechanism that will key the one into the other. The general and the particular must be mutually reinforcing, otherwise they both lack meaning.

Both books are essential reading for anyone interested in the planning process and New York.

ALLAN GREENBERG
Yale University,
School of Architecture

JOHN MILTON COOPER, JR. *The Vanity of Power: American Isolationism and the First World War, 1914–1917.* (Contributions in American History, Number 3.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Corporation. 1969. Pp. xii, 271. $11.50.

SONDRA R. HERMAN. *Eleven against War: Studies in American Internationalist Thought, 1898–1921.* Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University. 1969. Pp. xiv, 264. $8.90.

These studies are first books by young scholars who have done extensive research in manuscript collections and have made careful use of published materials. Both provide excellent background for the study of the debates over isolationism and internationalism in the United States during the present century. Both historians see their topics not merely as reactions to foreign challenges but as aspects of American intellectual and social history. At times they devote as much attention to the thinking of certain leaders about the problems of American society as to their attitudes on foreign affairs.

Mr. Cooper notes that isolationism is "a term that historians have inherited rather than invented" and that it originated "as an epithet in public debate." For that reason he deliberately uses the "cumbersomely inclusive" definition of isolationism as "an attitude, policy, doctrine, or position opposed to the commitment of American force outside the Western Hemisphere, except in the rarest and briefest instances." He is primarily interested in the emergence of isolationism as a definite political position in response to the idealistic internationalism Woodrow Wilson proclaimed on several occasions before the declaration of war in 1917. Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge represent one group of isolationists. They had often urged internationalist ideas, but at heart they were ultranationalists and could not accept Wilsonian internationalism with its demand that the United States assume large responsibilities for maintaining peace. William Jennings Bryan and William E. Borah represent another kind of thinking, which Cooper calls "idealistic isolationism." Bryan and Borah believed that an America isolated from diplomatic entanglements could serve as an example of freedom and greatness to the Old World. Robert M. La Follette, George W. Norris, and numerous other congressional leaders are also subjects of searching analysis. Cooper provides considerable insight into why so many Progressives in Congress became isolationists. He also comments upon the isolationist writings of Randolph Bourne and of two scholars, Samuel P. Orth of Cornell University and Ellery Stowell of Columbia University. Their views are are interesting, but their significance seems doubtful. Cooper is more convincing when he writes about politicians.

Like Cooper, Mrs. Herman finds her topic somewhat difficult to define. She observes that internationalism in the United States during the early twentieth century "represented neither a pure nor a unified set of beliefs." In fact, she arrives at no real definition, but she finds that there were "at the very least two different ideals of international society with very little agreement between them." The advocates of a world court or a league of nations represent one of these ideals. People who were more interested in international social and economic developments than in formal international institutions represent another ideal. Mrs. Herman calls these people "community internationalists." She chooses

Elihu Root and Nicholas Murray Butler as representatives of the movement to establish a world court and to codify international law. She devotes one essay to the ideas of collective security of five leaders of the League to Enforce Peace: Hamilton Holt, Theodore Marburg, A. Lawrence Lowell, John Bates Clark, and Franklin H. Giddings. Three community internationalists, Josiah Royce, Jane Addams, and Thorstein Veblen, receive more attention; each is the subject of an essay, as is the eleventh opponent of war, Woodrow Wilson. Mrs. Herman's essays on Root and Butler, the League to Enforce Peace, and Wilson contain little that is new, but they are clear and concise and should prove convenient references. The essays on the "community internationalists," in contrast, often seem vague, and they do not explain satisfactorily the influence of Royce, Addams, and Veblen on the thinking of their time about international relations. Even so, through these essays Mrs. Herman challenges fellow students of internationalism to consider developments other than those of an institutional character. This challenge may prove her most important contribution.

These books will not change interpretations of American isolationism and internationalism as historical phenomena to a large extent, but they are intelligent studies that deserve inclusion in lists for collateral reading in American history courses, both graduate and undergraduate. And they merit reading.

CALVIN D. DAVIS
Duke University

NAOMI W. COHEN. *A Dual Heritage: The Public Career of Oscar S. Straus.* Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1969. Pp. xi, 394. $6.50.

At the turn of the century Oscar Straus was the outstanding Jew in American public life. Brought to this country as a child before the Civil War, he rose to become three-time envoy to Turkey, secretary of commerce and labor in Roosevelt's cabinet and a confidant of the president, and a Progressive of some note who ran for governor of New York in 1912 and labored in the vineyards of good government, industrial conciliation, the peace movement, and the League of Nations. By reason of his offices, he also served as Court Jew, interceding with the authorities on behalf of his less fortunate co-religionists.

Straus is all but forgotten today; and Professor Cohen's definitive, objective, and pedestrian biography will not change that verdict—partly, I suspect, because her subject was a rather dull, unattractive person, but largely because his achievements were peripheral to the course of American political and diplomatic history. The work under review, based on Straus's papers and other manuscript collections, fills out the details but offers little that is significantly new. Straus's efforts to win improved conditions for East European Jews in Russia, Palestine, and the United States were more productive, although here, too, there are no surprises in the story.

Professor Cohen finds the meaning of Straus's life in his reconciliation of Americanism and Judaism. By the evidence presented, however, his fusion of the dual heritage was an abstract and facile one that broke down in the face of realities, both social and psychological. While he adamantly refused to appeal for support as a Jew or see any ethnic implications in his appointments to office, the incontestable fact was that he was chosen for diplomatic posts and for the cabinet because he was a Jew, in order to point a moral of American toleration (Cleveland) or corral the Jewish vote (Roosevelt). As an immigrant who had made it, he was never fully accepted by the establishment. As a symbol of success to the immigrant Jewish masses in New York City, his fraternal sentiments were roiled by feelings of estrangement rooted in differences of class and culture, by fears that aggressive protest would hurt the proper Jewish image and his own fortunate status, and by hopes that all ethnic distinctions would disappear along with the whole problem. Were not his compulsive expenditures of energy, punctuated by bouts of nervous headaches, symptoms of the fact that he was not quite at ease in the New World Zion and that his vaunted reconciliation was, at least, incomplete?

Straus's life story could have been shaped more significantly and interestingly as a case history of the immigrant who made good and

whose relations with his less successful fellows were ambivalent, whose cultural assimilation was more complete than his assimilation into the "WASP" social structure, and whose moderate reform efforts outside the Progressive profile stemmed more from his marginal status than from his religious beliefs. Straus as Jew and immigrant, with his successes, failures, inner conflicts, accomodations, and rationalizations, could have been a more vital portrait than the mask on the memorial plaque to the "Statesman–Author–Diplomat" that Professor Cohen has raised to his memory.

CHARLES HIRSCHFELD
Richmond College,
City University of New York

GEOFFREY J. MARTIN. *Mark Jefferson: Geographer.* [Ypsilanti: Eastern Michigan University Press.] 1968. Pp. x, 370. $8.95.

This is a sympathetic and, at times, critical account of the life and work of one of the leading American geographers of the first half of the twentieth century. Mark Jefferson (1863–1949) served for almost forty years as head of the geography department in the State Normal College, now Eastern Michigan University, at Ypsilanti, Michigan. Martin taught in the same department from 1959 to 1965 and had access to Jefferson's enormous accumulation of notebooks, papers, and correspondence. From this material he has fashioned an account that should appeal to those who are interested in the development of geographic thought in the United States.

Jefferson was born in a suburb of Boston. Before completing his last year at Boston University in 1883, he accepted a post as assistant in the Argentine National Observatory in Cordobá, and subsequently managed a sugar hacienda in Tucumán. After his final return to the United States and his graduation from Boston University, he spent some years teaching in the Massachusetts school system. During this time he also devoted himself to studies at Harvard University under William Morris Davis and others. He received his A.B. in 1897 and his M.A. in 1898 from that institution. In 1901 he was appointed professor of geography at the Michigan State Normal College in Ypsilanti, and taught there with few interruptions until his forced retirement at age seventy-six in 1939.

One of the early surveys of geographic education in the United States notes that teachers in normal colleges were generally overworked and had little time for research. Jefferson certainly did not fit the latter description, for the four decades at Ypsilanti were his most productive. His many articles, notes, and reviews in the leading geographical journals attest to his scholarly ability. During this period he also served as marshal for the American Geographical Society's Transcontinental Excursion in 1912. In 1918 he conducted the American Geographical Society's ABC Expedition to Argentina, Brazil, and Chile; in 1919 he served as chief cartographer in Paris for the American Commission to Negotiate Peace.

He was an excellent teacher; and many of his students, among them Isaiah Bowman, Charles C. Colby, and R. R. Platt, gained prominence in the profession. Writing was difficult for him; nevertheless, his contributions were many and varied. His early work was devoted to physiography and to rainfall and temperature distribution, but he later turned to more lasting contributions in regional and urban geography. His South American experiences contributed greatly to his regional research and writing. Many of his books and articles were stimulating and thought-provoking; and two of them, the often reprinted "The Civilizing Rails" and "The Law of the Primate City," are excellent examples of his scholarship.

In his last chapter, "The Geography of Mark Jefferson: Some Thoughts and Reflections," Martin assesses his subject's impact on American geography. Jefferson's writings certainly influenced several of his contemporaries. Their lasting influence, particularly the articles on cities and population, is easily discerned through citations in recent publications. His former student Charles C. Colby stated to Martin in 1960 that "in his published work Jefferson was creative and brilliant, but seldom systematic and logical." The creative and brilliant segments of his works, of course, are most important today. Perhaps the citation read when the American

Geographical Society bestowed its Cullum Medal on Jefferson in 1931 states it better than anything else: "To Professor Mark Jefferson for the Savor of True Geography in his Ingenious and Fruitful Inquiries into Man's Distribution on the Earth."

This book is a welcome addition to the small but growing number of biographies of American geographers and should serve as a stimulus to further research.

JOHN A. WOLTER
Library of Congress

MELVYN DUBOFSKY. *We Shall Be All: A History of the Industrial Workers of the World.* Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1969. Pp. xviii, 557. $12.50.

GIBBS M. SMITH. *Joe Hill.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press. 1969. Pp. viii, 286. $7.00.

JOSEPH ROBERT CONLIN. *Bread and Roses Too: Studies of the Wobblies.* (Contributions in American History, Number 1.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Corporation. 1969. Pp. xv, 165. $8.50.

The problems in writing the history of the poor are often remarked. They leave meager records, and the records are seldom preserved. There are added dimensions of difficulty in writing the history of the Industrial Workers of the World. A dismaying amount of IWW history is local history set in obscure byways and backwaters, areas hard to research. In addition the IWW as an organization was a kaleidoscope, and its leadership came and went almost through a revolving door. Walter Lippmann once remarked that the IWW changes faster than most men can think.

Melvin Dubofsky has triumphed over these bafflements to produce what will certainly be the definitive history of the IWW for this generation and probably beyond. His is a sustained performance, maintaining the same high standards for the late years as for the early years, for the East as for the West. Dubofsky's treatment of the IWW's strange amalgam of ideologies is superior. The portraits of IWW leaders, especially Haywood, are skillful and mature. And the book successfully re-creates the flesh-and-blood dimensions of the life and problems of the casual laborer or Western miner of the period. The bibliography and index are themselves contributions.

The Wobblies have been much romanticized. Dubofsky is scrupulous in peeling away the legend to get at life. On the whole, this is a fair and objective book. The author does, at least in the preface and introduction, overargue the "relevance" of the Wobblies. Their record speaks for itself on that score. And he is on thin ice in suggesting (pp. xii, 9) that the IWW seriously addressed itself to the problems of the Negro. The rest of the book doesn't bear this out, nor does the record.

It is probably inevitable that the AFL will suffer in any book that tries to see the world through the eyes of the Wobblies, and it does suffer here. Likewise, there is a kind of shadowy cardboard quality about the employers concerned. But this is a book about the IWW. To really understand the role of the AFL, the Socialist party, and the employers would require several more vast volumes. Needless to say, more will be written about the IWW. But any new studies will be enormously speeded by this dedicated, highly professional, and thoughtful volume.

Gibbs M. Smith's biography of Joe Hill brings together virtually everything we are likely to know about the Wobbly bard. If it also includes some material of doubtful authenticity or value, this simply underlines how little—virtually nothing, really—we know about Joe Hill before his arrest.

The book reinforces some earlier conclusions by historians about Hill. He was an unimportant—indeed, a very marginal—Wobbly before his arrest. His trial was certainly not a frame-up, nor was Hill arrested and tried because of his IWW membership, song and story to the contrary notwithstanding. The trial he received did not prove him guilty beyond the shadow of a doubt, but on the other hand, as Smith makes plain, there was a very distinct possibility that he was indeed guilty.

Like all good biographies, this one illustrates the times as well as a life. Smith was especially conscientious in researching the legal aspects of the case, and the book is a model exposition in that regard.

Joseph R. Conlin's *Bread and Roses* brings together a series of interpretive and revision-

ist essays. Conlin is clearly at home among the appropriate sources; he is especially strong in his use of European material and his comparative approach to the study of the IWW. Several of his points—that the Wobblies were not as violent in action as in rhetoric, that they were not as opposed as often represented to political or electoral action, and that they were more in the American stream than earlier writers have suggested—are also made by Dubofsky; and the two books reinforce each other in several ways. Dubofsky's treatment is more useful for the general reader because Conlin often assumes a knowledge of IWW history on the part of his audience that many readers will not have. The specialist, however, will find this a useful book.

HUGH G. CLELAND
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CHARLES V. GENTHE. *American War Narratives, 1917–1918: A Study and Bibliography*. New York: David Lewis. 1969. Pp. 194. $10.00.

The trenches of the western front were not, after all, manned by armies of pathetic cannon fodder with a leavening of disillusioned literati and anarcho-socialists, whatever popular misconceptions were encouraged by the literature of postwar realism; and least of all, according to this brief monograph, the trenches of the American Expeditionary Force, where stood the "Adamic Doughboy" whose rawboned literary outpourings dwelt unflinchingly on the themes of "Holy Cause, sacrifice, individual worth and prowess, good struggling against evil, Nature, individual renaissance and national progress, chivalry and excitement. . . ." So much for Henry F. May's intellectuals, at least as mirrors of the American mass mind; such glamourization of the First World War can be explained only in terms of the enduring sway of nineteenth-century American innocence and isolation.

This conclusion, though less revelatory perhaps than Genthe makes it out to be, is persuasively and painstakingly arrived at. But it is difficult not to regret his use of quotations that turn out to be of foreign origin, and difficult to see the point—rather taken for granted—of the narratives not by Americans at all that happen to have found an American publisher and thus their way into his sixty-five-page annotated bibliography. It may very well be, as Genthe claims, that there was much of a sameness Over There about European and American romanticism; yet this is controverted often enough elsewhere to suggest shortcomings in definition and possibly in methodology.

JOHN P. CAMPBELL
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DONALD YOUNG, editor. *Adventure in Politics: The Memoirs of Philip La Follette*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1970. Pp. xvii, 299. $7.95.

The published memoirs of Philip La Follette could have been an important source. They might have cast an intimate light on his personal and political upbringing in the family of "Fighting Bob" La Follette. They might have disclosed new information about Phil's three innovative terms as governor of Wisconsin (1931–32, 1935–38), his championship of third parties to challenge the New Deal from the Left and produce an ideological realignment of American politics, his successful fight to fire Glen Frank, president of the University of Wisconsin, or his alleged flirtation with fascism.

The memoirs are a disappointment. The most memorable things about La Follette's childhood were the family's horses. His discussion of family life before his father's death —the first third of the book—features events already described in the biography of his father by his mother and sister. There is no inside information about his tactics with the legislature, except the regret that he had been too "squeamish" to use "under the table" methods to secure the Works Bill of 1935. He provides no new material to answer the charge of "executive dictatorship" raised by conservatives and progressives alike in his third term. He does not discuss the sources of his ideology and program, which were expressed in his 1931 inaugural address, a speech Charles Beard called the most important state paper in American history.

La Follette's feelings toward events and people must be pieced together from the anecdotes that are the most revealing parts of the book. Perhaps for this reason he emerges as a strangely ambivalent person. He could not decide whether he admired FDR and the New Deal. Although he turned down eight jobs in the New Deal and regarded FDR as a shallow political tactician who was blind to the causes and results of poverty, he also said that FDR did a "tremendous" job in his first term and quoted Roosevelt's approval as final justification for several Wisconsin programs. Although he said that he sponsored Progressive parties in 1934 and 1938 for ideological reasons, he also said that those third parties grew from the New Deal's ability to lure progressive voters out of his Republican party, which, in turn, meant his defeat in Republican primaries. There are hints of jealousy toward his brother, and particularly over Bob's greater political security as a senator. Phil apparently regretted Bob's compromises with FDR and other senators and his "dark melancholy." While hating totalitarian movements, Phil obviously admired Hitler and Douglas MacArthur because they created national opportunities and purposes.

Despite his unwillingness to reveal himself in public and to develop his feelings systematically, Phil's memoirs are a convenient introduction to these problems. They show that grassroots organization and thousands of volunteers can produce stunning political victories against opposition from newspapers, "old-style" politicians, and interest groups. The editor wisely decided to trim the original manuscript and add some of Phil's private letters and selections from the candid, unpublished reminiscences of his wife, Isabelle.

DAVID P. THELEN
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CHARLES O. JACKSON. *Food and Drug Legislation in the New Deal.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1970. Pp. xi, 249. $7.50.

During this time of growing consumer pressures for more legislative protection in the market place, it is especially interesting to be reminded of the difficulties similar proposals have encountered in the past. Charles O. Jackson has chronicled the saga of the Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act of 1938, and he has done extremely well in telling of the obstacles in the form of hearings, amendments, and other legislative stratagems intended either to prevent the passage of a new law or to dilute it significantly.

Following a talk with Walter Campbell, chief of the Food and Drug Administration, Rexford Tugwell, assistant secretary of agriculture, received approval from the president for revision of the 1906 law. Tugwell, in *The Democratic Roosevelt,* wrote that "Franklin at first committed himself to it without hesitation," but Jackson makes it clear that FDR was primarily a passive spectator, not only because his basic concern at the time was with relief and recovery, but also because of his antipathy to Senator Royal Copeland, the Democrat from New York who was the bill's legislative sponsor.

A jurisdictional dispute between the Federal Trade Commission and the FDA over which bureau would control advertising was another obstacle used by opponents of Copeland's measure to hold up possible passage for several years. Only after the FTC gained control of advertising in the 1938 Wheeler-Lea Act did the chairman of the House Commerce Committee permit the drug bill to reach the House floor. And only because of the 1937 "Elixir Sulfanilamide" tragedy, which took the lives of more than one hundred people, many of them children, did the bill actually become law. As Jackson makes clear, the 1938 Act, despite its many shortcomings, was a distinct advance over its 1906 predecessor, particularly in its insistence that manufacturers seeking to market a new drug should first demonstrate its safety.

The author has done his work well. He does not deal, however, with one aspect of the bill's passage that I feel should not be neglected. In his biography of Roosevelt, Tugwell asserts that Copeland's cooperation with lobbyists was a conspiracy to emasculate the bill. Was it? Or was that cooperation evidence for an extension of Gabriel Kolko's position that no legislation significantly affecting business is passed without its support?

MORRIS W. GARBER
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LEONARD BAKER. *Roosevelt and Pearl Harbor.* [New York:] Macmillan Company. 1970. Pp. viii, 356. $8.95.

Leonard Baker's book is a study of the year 1941 (in twelve month-named chapters); it focuses on President Roosevelt and the events leading to full American participation in World War II. In a necessarily cursory manner the author covers domestic politics, defense production developments, foreign affairs, military preparations, the draft, "America first," and sundry other issues and events that arose in that dramatic year. A professional writer, Baker uses effectively most of the important secondary works dealing with FDR and the coming of the war. He spices the account with tidbits from fresh research in a large number of manuscript collections, but the story line remains essentially that presented in most of the current collegiate textbooks. If there is a thesis, it would be the unstated one that the revisionist writings from Tansill to the New Left are not worth considering. As Baker sees it, Franklin Roosevelt understood the importance of England's resistance to Germany and therefore never hesitated to help as best he could. He knew that America was divided about getting into war; thus he let the times educate the people and Congress while he worked on defense production and on getting the armed forces into shape. Japan's actions in China were inconsistent with America's long-term interests in Asia, and they were also hurtful of the British war effort. The United States had to block the Japanese, even though there was the possibility that such action might force them to declare war. Admiral Kimmel and General Short are let down gently. While Roberta Wohlstetter's study of the Pearl Harbor crisis is cited several times, her main thesis in no way influences Baker's interpretation of the tragic events of December 7. He writes decently, and the general reader should find the book interesting.

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CHALMERS M. ROBERTS. *The Nuclear Years: The Arms Race and Arms Control, 1945–70.* New York: Praeger Publishers. 1970. Pp. xi, 159. $6.95.

This brief, handy primer by a newspaperman for the Washington *Post* who "was there" is largely intended as a background guide for the SALT talks. Roberts visited the horrors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki shortly after their atomic destruction, and he recently traveled to Helsinki for the opening of the SALT meetings. Yet his presence at the places and events he describes seldom intrudes into what is essentially a dull, uncritical, and unquestioning, yet basically balanced, catalogue of the actions and reactions of Russia and the United States to each other's nuclear machinery.

The text is enlivened by occasional Herblock cartoons, which manage to capture both the serious and ridiculous aspects of the spiraling arms race. The appendixes give the texts of the Baruch Plan (1946), the treaty banning atmospheric testing (1963), and the nonproliferation agreement (1968), as well as some maps of aerial inspection proposals. The bibliography is highly selective, excluding the works of Herbert Feis, Gar Alperovitz, Alice Smith, and Richard Barnet, among others.

There is little analysis and little that is new in this book. The question of atomic diplomacy, which Alperovitz and Feis have discussed vigorously, is absent, and hence an important issue in the months leading up to the Baruch Plan is ignored. Roberts is also superficial in his treatment of the Baruch proposal of 1946, seeing it as a generous sacrifice on the part of the United States. Thus Roberts overlooks the divisiveness of the step procedure, which would leave America with atomic monopoly until the last step, and the fact that most of the atomic plants would be in areas unfriendly to Russia. Russia's simple "ban-the-bomb" request was also not conducive to negotiations and control. The intriguing question, to which Roberts gives a bit of attention, is still Henry Stimson's memorandum to the president in September 1945. Stimson called for direct approaches to the Soviet Union, rather than "having this weapon rather ostentatiously on our hip. . . ." But it is clear that there was some delay and that some official sensed a diplomatic advantage in the atomic bomb.

The story after the Baruch Plan is marked by the themes of "negotiation from strength," missile gaps, "massive retaliation," unsuccessful conferences, interventions of rude events at times when it appeared that negotiations might begin, new spy systems, large space and military budgets, and some minor achievements such as the treaties of 1963 and 1968. The emphasis on the part of both Russia and America is on power and prestige; and so the arms race has been escalated. Thus John F. Kennedy, after the Bay of Pigs debacle, primed the race by building more Polaris and Minutemen missiles, and the missile gap that Kennedy had mistakenly assumed in the 1960 campaign became a gap in favor of the United States. The picture from 1945 to 1970 is not a comforting one, given the mistakes, clumsiness, and pride of Washington's and Moscow's leaders.

Although this study has its faults, it is a useful tool of information for general readers and for scholars who want a short cut to chronology and the statements of leaders (there are no footnotes).

THOMAS G. PATERSON
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Foreign Relations of the United States, 1946. Volume 11, *The American Republics.* (Department of State Publication 8474.) Washington: Government Printing Office. 1969. Pp. xiv, 1382. $6.75.

As many of the pages of this thick, one-volume survey show, the relations of the United States with Latin America throughout 1946 were dominated by the question of Argentina. In the wake of the immediate postwar period, the diplomatic aims of the U. S. in the Western Hemisphere included the restoration of political stability, the realization of the economic program announced at Chapultepec in March 1945 (with its emphasis on the expansion of trade, particularly of U. S. exports, and reliance on private rather than public investment and loans), and the creation of a solid, inter-American military front to combat supposed external threats, increasingly identified as the Soviet Union. The problem, as Ambassador George S. Messersmith recalled in later years, was "to bring the Argentine government into line."

The problem was complicated by the historic hostility of Argentina toward the United States, by the popular elevation of Juan Perón to the presidency of his country in 1946 (the "fairest" election "in Argentine history") in spite of United States opposition and clumsy intervention capped by publication of the famous "Blue Book," and by the importance of Argentina as a wheat supplier to war-ravaged Europe and to the depressed economies of other Latin American countries.

The Argentine crisis was at least partially responsible for the postponement of the Rio Inter-American Conference to late 1947, for the disruptive atmosphere at the International Labor Organization (ILO) conferences held at Mexico City and Montreal, and for some of the difficulties surrounding the Truman administration's military assistance program for Latin America.

All this is clear enough from the careful selection of documents included in the volume. The evidence supports David Green's contention that the intra-administration quarrel over Perón was not so much about fundamental policy as about the means to achieve broad objectives. In that sense, the Argentine controversy can be put into perspective quite nicely by examining the correspondence that relates to the other American republics and suggests the depth of nationalism and social unrest in Latin America that the United States had to confront after World War II.

All in all, and given the increasing quantity of documents that the diplomacy of these years generated, the book is a valuable addition to the series. The enticing ellipses remain frustrating, of course, and one is compelled to ask who initiated the unsuccessful Inter-American Military Cooperation Bill, as it received only reluctant support and then resistance from leading State Department officials. Equally fascinating is the way in which policy makers were able to implement the military assistance program both before and after the defeat of the proposed enabling legislation.

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BARTON J. BERNSTEIN, edited with an introduction by. *Politics and Policies of the Truman Administration.* Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1970. Pp. 330. Cloth $10.00, paper $2.95.

LLOYD C. GARDNER. *Architects of Illusion: Men and Ideas in American Foreign Policy, 1941–1949.* Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1970. Pp. xi, 365. $8.95.

These two books provide a lucid and wide-ranging examination of the New (and middle-aged) Left position on the origins and institutionalization of the cold war. Both studies concentrate on American policy and diplomacy during the Truman administration and are characterized by impressive research, a certain dispassion absent in other studies of similar conclusions, and general readability.

Professor Bernstein's introduction and opening essay on the origins of the cold war set the tone for his entire collection. Contrary to the consensus interpretation of Truman's administration, which has given high ratings to policies like the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, and NATO, younger scholars have criticized the president and his associates for formulating ill-conceived policies based primarily upon a lack of understanding of Soviet aims and compounded by deep fears of any socialist/communist challenge to the American free-enterprise system. To label that approach as economic determinism is absurd, for each of the contributors (Bernstein on the origins of the cold war and on Truman and civil rights, Thomas Paterson on the Marshall Plan, Lloyd Gardner on the German question, David Green on the cold war and Latin America, and Athan Theoharis on internal security and the loyalty program) deals at great length with the political factors behind policy making. Each, either directly or indirectly, makes a strong case for the inseparability of political and economic freedom (that is, free-enterprise) in the minds of the political leaders. Bernstein typifies the new realism of revision in finding America's refusal to accede to Soviet demands for secure spheres of influence as the major cause of the collapse of wartime cooperation. Though no mention is made of those young historians who tend to agree with many of the assumptions made by Truman, the usual accusation that the radical historians write without proper consideration for the historical context within which major decisions were reached is far less valid here than with some earlier revisionist studies. Each of the authors has clearly tried to deal with that common criticism by demonstrating that, to a great degree, the historical context was created by the actions and public policies of the Truman administration.

If nothing else, this collection demonstrates that the radical school of historians has come of age, for it has lost its own consensus. Bernstein, in his essay on civil rights—which seems oddly misplaced in a book that deals with foreign policy and its relationship to domestic politics—asserts that the Truman rhetoric is not important; rather we must concentrate on concrete action. Theoharis, on the other hand, claims that the Truman rhetoric created an atmosphere that made Joe McCarthy possible if not inevitable—though in both essays the dubious contributions of the Republican opposition are underplayed. Bernstein condemns the administration for its failure to act, yet all the authors bemoan the failure of Congress to play a role in restraining and publicizing the Truman foreign policy. Lloyd Gardner, particularly in his book reviewed below, sees substantial continuity between the Roosevelt and Truman foreign policies; Bernstein flatly accuses Truman of reversing FDR's acceptance of spheres of influence. Thomas Paterson presents a most persuasive argument for the unity of economic and political policy. Using the Marshall Plan as a case study, he finds that world peace and prosperity were not only linked in the American mind, but synonymous with "a healthy and growing American trade." By the third page of the essay everyone talks like Cordell Hull! Given the equating of revolution with communism, the search for both peace and prosperity became a rationale for the containment policy—of which the Marshall Plan was a keystone. The epithet "economic determinist" is probably most valid for David Green's brilliant and provocative essay, "The Cold War Comes to Latin America." The almost pathological fixation of American politicians and businessmen with the threat of nationalization and statism clearly shaped

policy. Military aid, rationalized by the concept of collective hemisphere security, became a vehicle for supporting military regimes committed to economic orthodoxy. Reform equaled nationalization, which equaled socialism, which equaled communism—hence the fraudulent image of Russians on the Rio Grande and the need for military aid and limitations on Latin American trade with socialist nations. One wonders just how far to the left such policies have pushed the various Latin American reform movements.

Lloyd Gardner's book-length study emphasizes precisely what the title states; that American foreign policy in the 1940s developed largely from a set of illusions either created or held by the men in power. Ten of the eleven chapters revolve around an individual whose attitudes and actions illustrate one or more of these illusions. With the exception of a rather unsatisfying essay on Marshall's mission to China, the emphasis is on Europe; particularly on what Gardner sees as a sort of triumvirate of concern—fear of depression at home, fear of militant Soviet subversion throughout the world, and fear of any limitation on the operation and spread of free-enterprise economics, whether that threat was from communism, socialism, or neo-mercantilism. Once again the label of economic determinist is far too simplistic. One of Gardner's key points is his assertion that Roosevelt had no real faith in either the four-policemen concept or in continued Russo-American cooperation after the war. Even after Stalingrad made further postponement of postwar planning impossible, Roosevelt used second front diplomacy largely for short-term goals, principally to maintain the wartime coalition. Gardner treats containment as a very positive policy that stemmed from a Marxian-like historical assumption that communism in Russia would whither away under certain pressures. Like the contributors to the Bernstein collection, he is highly critical of the traditional goals and assumptions of American "liberalism." The staunch belief that world peace could come only via the extension of both political and economic democracy, the fixation that internationalism (as embodied, for example, in the Atlantic Charter) was not only superior to power politics but practical as well, and the conviction that only American economic power and political leadership could protect such goals against the communist threat did far more to shape the nature of the cold war than Soviet actions and ideology.

Although the events occasionally overshadow the individual, as with Will Clayton and Anglo-American economic relations, the meshing of individual with illusion is generally successful, and in three essays—Baruch and atomic diplomacy, Forrestal and Kennan as co-authors of containment, and a superb study of Dean Acheson as a practitioner of the "Holy Pretense"—the author achieves very real insight and depth of perception.

Gardner sees three correctable errors in American foreign policy during the 1940s; errors that may have been primarily responsible for the manner in which the cold war finally developed. (He carefully distinguishes between causing the cold war and determining the way in which it evolved, and deals primarily with the latter.) Attempts to use economic aid to Russia as a means of altering her East European policy only convinced the Soviets that those policies were absolutely necessary. The failure to work out some sort of mutual security agreement and guarantee against German rearmament further persuaded the Russians that America had no intention of following four-power diplomacy. Finally, the Baruch Plan in the United Nations (if there is a villain in the piece it is Bernard Baruch) ended even the most fragile hope of avoiding an arms race, for it would have guaranteed an American monopoly on atomic weapons without any similar guarantee that the United States would take the final step—internationalization of such weapons.

The book is not a history of the cold war, though the final chapter provides conclusions in the format of a look at cold war historiography. Rather it is an interpretive study of people, their ideas, and how those ideas shaped events. Based on solid research in the printed sources and the small but increasing number of manuscript materials available, Gardner has written a persuasive and balanced account that provides much of the intellectual framework necessary to any understanding of the 1940s and the cold war. One small note of caution. Some of Professor Gard-

ner's most interesting ideas are found in his preface and note on sources where he sheds some of his scholarly objectivity and lays out his expert opinion in plain view.

For years scholars and politicians have accepted as dogma the concept that the cold war has been a process of Soviet action and American reaction. Even if one does not accept all the arguments presented in these two books, they demonstrate that the United States regularly took the initiative. Hopefully this lays to rest forever the tired cliché that the American foreign policy was to have no policy at all.

WARREN F. KIMBALL
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PETER H. SMITH. *Politics and Beef in Argentina: Patterns of Conflict and Change.* (Institute of Latin American Studies, Columbia University.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1969. Pp. x, 292. $10.00.

"The struggles over the production of cattle and beef" in Argentina were waged during the first half of this century between well-defined socioeconomic actors: the mostly Argentine landowners and the mostly foreign owned and controlled packing houses. The technique of breeding for high quality beef introduced however a third element: the fatteners, landowners whose functions were in both production and trade and who formed an intermediate group between breeders and meat packers. The conflicts between these three groups were sometimes solved by mutual agreements; as the democratization of political life went on, however, the temptation grew of using this new arena to win battles lost or compromised in the less public theater of inter-sectorial struggles. A complex counterpoint of narrow interest conflicts and very general political issues offers then the subject for this excellent book. As Peter Smith soon discovers, the transition from private to public-political conflict was far from complete; even the sectors that had the most advantage were reluctant to use the weapons offered by the new style in national politics. The reasons are not difficult to discover: the most obvious was the comparative inefficacy of political action through Congress (which at its turn throws some light on the limits of the democratizing process); it is then not surprising that governments—even those elected by universal franchise—were more receptive to pressure exerted directly by the protagonists of the beef conflicts using their economic power or social ascendancy than to the protests of larger but less powerful groups.

The landowners (and especially the *criadores,* as opposed to the fatteners) were, however, ready to use any marginal advantage offered them by the possibility of political alliances, as long as the price was low. It is again not surprising that they were more eager to identify themselves with the national interest—against the foreign packers and their stooges, the greedy and unpatriotic fatteners —than to establish a firm understanding with urban consumers, who were chiefly interested in low prices for beef; they were, however, ready to relinquish even this patriotic role as soon as they saw the possibility of a profitable deal with their economic rivals.

As Smith shows, in many cases the process went the other way round; it was from the political field that the support of influential landowning sectors was summoned. This was the case particularly in the thirties during the "great debate" between Lisandre de la Torre and the Justo government. If De la Torre found so little support among those he purported to defend, it was not only because—as he rightly felt—the level of social and political morality was low, but essentially because all the landowning groups fared quite well under the economic policies introduced by Pinedo and Duhau, and no amount of eloquence could convince them that they had nothing to lose but their chains.

On these complex and always shifting alliances established in a twilight area between mass politics and the decisions of administrative and corporative bodies Peter Smith offers us a perceptive and knowledgeable study; and by doing so he throws also unexpected light on many larger issues. In its own quiet way this is an extremely important book on Argentine politics in the twentieth century.

TULIO HALPERIN DONGHI
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Communications

TO THE EDITOR:

Professor Thomas Kelly has shown in his "The Traditional Enmity between Sparta and Argos" (*AHR*, 75 [1970]: 971–1003) that foundation is lacking for the common assertion of continuous enmity between Argos and Sparta from earliest times. I accept Kelly's conclusions and seek only to suggest that there was in the proto-historical tradition reason for the Greeks to represent these states as *Erbfeinde* when actual history began to be written, as is repeatedly asserted by Pausanias (1.29, 9; 2.20, 1; 3.2, 3, and elsewhere). There is very little solid Greek history before 600 B.C. and almost none before 700 B.C., but the Greeks filled the lacuna with legendary materials that are not entirely fanciful; even those Hellenistic scholars who rejected miracles and local boastings clung to the genealogies of local rulers as affording the best framework they could find for bridging the gap between Troy and the Persians and for their guesses as to events before the Trojan War itself. Historians after Thucydides, though their works are lost, thought they had a sort of evidence extending back a millennium or more before their own day.

Literary remains being so scant before Herodotus, Kelly's negative argument is better supported by geography than by the silence of the texts: it is intrinsically unlikely that non-maritime *poleis* of the Dark Age should have come into conflict until they had expanded over intervening territory. The positive literary evidence, and probability, suggest that Sparta's early extra-Laconian struggles should have been against Arcadia and Messenia. In the same period Argos-Mycenae was concerned with affairs in the Argolid itself. But while we can more or less accurately refer to Sparta, we must understand by Argos, as did the old poets, the Argolid and its cities generally.

The Peloponnese is the best-defined region of continental Greece. In the legend that made all Greeks descend from Hellen, the entire peninsula is the realm of Xuthus, and the poets seem to refer to the whole as *Argos*, at least occasionally (Strabo 7.370; for other references, see A. F. Pauly and G. Wissowa, *Realencyclopaedie* 2: 787). But the Peloponnese was especially disturbed by the last Greek irruption, the "Dorian Invasion," and Sparta became the seat of the Dorians *kat' exochen*. Ancient Laconian legends must have been obliterated by the Spartans. Certainly traditions relating to the pre-Dorian era are sparce. Argos, by contrast, claimed an unmatched antiquity. "Quantum distat ab Inacho. . ." says Horace by way of alluding to remotest antiquity. We cannot unravel the threads of Argive legend, but the important fact is that the Argolid was mighty in the Bronze Age—we call the era "Mycenaean"—when Laconia was relatively unimportant. In the classic period the situation was reversed, but the Argives recalled and no doubt magnified their ancient glory against the upstarts. The relation of the Homeric kings of Argos and Sparta as older and younger brother may be significant. Homer's poetry may have arisen in the time of transition, but it is certainly significant that his names for Greeks are in two cases specific for the Argolid—Argives and Danaans; the third refers to the next neighbor and fellow victim of Dorian displacement, Achaeans. It is notorious that Dorians are almost unknown to Homer and not at all as being in the Peloponnese. In spite of the de-

served fame of the gold cups from Vaphio, Laconia is a region of little importance for Bronze Age archeology, while the Argolid shows Corinth, Tiryns, Larna, Larisa, and other notable names. It is the richest region of the mainland. Perhaps when the sea kings of Crete rounded Malea, they preferred to make all the way to the west coast, for Pylos and even Elis are better attested than is the center of the peninsula in preclassic times.

Though there is an "autochthonous" Argive tradition represented by the Abantid kings, there are also notable overseas connections in the legend, pointing to Asia Minor, Phoenicia, and to Egypt. The Abantides set their eponymous ancestor in the eighteenth generation after Inachus, and to the interim are assigned all the accepted misalliances of Zeus, of which the last begat Herakles, born in Tiryns a generation or two before the Trojan War. (Diodorus Siculus, 4.14, reckons sixteen generations to Herakles, whose great-grandchildren, according to the common tradition, headed the Dorian invasion in the eightieth year after the fall of Troy.) A relic of pre-Dorian Laconian tradition is preserved in the fact that, as Dio asserts (3.65, 5), the majority of heroes descend from Atlas, a Titan older than Zeus. The only Greeks who seem to make this claim are rulers of the western Peloponnesus, Oenomaus of Pisa, the reluctant father-in-law of the Phoenician immigrant Pelops, and the Tyndarid rulers of Sparta. Their *Stammtafel* includes the Pleiad Taygete, Lakedaimon, and Amyclas, which are familiar place names, before showing in Hyacinthus the sort of non-Greek name we associate with the Minoans. These genealogies are little regarded by modern scholars, though N. G. Hammond, conservative in most things, believes them worth mention. (Perhaps the easiest place to check them is still William Smith's century-old *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology* [1890]). In the Peloponnesian genealogies, as contrasted with those of the rest of the mainland, the role of Poseidon is conspicuous. The contest of Athena and Poseidon for the site of Athens is familiar.

Both Argive and Spartan legend exhibit much fratricide, but some of it specifically opposes Argos and Sparta. Atlas himself is eventually slain by Perseus, the greatest purely Argive hero. Perseus does take on pan-Hellenic aspects, but compared with Herakles we may regard him as local. He is set in the fifteenth generation from Inachus, his father being Poseidon. Similarly, the fratricide that expelled Tyndareus from Sparta two or four generations before the Trojan War resulted from the marriage of a Spartan king, Oebalus, with an Argive princess, Gorgophone, whose name recalls the great accomplishment of Perseus. But perhaps the most notable trace of ancient hatred between Argos and Sparta is preserved in the variant of the death of Agamemnon given in Pindar's *Eleventh Pythian Ode*, where we find Agamemnon murdered at Amyclae.

The legends of Herakles are so numerous that I shall not pursue them except to point out that the earliest slaughter of Spartans is attributed by Diodorus Siculus (4.33, 5) to Herakles and his followers coming from the Argolis to restore the exiled Tyndareus. This greatest Greek hero has ambiguous roles: his name may mean Glory of Hera, but he was her principal victim, as well as the greatest son of the Argolid, where she was the pre-eminent deity. The Dorians of Sparta, though descendants of Herakles, especially cultivated Apollo. In this as in many things there is contrast between Spartans and Argives, whose pre-eminent deity was Hera. The Argives, we may note, were thought of as being physically inert but clever in words; a sharper contrast with the Laconic discipline could hardly be made.

As was said, this note concurs with Kelly's conclusion that in the early historic period there is not likely to have been much active hostility between Argos and Sparta. There was, however, a tradition used by Greek historians that made the later enmity of Argos and Sparta seem a continuation of a very ancient enmity. This is overt in the career of Pheidon and is invoked unquestioningly by Pausanias, who is perhaps merely reversing the order of events when he makes the Arcadians adopt synoecism, on the model of Argos, in response to Spartan menace (8.27, 1).

KIFFIN ROCKWELL
Northern Illinois University

PROFESSOR KELLY REPLIES:

It was gratifying to learn that Professor Rockwell found my argument that Argos and Sparta

were not bitterly hostile toward one another throughout the course of Greek history convincing. Although he accepts my main conclusion, he would seriously modify several other points I advanced. He is not convinced by my explanation as to how the false notion of traditional enmity between Argos and Sparta originated. In place of my argument that the misconception grew up in the fourth century B.C., when scholars of that period read their own present into the far distant past and were further misled by their mistaken notion that Pheidon lived much earlier than was actually the case, Professor Rockwell believes that there was a good deal of hostility between Argos and Sparta in the "protohistorical" period. As a result of this hostility, he would "suggest that there was in the protohistorical tradition reason for the Greeks to represent these states as *Erbfeinde* when actual history began to be written. . . ."

Professor Rockwell is certainly correct when he points out that there are numerous allusions to Argive-Spartan enmity in Greek mythology, but I cannot accept his assumption that this myth reflects a "protohistorical tradition," and I cannot agree with his suggestion that this tradition provided Greek historians with reason to portray Argos and Sparta as enemies when, as he puts it, "actual history began to be written." I shall confine myself to a consideration of these two points.

As I attempted to show in my article, one cannot regard late authors such as Strabo, Diodorus, and the ubiquitous Pausanias as reliable guides to earlier Peloponnesian history. Professor Rockwell would seem to agree with me in this, but at the same time he is willing to accept these same authors as reliable guides to Peloponnesian mythology. Yet, if they are not reliable historical guides, can we really assume that they are reliable mythological guides? And can we further assume that the myth they do preserve actually reflects a "protohistorical tradition?" While some Greek myth may indeed preserve and reflect such tradition, as Martin P. Nilsson has attempted to show in his *Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* (Berkeley, 1932), it is equally clear, as the same author has demonstrated conclusively in his *Cults, Myths, Oracles, and Politics in Ancient Greece* (Lund, 1951), that much Greek myth was created only in and after the fourth century B.C., and then for obviously political or propagandistic purposes. Do the allusions to Argive-Spartan enmity that Professor Rockwell has called to our attention reflect a "protohistorical tradition"? Or are they really artificial creations of a later period? This is not the place to undertake a comprehensive examination of Greek mythology, but it is perhaps worthwhile to call attention to an interesting study by Antonio Tovar, "Sobre las fuentes de las leyendas aticas de Pausanias" (*Emerita*, 4 [1936]: 276–91). Tovar has examined the Athenian mythology found in Pausanias and concluded that his chief source, as might be expected, was the *Atthides*. Tovar further argues, however, that Pausanias never consulted the texts of the *Atthides* directly, but simply repeated variant versions of the myths that were current in his day. What Tovar's conclusions clearly imply is that the Athenian mythology we get from Pausanias does not reflect any accurate "protohistorical tradition," but is more properly a reflection of the conceptions and misconceptions of his contemporaries. I would suggest that the same is true of the Laconian and Argive mythology that we get not only from Pausanias, but from most writers of late antiquity. Indeed, once the Greeks had accepted the belief that Argos and Sparta had been enemies since earliest times, it would be surprising if this belief, no matter how erroneous, were not reflected in Greek mythology. In sum, Professor Rockwell would have us believe that Argos and Sparta were enemies in the protohistorical period; memory of this enmity was preserved and handed down for a thousand years or more, and ultimately gave rise to the mistaken notion that the two states were enemies throughout the historical period. I am convinced, however, that the mistaken notion of Argive-Spartan enmity came into existence first; this in turn colored later views of Peloponnesian mythology, just as it colored later views of earlier Peloponnesian history.

The second point I should like to make tends, I think, to support my position and at the same time detract seriously from Rockwell's suggestion that the protohistorical tradition gave the Greeks reason to represent the two states as enemies "when actual history began to be written." This suggestion completely overlooks

one of the major points I stressed in my article. I argued that the earliest Greek historians, Herodotus and Thucydides, while they knew of warfare between Sparta and Argos in the fifth century, did not represent the two states as bitter enemies of long standing. This is not surprising in the case of Thucydides, who rarely mentions events that took place prior to the fifth century. But it is more interesting and significant in the case of Herodotus, for not only must we consider his silence on this matter, but, more importantly, we must also consider Herodotus' clear implication that warfare between Argos and Sparta began only after Sparta had conquered Tegea shortly before the middle of the sixth century B.C. In short, it was my position then and it remains my position now, that when "actual history began to be written," the first historians did not represent Argos and Sparta as traditional enemies; it was only later writers, beginning with Xenophon and especially Ephorus in the fourth century, who so depicted them.

THOMAS KELLY
University of Minnesota

TO THE EDITOR:

In Thomas J. McCormick's review article "American Expansion in China" (*AHR*, 75 [1970]: 1393–96) on Paul A. Varg's *The Making of a Myth: The United States and China, 1897–1912*, I do not understand Mr. McCormick's complaint that Mr. Varg's conclusions are "impressionistic" and that "the impressions are not universally shared" (p. 1394), nor his conclusion that Mr. Varg is a "traditionalist" who should for some odd reason be promulgating a "revisionist" ("materialist") course of interpretation to Mr. McCormick's own satisfaction (p. 1396). Mr. McCormick queries whether abstract terms are "ever helpful devices that sharpen analysis or are they merely normative conveniences . . . that make it possible to impose value judgments?" (p. 1394), while dividing the traditionalist goats from the revisionist sheep in the historical fold of U.S.-China area policy (pp. 1393–96). Curiouser still, Mr. McCormick contradicts his revisionist coming to grips with Varg's traditionalist impressionism by raising a plethora of subjective nuances (do Varg and other traditionalists "adequately appreciate . . . ?" "one senses time and again . . ." "one intuitively wonders whether Varg and other traditionalists fully understand . . ."). Curiouser and curiouser that the very "integrative, systematic thought" projected into the Far East during the Progressive era, in Mr. McCormick's interpretation, is admittedly one of self-perception by "leaders of a political economy" (p. 1395). Traditionalists and revisionists, like Tweedledee and Tweedledum, apparently dwell in the same impressionistic house, notwithstanding Mr. McCormick's abstract expressionism.

AMY S. LEE
Michigan State University

TO THE EDITOR:

Without intending to discount either the very real contributions of Roland Mousnier to an appreciation of Orest Ranum's work, *Paris in the Age of Absolutism: An Essay* (*AHR*, 75 [1970]: 1123–24), or the equally real criticisms he has made of it, it is my judgment that several significant points have been either totally neglected or passed over with barely a sentence or a phrase. For example, Mr. Ranum's delightful and extremely pertinent sections on the arts, which surely serve to illustrate the spirit of the several generations of seventeenth-century Parisians better than a detailed analysis of the political or corporative structures of the city could do, are dismissed in only nine words. The use, in chapter 8, of Corneille and Champaigne to make real and comprehensible the generation of the 1630s and 1640s was a masterful idea, masterfully executed. A careful reading will also find an extremely useful, although all too brief, characterization of the generation of 1660 in the works of Racine, Poussin, and Le Vau. Mr. Ranum's description of Vaux-le-Vicomte on pages 254–55 might serve as a miniature of the spirit of France in the age of the baroque—a spirit exemplified by, as Mr. Ranum so happily puts it, "controlled magnificance."

Although the Gallican Church of the era of the Catholic Reformation was in no sense a slavish copy of the Church of the Middle Ages, it certainly had among its goals the revival of its sovereign position in French society—a position seriously challenged in the sixteenth cen-

tury by the Calvinist heresy. Perhaps, if one wishes to quibble over terminology, "restoration" would be a better term than "revival," for more of the continuity of Catholicism was kept by St. Cyran and Vincent de Paul than by Chateaubriand. But surely such considerations are minor when compared to the understanding Mr. Ranum imparts of the aspirations and the activities of the *devots*.

Certainly, one might wish for a fuller treatment of certain aspects of Paris in the age of absolutism. This is particularly true, as M. Mousnier points out, of the reign of Louis XIV, and a further treatment of this period from Mr. Ranum's pen would be greatly appreciated. But, after all, one ought not ignore the subtitle of the work in question. This is an essay, not an exhaustive study.

For one who is no specialist in the minutiae of Parisian social and political institutions, and for one but marginally literate in French —which is to say, for the vast majority of the readers of a work on seventeenth-century France written in the English language—such considerations as these heavily outweigh the minor shortcomings noted in M. Mousnier's final paragraph, yet they are hardly mentioned in the body of his review. As one limited in the above ways, I feel that these aspects of Mr. Ranum's work should be mentioned as an addendum to M. Mousnier's review.

WILLIAM C. SCHRADER, III
Tennessee Technological University

TO THE EDITOR:

In the June issue of the *AHR* Professor Sheldon Hackney reviewed Hugh C. Bailey's *Liberalism in the New South* and commented, "That a scholar in Birmingham, Alabama, should be writing of reformers sympathetically and of racism critically deserves applause" (*AHR*, 75 [1970]: 1538). This sentence represents another instance in which a scholar does not carry his tradition of accuracy with him as he steps from his scholarly field into the area of contemporary social and political comment. How many Birmingham scholars—or Southern scholars, for that matter—does Professor Hackney know who have done otherwise lately? That is, how many have written of reforms critically and of racism sympathetically?

My suggestion to Professor Hackney is to take greater care in composing comments on this region; furthermore, I do not think it would be amiss for the editors of the *AHR* to exercise some diligence in preventing the perpetuation of misleading stereotypes through the reviews that are run in our Association's journal.

LESLIE CAMPBELL
Auburn University

PROFESSOR HACKNEY REPLIES:

I am sorry about the unfortunate sentence in my review of Hugh Bailey's book in the *American Historical Review*. You will be glad to know that my wife also gave me the devil for it as soon as she saw it. I did not mean for it to sound patronizing, nor to imply that other Southern scholars were benighted. I goofed. In self-defense I will only say that there are several possible implications of the sentence other than the construction Dean Campbell put on it and that he might think about that.

SHELDON HACKNEY
Princeton University

The following exchange of letters has been received in connection with the publication of Arthur Marwick's review of Michael R. Gordon, Conflict and Consensus in Labour's Foreign Policy, 1914–1965, AHR, *75 (1970), 1456–57.*

TO THE EDITOR:

I wish to protest Mr. Arthur Marwick's review of my book, *Conflict and Consensus in Labour's Foreign Policy, 1914–1965*. It is not his decision to knock the book that offends me; it is the intemperate and high-handed quality of his criticisms that does so. To show no sign of comprehension concerning the different aims, methods, and style of political science and of history is bad enough. But to see the work of another scholar as a symptom of some all-pervading cultural malaise comes close to abuse; the scholarly world in prewar Central Europe was only too familiar with the dangers of such thoughtless language. Mr. Marwick's piece does not strike me as worthy of a journal like the *American Historical Review*.

As to Mr. Marwick's attacks on the book's argument, I find it impossible to reply to them

for the simple reason that they are too vague and wide-swinging. There is nothing of substance to them, nothing to get my teeth into. All they show is that book made him hopping mad.

Your readers may be interested to learn that no other reviewer has responded in like manner. To cite one instance: Kenneth Younger, head of the Royal Institute of International Affairs and a former minister of state for foreign affairs in the 1950 Attlee government, described my book as "an impressive historical survey" and called its general analysis "excellent."

MICHAEL R. GORDON
University of California, Santa Barbara

TO THE EDITOR:

It would be a serious disservice to scholarship to allow Arthur Marwick's vituperative review of Michael Gordon's *Conflict and Consensus in Labour's Foreign Policy* to go unanswered. Why this workmanlike and respectable study should have produced such an abusive outburst is puzzling indeed.

Marwick finds the title "pompous," though it describes precisely the theme and subject matter of the book. Despite the fact that neither the Conservative nor Liberal parties has produced systematic and prolonged debate on the fundamentals of foreign policy, Marwick regards any investigation of the reasons for such disagreement within the Labour party as "naive." He expresses dissatisfaction with the author's sources, though he does not indicate what the shocking omissions are. On the basis of a few infelicitous phrases, he describes as "appalling" a style that this reader, at least, found perfectly lucid.

Gordon is a political scientist concerned with conceptualizing and generalizing the day-by-day debates within the Labour party on questions of foreign policy. Some of what he says is implicit in the work of historians; this scarcely means that there is no value in making it explicit. Historians will doubtless wish to examine in their own way some of the new ground he covers. When they do, I am confident that they will find Gordon's study a useful analytical tool and that they will regard with incredulity the irresponsible treatment its author has received in the pages of the *AHR*.

CATHERINE ANN CLINE
Catholic University of America

TO THE EDITOR:

After reading Arthur Marwick's review of Michael Gordon's *Conflict and Consensus in Labour's Foreign Policy, 1914–1965*, I am for the time compelled to raise questions about the intent of a reviewer in a scholarly journal. Was Professor Marwick's purpose to inform the readers of the *AHR* about the contents of the book in question and to evaluate both the methodology and the results accomplished, or was he inclined to vent his venom on an author who was somehow unlucky enough to have his book fall into Professor Marwick's hands? We have all learned in graduate school and in our professional capacities to keep our generous impulses tightly in rein when evaluating the scholarly efforts of others. Still, to label in print a respectable effort a "non-book" and to say that it confirms "all the worst misgivings that historians have ever had about the activities of political scientists" is to be not just lacking in generosity. It is an affront to Professor Gordon and to his professional colleagues in political science.

Professor Marwick is right in pointing to the universal acclaim that has surrounded Samuel H. Beer's *British Politics in the Collectivist Age*. I would also agree with his reservations about some of the sentences in the Gordon book, although I would ask how many books one reads in which only perfect sentences are found. But apart from this, Professor Marwick's review is empty. If I had a nasty disposition, I might call it a non-review.

As for the "not very expertly chosen selection of secondary sources," Professor Marwick is apparently referring to footnote references to such third-rate writers on British Labour as Henderson, Attlee, MacDonald, Dalton, Snowden, Cripps, Citrine, Bevan, Greenwood, Lansbury, Lord Parmoor, and Noel-Baker (not to mention Tawney, Laski, and Cole).

If the reviewer was irked, as he seems to indicate, by Professor Gordon's attempt to analyze the impact of ideological commitment on the formulation of Labour's foreign policy,

he should have warned all of us in the plainest possible language that some questions are taboo and that scholars who attempt to investigate them are subject to harassment from those who, like Marwick himself, set themselves up as arbiters between what is to be explored and what is not. Such pretentiousness is not only symptomatic of insufferable arrogance, it is close to that strange mentality of violence that attempts to single out for execution those individuals who venture into forbidden territory (even though academic territory) rather than to deal dispassionately with the results of their labors. Marwick's contention that most political scientists are fit candidates for the firing squad (again only in the academic sense) I shall pass over. But I do regret seeing evidence of this mentality in the pages of the *American Historical Review*.

WILLIAM R. TUCKER
Lamar State College of Technology

PROFESSOR MARWICK REPLIES:

This correspondence raises a number of points, some of them of principle. I do not claim to have answers to all of them.

Since Mr. Gordon sees me as a Nazi and Professor Tucker sees me as some kind of terrorist, I should like for the record to clarify one point: as soon as I realized that I would not be able to treat Mr. Gordon's book sympathetically, I informed the editor of the *American Historical Review* that I thought it better that I should not review his book at all. It was only on the insistence of the editor that my review was in the end submitted.

I welcome the fact that Mr. Gordon has taken the opportunity open to him to reply to my review. He might care to reflect that his book has now had a good deal more publicity than it would have done had I simply written a neutral and noncommittal review. Kenneth Younger and Professor Cline both think highly of Mr. Gordon's book. It is certainly desirable that *AHR* readers should have the opportunity to consider the opinions of these two distinguished authorities. In my review, however, I could only give my opinion.

I take it that a review in this journal should be basically directed toward the needs of historians. I have no wish to abuse Mr. Gordon further, but again I have to say that I cannot feel that his book really adds anything of significance to the historical study of the British Labour party. Frankly this seems to me a pretty overworked field anyway. I seem to have spent an awful lot of my life reading and rereading the same old rehash of passages from Henderson, Snowden, Cole, etc. Is it not a basic task of scholars to open up new fields of research?

Both Professor Tucker and Professor Cline seem to feel that my hostility is to political science as such. My point, in fact, was a rather different one. It seemed to me that since Mr. Gordon's political science approach had not yielded anything of value to historians, he was therefore reinforcing the (mistaken) opinion held by some historians that political science can never be of use to them.

Both Professor Tucker and Professor Cline describe Mr. Gordon's book as "respectable." I am not quite sure what meaning they attach to this term, though in Britain it is frequently used as a euphemism for "deadly dull." And that really was the basis of my criticism of Mr. Gordon's book. No doubt it was unfair that the brunt of this attack should fall upon him, but I cannot help feeling that someone, sometime, is going to have to do something positive to stem the flood of tedious, though no doubt worthy, or "respectable," books whose contribution to knowledge is minimal, but that nonetheless come pouring forth from the university presses.

Professor Tucker raises the question of whether the tone of my review was suitable to the *American Historical Review*. That is a question that only American historians can decide. It does seem to me, speaking very much as an outsider, that American scholars have often gone rather far in the opposite direction, that is, of polite back-scratching.

ARTHUR MARWICK
The Open University

Other Books Received

Books listed were received by the *AHR* between August 1 and October 1, 1970. Books that will be reviewed are not listed, but listing does not preclude subsequent review.

GENERAL

ARMAND, LOUIS, and DRANCOURT, MICHEL. *The European Challenge.* Tr. from the French by PATRICK EVANS. New York: Atheneum. 1970. Pp. xii, 256. $5.95.

AUGENSTEIN, LEROY. *Come, Let Us Play God.* New York: Harper and Row. 1969. Pp. ix, 150. $4.95.

BAUMER, FRANKLIN LE VAN (ed. with interpretative essays and notes). *Main Currents of Western Thought: Readings in Western European Intellectual History from the Middle Ages to the Present.* 3d rev. ed.; New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1970. Pp. xx, 784.

BENDIX, REINHARD. *Embattled Reason: Essays on Social Knowledge.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. xi, 395. $9.75.

CARLETON, WILLIAM G. *Technology and Humanism: Some Exploratory Essays for Our Time.* With a foreword by MANNING J. DAUER. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press. 1970. Pp. xiv, 300. $12.50.

CLOUGH, SHEPARD B., *et al.* (eds.). *The European Past.* Vol. 1, *Reappraisals in History from the Renaissance through Waterloo;* Vol. 2, *Reappraisals in History since Waterloo.* 2d ed.; [New York:] Macmillan. 1970. Pp. x, 438; x, 481. $4.95 each.

COBBAN, ALFRED. *The Nation State and National Self-Determination.* Rev. ed. of *National Self-Determination* (1945). Apollo Eds. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell. 1970. Pp. 318. $2.95.

DAVIES, PETER (ed.). *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language.* Paperback ed. New York: Dell. 1970. Pp. xii, 820. 75 cents.

DAVISSON, WILLIAM I. *Information Processing: Applications in the Social and Behavioral Sciences.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. 1970. Pp. ix, 276. $4.95.

EASTON, STEWART C. *The Western Heritage: From the Earliest Times to the Present.* 3d ed.; New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1970. Pp. xiv, 1090.

FEZENSAC, M. DE. *The Russian Campaign, 1812.* Tr. by LEE KENNETT. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1970. Pp. xi, 147. $6.00.

GARNETT, JOHN (ed.). *Theories of Peace and Security: A Reader in Contemporary Strategic Thought.* Readings in International Politics. [New York:] St. Martin's Press. 1970. Pp. 272. Cloth $7.50, paper $2.50.

GENTLES, FREDERICK, and STEINFIELD, MELVIN. *Hangups from Way Back: Historical Myths and Canons.* Vol. 1. San Francisco: Canfield Press. 1970. Pp. viii, 326. $4.50.

HARRIS, JONATHAN. *Hiroshima: A Study in Science, Politics, and the Ethics of War.* Developed by the Amherst Project Committee on the Study of History. Menlo Park, Calif.: Addison-Wesley. 1970. Pp. v, 77.

HEILBRONER, ROBERT L. *Between Capitalism and Socialism: Essays in Political Economics.* New York: Random House. 1970. Pp. xviii, 294. Cloth $7.95, paper $1.95.

HOWE, IRVING (ed.). *Essential Works of Socialism.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1970. Pp. x, 406. $12.95.

JANOWITZ, MORRIS. *Political Conflict: Essays in Political Sociology.* Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1970. Pp. xii, 271. $8.95.

KELLY, GEORGE A., and BROWN, CLIFFORD W., JR. (eds.). *Struggles in the State: Sources and Patterns of World Revolution.* New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1970. Pp. xi, 511. $9.95.

KENNEDY, DAVID M., and ROBINSON, PAUL A. (eds.). *Social Thought in America and Europe: Readings in Comparative Intellectual History.* Boston: Little, Brown. 1970. Pp. xxi, 420. $5.95.

KIDRON, MICHAEL. *Western Capitalism since the War.* Pelican Books. Rev. ed.; [Baltimore:] Penguin Books. 1970. Pp. 196. $1.45.

MOCKLER, ANTHONY. *The Mercenaries.* [New York:] Macmillan. 1970. Pp. 303. $6.95.

MORGAN, ROBIN (ed.). *Sisterhood Is Powerful: An Anthology of Writings from the Women's Liberation Movement.* New York: Random House. 1970. Pp. xli, 602. Cloth $8.95, paper $2.45.

MORGENTHAU, HANS J. *Truth and Power: Essays of a Decade, 1960–70.* New York: Praeger. 1970. Pp. xii, 449. $12.50.

MORRIS, RICHARD B., and IRWIN, GRAHAM W. (eds.). *Harper Encyclopedia of the Modern World: A Concise Reference History from 1760 to the Present.* New York: Harper and Row. 1970. Pp. xxxii, 1271. $17.50.

MORRISON, DENTON E. (ed.). *Farmers' Organizations and Movements: Research Needs and a Bibliography of the United States and Canada.* North Central Regional Research Publication No. 200. Research Bulletin 24. [East Lansing:] Agricultural Experiment Station, Michigan State University. 1970. Pp. 116. No charge.

POLKA, BRAYTON, and ZELECHOW, BERNARD (eds.). *Readings in Western Civilization.* Vol. 1, *The Intellectual Adventure of Man to 1600.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1970. Pp. x, 438. $4.95.

SCHUETTINGER, ROBERT LINDSAY (selected and ed.). *The Conservative Tradition in European Thought: An Anthology.* New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1970. Pp. 385. $6.95.

SELSAM, HOWARD, *et al.* (Selected and ed. with introd. and notes). *Dynamics of Social Change: A Reader in Marxist Social Science from the Writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin.* New York: International Publishers. 1970. Pp. 416. Cloth $10.00, paper $3.95.

SIDORSKY, DAVID (ed. with introductory essays). *The Liberal Tradition in European Thought.* New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1970. Pp. 362. $6.95.

SULLIVAN, JOHN EDWARD. *Prophets of the West: An Introduction to the Philosophy of History.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1970. Pp. xiv, 305.

TRAVERSO, EDMUND. *Korea and the Limits of Limited War.* Developed by the Amherst Project Committee on the Study of History. Menlo Park, Calif.: Addison-Wesley. 1970. Pp. v, 81.

ANCIENT

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Dan M. Robison, professor of history at Vanderbilt University from 1936 to 1950, died September 8, 1970, in Nashville, Tennessee. From 1950 to 1961 Dr. Robison was librarian and archivist of Tennessee. He was chairman of the Tennessee Historical Commission, 1949–61, and editor of the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly,* 1948–56. He was appointed state historian in 1970.

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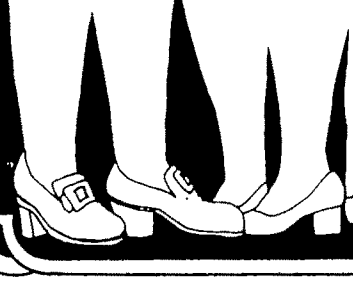
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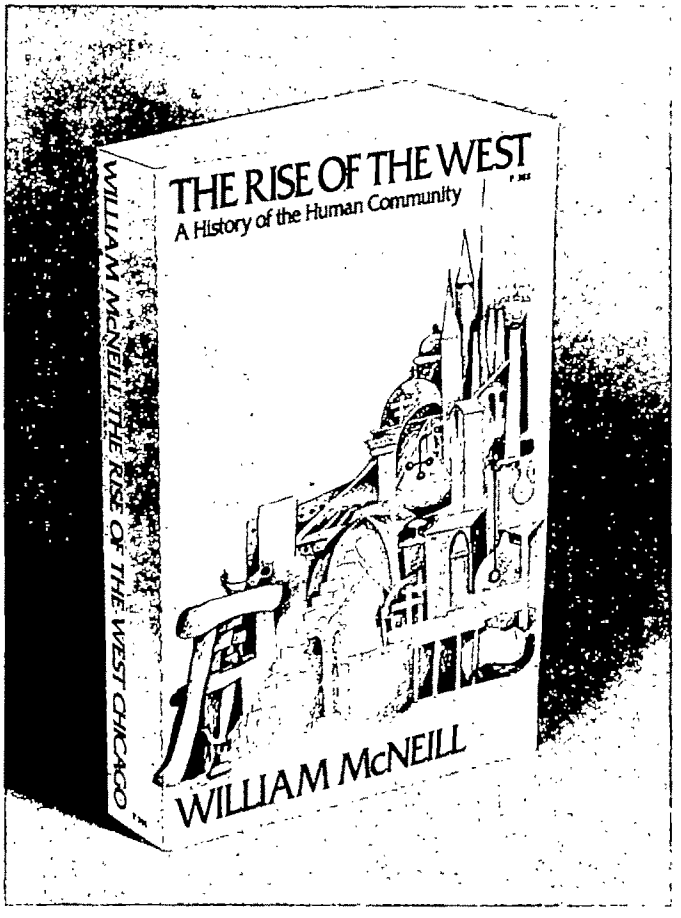
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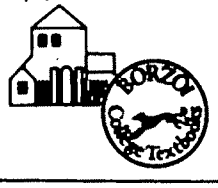
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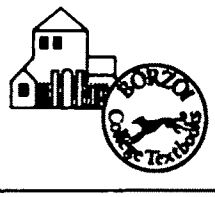
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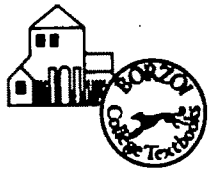
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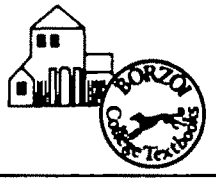
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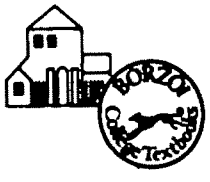
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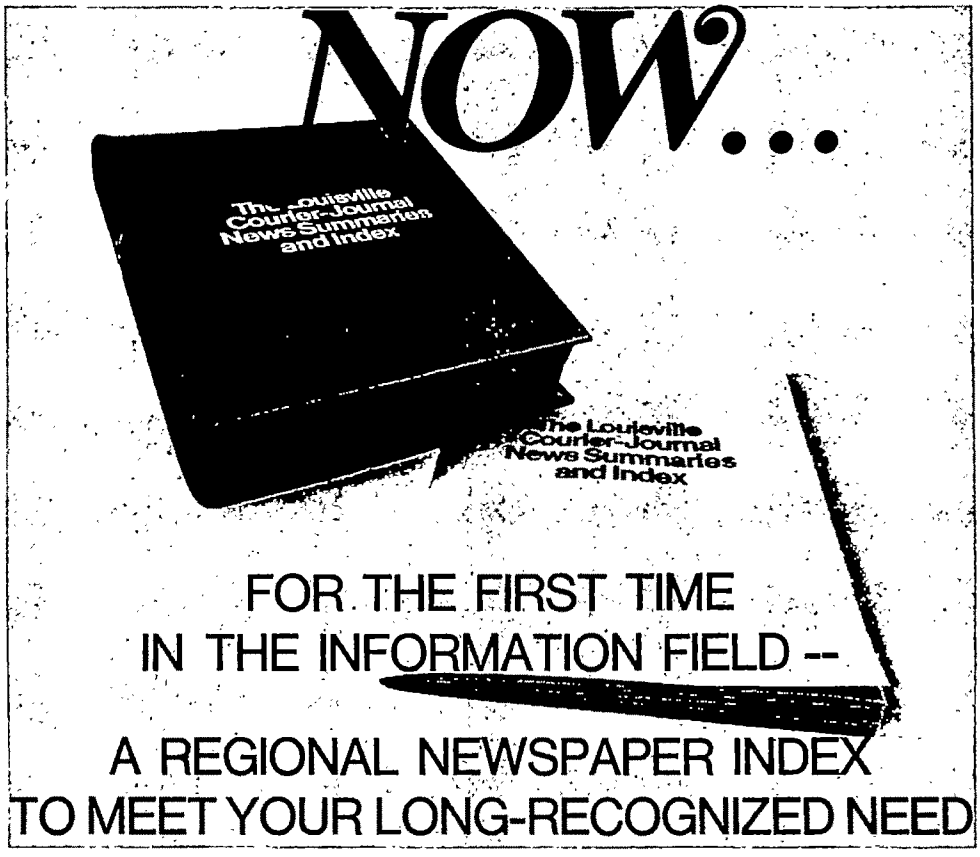
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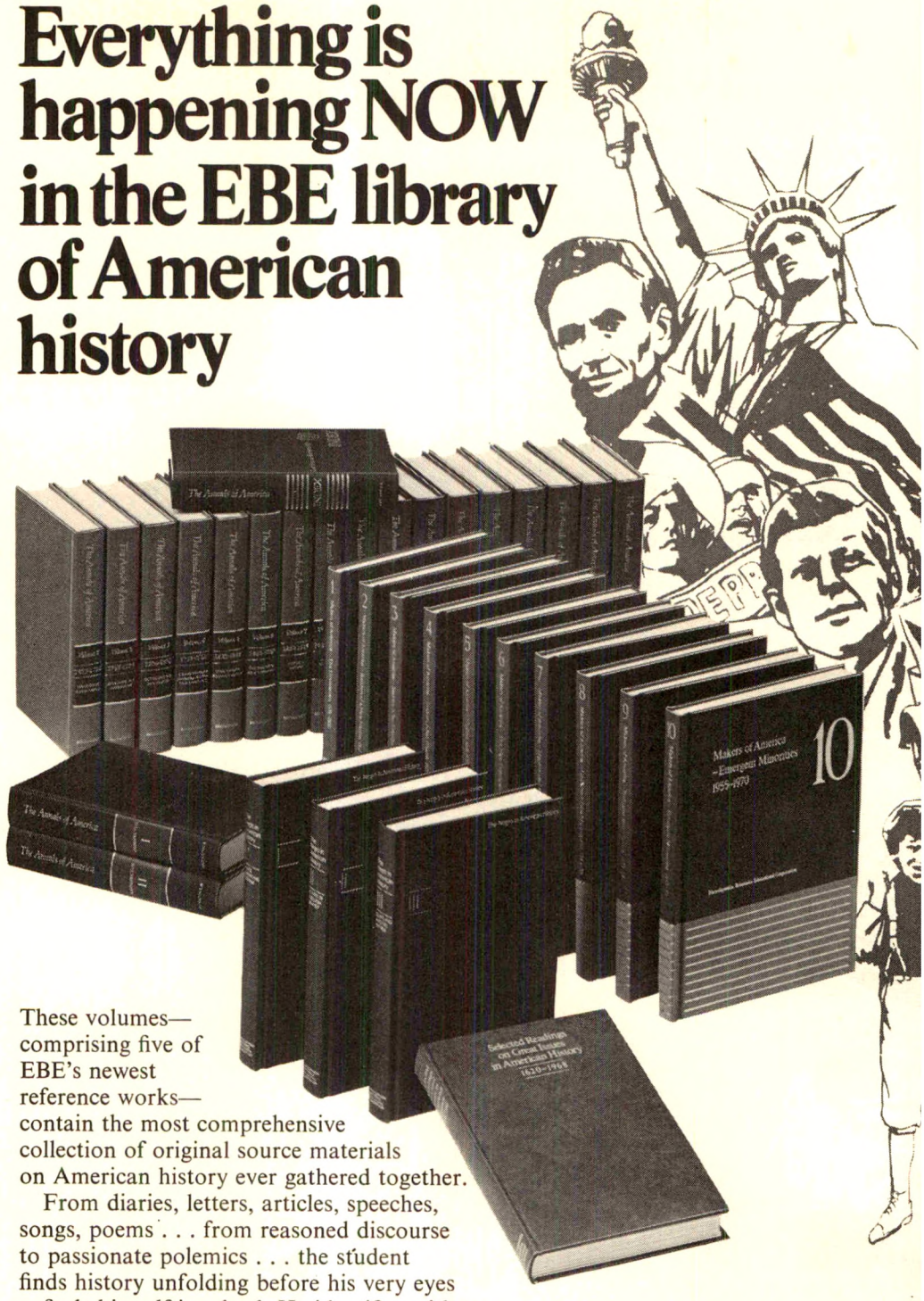
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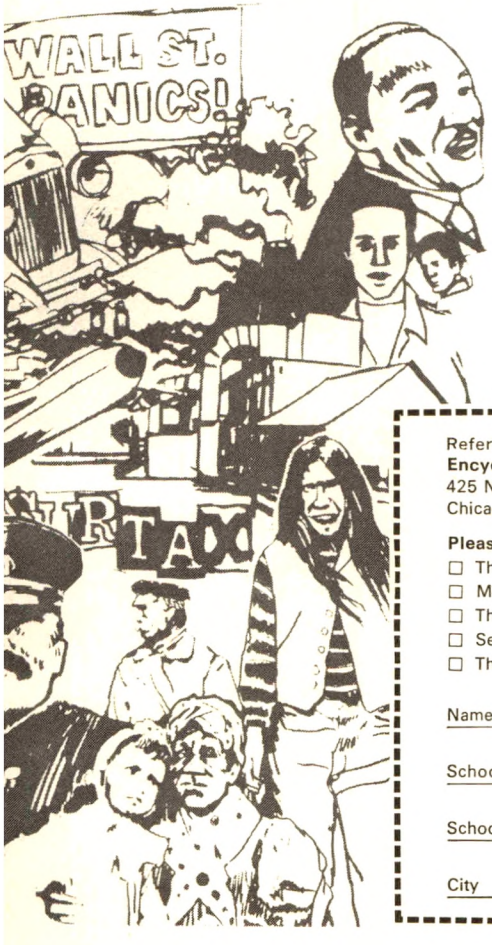
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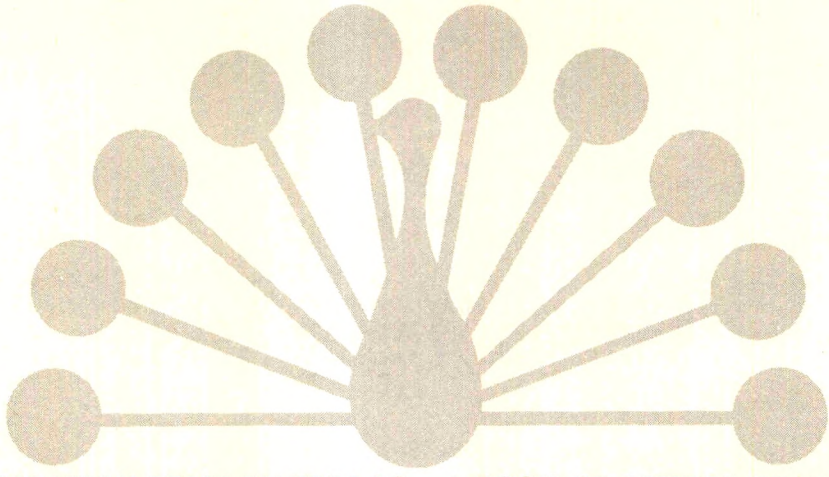
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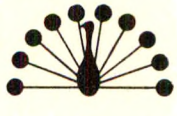
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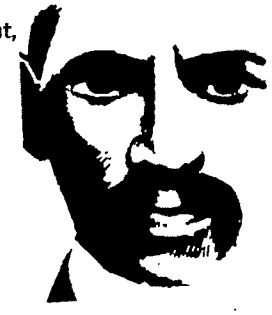
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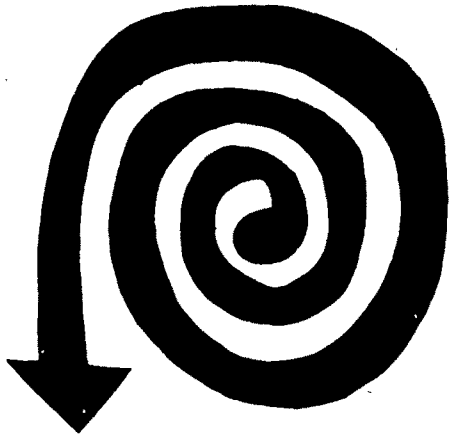
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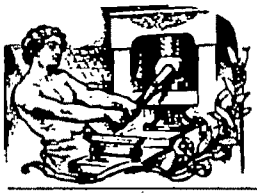
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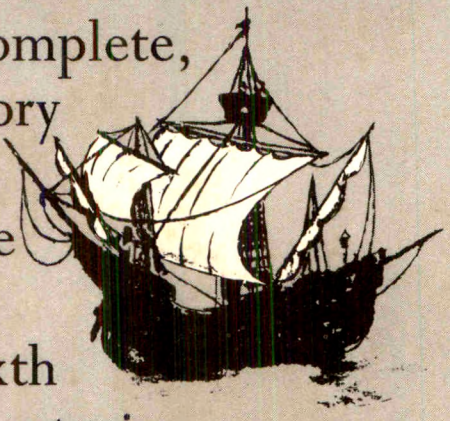
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Hoping against Hope: The Enlightened Age in Hungary

GEORGE BARANY

Underdeveloped nations are frequently faced with the need to compress into the lifetime of a single generation diverse trends for the unfolding of which more advanced societies have had more time. Hungary's effort to absorb the dynamic forces generated by the Enlightenment in Western Europe in the late eighteenth century is a case in point, as the poetic *oeuvre* of Michael Vitéz Csokonai (1773–1805) illustrates. In the last 150 years poetry, reflecting Magyardom's tribulations and dreams, has been the leading political genre in Hungarian literature. Csokonai's work, which anticipates this trend, above all suggests an impressive expansion of the Hungarian intellectual horizon in the age of Enlightenment.

Csokonai has been rightly called the "truest Hungarian rococo poet" and "the highpoint of the poetry of the Hungarian Enlightenment."[1] Of humble birth, he studied at the Calvinist College in Debrecen, where he became founder of the school's literary society. By 1793 he was entrusted with the teaching of undergraduates, but in 1795 the talented yet Bohemian youth was expelled from college because of his disrespect for authority and discipline. In the same year he went to Pest to find a publisher for his poems; and on that occasion he witnessed the execution of the ringleaders of the Hungarian Jacobin conspiracy, the implications of which will be considered later. During the Diet of Pressburg in 1796 Csokonai started a versified newspaper but, when the public showed little interest, he gave up the attempt after publication of the eleventh issue. Unable to get a permanent job, he

An abridged version of this article was presented at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, Washington, D. C., Dec. 30, 1969. I am indebted to Professors Peter Gay, of Yale University, J. Robert Vignery, of the University of Arizona, and Theodore R. Crane, of the University of Denver, for their benevolent criticism of my essay. I alone, however, am responsible for any shortcomings. I also wish to express my special thanks to the Historical Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, for its efficient assistance in obtaining and providing some exquisite illustrative material from several institutions in Hungary.

[1] János Horváth, *Csokonai. Csokonai költő barátai. Földi és Fazekas.* (Csokonai. Csokonai's Poet Friends: Földi and Fazekas) (Budapest, 1936), 9, 14; József Waldapfel, *A magyar irodalom a felvilágosodás korában* (Hungarian Literature in the Age of Enlightenment) (2d ed.; Budapest, 1957), 325. For a short essay on Csokonai in English, see Joseph Reményi, *Three Hungarian Poets, Bálint Balassa, Miklós Zrinyi, Mihály Csokonai Vitéz* (Washington, 1955), 47–64.

toured the country looking for support, visiting with friends and noble patrons. The girl with whom he fell in love was married off to a well-to-do merchant; only once, in 1799, was Hungary's itinerant genius hired, for less than a year, as a substitute teacher in a small town in western Hungary. In the spring of 1800 he returned to his home town, Debrecen, to spend the remainder of his life in poverty. While delivering an obituary poem at the funeral of the wife of one of his aristocratic patrons in 1804, the tubercular poet caught pneumonia, which killed him a few months later at the age of thirty-one.

It is difficult if not impossible to force a creative person in the niche of any one artistic style or school. Great writers and thinkers have a way of learning



Fig. 1. Togati (graduate students) at the Calvinist College of Debrecen in the 1770s. (Student on left is striking fire with flint stone.) Water color by Joseph Csokonai, the poet's father (1779). Photograph: Déri Muzeum (Debrecen, Hungary).

from each other through the ages; unfettered by time and space, Csokonai belongs to this fraternity. Yet his life, which spans a period beginning with political ferment and ending with reaction and apathy, is also a mirror of the conditions of Hungarian society at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries.

Trained in the classics, Csokonai concentrated on Italian poetry in the students' literary circle in Debrecen. He was also acquainted with contemporary German, Swiss, French, and English literature. His interest in esthetics, the theory of literary genres, and the art of versification is indicated by his philological essays, explanatory notes, letters, and remarks on the nature and educational significance of poetry, which show him to be Hungary's foremost *poeta doctus* prior to the mid-nineteenth-century classic poet John Arany.[2] Enamored of the beauties of the Magyar idiom as spoken by the common folk, he was the first to include, in his play *Tempefői* (1793), the text of a true Hungarian folk tale.[3] In accordance with the program of enlightened literati he strove consciously to enrich the vernacular with translations, mainly from German and Italian but also from English, French, Latin, and Greek. His translations were often "adjusted" to the Hungarian milieu; in a note to one of his own poems he justified the incorporation of a metaphor from Voltaire's *Henriade* by saying that it had been "dressed in new clothes and Magyarized."[4] Influenced by the travesties of the popular Viennese ex-Jesuit poet Blumauer,[5] the then eighteen year-old Csokonai adapted the *Batrachomiomachia*, attributed to Homer at the time, "to the present" by making the congregating mice speak according to the procedures of the Hungarian Diet and by describing the club of the frogs as though it were a French revolutionary assembly; in fact, the whole poem is permeated with a robust sense of humor and social criticism reminiscent of the Hungarian scene.

Couleur locale and present-mindedness, however, did not imply provincialism, as can be judged by the cosmopolitan aspects of Csokonai's poetry. Italian songs, French minuets, Polish mazurkas, German and Hungarian dances, Arab and Persian meters were rendered marvelously by his rhythms.[6] The multiple roots and sophistication have been pointed out in a

[2] Horváth, *Csokonai*, 15–20; G. F. Cushing, "Books and Readers in 18th Century Hungary," *Slavonic and East European Review*, 47 (1969): 61.

[3] József Turóczi-Trostler, *Magyar irodalom, világirodalom* (Hungarian Literature, World Literature) (Budapest, 1961), 95–97, 259–60, 414, 423.

[4] "A nemes magyarságnak felülésére" (On the Rise of Noble Magyardom), *Csokonai Vitéz Mihály Összes Versei* (The Complete Poems of Michael Vitéz Csokonai) (hereafter *CsÖV*) (Budapest, 1956), 1: 458 n.9. See also Csokonai's foreword to his translation of Ewald Kleist's "Frühling," in *ibid.*, 2: 589–96.

[5] For Blumauer's influence on Csokonai, see Elemér Császár, *A német költészet hatása a magyarra a XVIII. században* (The Influence of German Poetry on the Hungarian in the 18th Century) (Budapest, 1913), 65–67. For his popularity in Hungary and other parts of East-Central Europe, see also Fritz Valjavec, *Geschichte der deutschen Kulturbeziehungen zu Südosteuropa* (Munich, 1953–65), 3: 208–09.

[6] See the description of dances in his comic epopee "Dorottya," *CsÖV*, 1: 612–16.

recent article that claims that Csokonai's interest in Asiatic poetry was inspired by the Latin work of a British orientalist, Sir William Jones, who in turn drew upon the Latin translation of the Persian poet Hāfiz by a Hungarian friend, the scholarly Count Charles Reviczky, Habsburg ambassador in London.[7]

According to the preface to his comic epos "Dorottya" Csokonai held that poetry must not only entertain but also edify.[8] Consequently he ridiculed "national luxury and degeneration" and condemned the "mischievous revelry" of the youth in the poem. Stressing that he preferred a mediocre but original work to a first-rate translation,[9] he dissented from most contemporary literati who thought it more important to have good translations than to write original works.[10] The great organizer of Hungarian literary life, Francis Kazinczy, regarded it as the main task of his life to transplant the flowers of European literature to Hungarian soil. Following this enlightened principle he published nine volumes of collected works containing translations alone.[11] But Csokonai's poetry is most original, despite his many adaptations and translations from foreign languages.

At a time when writers had a low status even in the German lands[12] Csokonai dreamed of living by his pen alone. Yet he knew that it was easier to produce a Homer or Vergil than find a Maecenas in his fatherland;[13] in an early drama, written when he was twenty, he said that "he who wishes to become a poet in Hungary, is a fool. . . ."[14] In a belated echo of the French Declaration of 1789, Csokonai still insisted in one great poem that he wanted to live as "a man and citizen," although he conceded that in his country he could do it only in Rousseauian seclusion, in the corner of an island.[15] "Made wiser by nature through intelligence," he intended to sing

[7] Géza Képes, "Hāfiz et Csokonai," in *Littérature Hongroise – Littérature Européenne* (Budapest, 1964), 287–303. It is noteworthy from the point of view of the Central European Enlightenment that Reviczky, who was Maria Theresa's envoy to Warsaw in 1772–79, was also a mediator in the exchange between Jones and Prince Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski. Jan Reychman, "Kulturális érdeklődés Magyarország iránt a XVIII századi Lengyelországban" (Cultural Interest in 18th Century Poland toward Hungary), in *Tanulmányok a lengyel–magyar irodalmi kapcsolatok köréből* (Studies on Polish-Hungarian Literary Connections) (Budapest, 1969), 319–20.

[8] The view that poetry must be morally useful and edifying was widely held in the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, as can be seen from a lady's comments on Csokonai's "Dorottya" in 1804 and a letter of George Bessenyei to the poet Paul Ányos. See Zsolt Alszeghy, "A könyv és olvasója" (The Book and Its Reader), in Sándor Domanovszky *et al., Magyar művelődéstörténet* (Hungarian Cultural History) (Budapest, n.d.), 4: 485–86.

[9] *CsÖV*, 1: 591, 593.

[10] Antal Szerb, *Magyar irodalomtörténet* (Hungarian Literary History) (Budapest, 1943), 216.

[11] János Hankiss, *Európa és a magyar irodalom* (Europe and the Hungarian Literature) (Budapest, [1939]), 165–76. See Joseph Reményi, *Hungarian Writers and Literature*, ed. and introduction by August J. Molnar (New Brunswick, 1964), 48–49.

[12] Gordon A. Craig, "German Intellectuals and Politics, 1789–1815: The Case of Heinrich Von Kleist," *Central European History*, 2 (1969): 4.

[13] "Sint Maecenates, feret Hungaria terra Marones, Virgiliumque tibi vel tua rura dabunt," *CsÖV*, 2: 246. See also "Pesten, május 9. Csokonai Bathyány József hercegprimásnak e versezettel udvarolt" (In Pest, on May 9, Csokonai Paid Hommage to Prince Primate Joseph Batthyány with This Poem), *ibid.*, 298.

[14] Hankiss, *Európa és a magyar irodalom*, 208.

[15] "A tihanyi ekhóhoz" (To the Echo of Tihany), *CsÖV*, 2: 170; see also "A füredi parton" (On the Shores of Füred), *ibid.*, 1: 543–44.

for "a happier age," the twentieth century, as he put it elsewhere, when the land of the Magyar would bask in bright sunshine and the mournful dark would be banned to a hapless past.[16]

An optimist by temperament, Csokonai abhorred the symbols of melancholy and sadness[17] and eulogized the "civic minded patriot" (*közhasznu hazafi*), whom he described as an enlightened fighter against superstition who acts in harmony with the "eternal law of nature." Knowing that he would not live to see the bright daylight of a benevolent world in which upon the command of reason "the curtains of darkness would immediately crack, the heart would burst its obsolete crusts, the treasurehouse of blessed mankind open, the wounds of its sons heal, the soul of love fill the earth, and man would again embrace his fellow man," the poet was nevertheless longing for that "late century" and "happy age" when he, too, would be remembered "at least once."[18] To promote the cause of "blessed mankind, science, and the fatherland" was the charge set forth by Csokonai in a poetic farewell address to his students.[19] Yearning for a time when there would be a school in faraway Somogy county for Magyar peasant children, he bemoaned this "poor country of ours, this poor fatherland, deprived of liberty, and under yoke," downtrodden by German and exploited by Serb.[20] He thereby anticipated the imagery, ambivalent patriotism, and bitter clairvoyance of the greatest and most desperate Magyars of ages yet to come, the statesman Stephen Széchenyi or the twentieth-century poet Andrew Ady.

Csokonai was favorably impressed by the progressive aspects of the reforms enacted under Maria Theresa and Joseph II.[21] He also believed in the universal brotherhood of men. Yet he was not entirely above the naive and xenophobic Magyar nationalism characteristic of the conservative author of the first Hungarian bestseller, Andrew Dugonics, whom Csokonai praised highly.[22] By 1794 he was dismayed by the reign of terror in France, as were

[16] "Magyar! Hajnal hasad!" (Magyar! The Day is Breaking!), *ibid.*, 1: 377–78. See also Csokonai to Joseph Márton: "Even if I keep on writing, since I cannot sustain my existence without [writing], I write for a happier progeny, for the 20th or 21st century, for that age in which the Magyar will be either truly Magyar, or nothing indeed.—I do as [does] George Bessenyei, foremost among our Magyar literati according to both rank and merit, of whom those in the know cannot determine when he was greater: when he was shining in Vienna on the public display of honor and patriotism, or now, when he watches in Bakonyszeg the darkening of our horizon as the sun turning below the globe of our earth yet still continuing to create. . . ." Cited in László Vajthó, *Bessenyei* (Budapest, 1947), 55. For Bessenyei, see below.

[17] "A vidám természetű poéta" (The Good Natured Poet), *CsÖV*, 1: 140–42. See also "Az én poézisom természete" (The Nature of My Poetry), *ibid.*, 2: 123–25.

[18] "Broughton religiói lexiconára" (On Broughton's Religious Dictionary), "Konstancinápoly" (Constantinople), *ibid.*, 1: 186–88, 264–67. See also "Dr. Földi sirhalma felett" (On the Grave of Dr. Földi), *ibid.*, 2: 65.

[19] "Tanitványaitól bucsuzik" (Farewell to His Students), *ibid.*, 1: 391–92.

[20] "Jövendölés az első oskoláról a Somogyban" (Prophecy of the First School in Somogy), "Oh, szegény országunk" (Oh, Our Poor Country), *ibid.*, 1: 680–83.

[21] "A haza templomának örömnapja" (The Day of Joy of the Temple of the Fatherland), "Az 1741-diki diéta" (The Diet of 1741), *ibid.*, 1: 428–32, 435, 437–38, 547, 549.

[22] "A Dugonics oszlopa" (The Dugonics Monument), "A pesti dicsőség" (The Glory of Pest), "A nemes magyarságnak felülésére," *ibid.*, 1: 379–85, 460. For Dugonics (and others), see George Barany, "The Awakening of Magyar Nationalism before 1848," *Austrian History Yearbook*, 2 (1966): 29.

more radical intellectuals, some of whom were subsequently imprisoned and even executed along with prominent Hungarian Jacobins.[23] Although Csokonai's involvement in the conspiracy is unclear he must have been as intimidated as other men of letters and former supporters of liberal reform after the regime declared, as we shall see, an open season on suspect persons. Csokonai was no revolutionary; there is no reason to doubt that he sincerely abhorred the "stench of fanaticism that took possession of the heart of peoples usurping the sword of justice." He repudiated the "haughty soul of France" that proclaimed war against the whole world, made the tree of liberty barren, and equated equality with a red cap while plundering other countries and trampling under foot the rights of men and nations.[24]

The poet's deepest disillusionment was attributable to the personal factors already mentioned. Tired of petitioning aristocratic benefactors for a job or donation, he began to doubt whether the new nineteenth century was to witness the first gathering of Hungarian scholars as so many literati of the "philosophical" eighteenth had hoped.[25] Still he greeted with enthusiasm the foundation of the Hungarian National Museum and Library by Count Francis Széchenyi in 1802. Csokonai hoped to obtain a position there as librarian,[26] but this hope, like so many others in his life, failed to materialize. The master of Anacreontic lyrics and the idyllic pastoral turned increasingly inward. The translator of Schikaneder's *Magic Flute,* which also fascinated Mozart, concludes that "man is poetry's foremost subject" and the inquiry to be pursued by the "daring mortal and animated mud" ought to be formulated in the Biblical question of *"who are you, what is your purpose, where do you reside? on whose command do you stir? and, finally, what will you become?"*[27] Expressions of enlightened doubts, serene tolerance, and searching Christian faith alternated in the philosophical obituary poem delivered at the funeral that sealed his fate, too. Characteristically, Csokonai prefaced the poem with a motto from Rousseau: instead of arguing or trying to convince, he wished to expose only what he believed in the simplicity of his heart. The main theme of the powerful poem, inspired by Alexander Pope, dealt with the immortality of the soul.[28]

Clearly Csokonai's poetic world reveals many dimensions. Still in the familiar tradition of the classics and the patterns set by the late baroque and

[23] Viktor Julow, "Talányos Csokonai" (Enigmatic Csokonai), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények,* 71 (1967): 182–83.

[24] "Az igazság diadalma" (The Triumph of Justice), *CsÖV,* 1: 684.

[25] Preface to Kleist's "Frühling," *ibid.,* 1: 591–92.

[26] "A nagymélt. gróf Széchenyi Ferenc ő excellenciája nemzeti könyvtárjára" (On the National Library of His Excellency Count Francis Széchenyi), *ibid.,* 2: 74–77. For Francis Széchenyi, and the National Museum, see George Barany, *Stephen Széchenyi and the Awakening of Hungarian Nationalism, 1791–1841* (Princeton, 1968), 36, *passim.*

[27] "Az ember, a poézis első tárgya" (Man, the Foremost Subject of Poetry), *CsÖV,* 2: 48–49 (emphasis in original).

[28] "Halotti versek" (Funeral Orations), *ibid.,* 2: 180–214. For the influence of Pope's "The Dying Christian to His Soul," perhaps via German mediation, see Császár, *A német költészet hatása,* 184–35.

rococo, it reflects a conscious effort to explore the dynamics of the Hungarian folk song and the oriental poetry of Hāfiz, to fight the battle of the illuminati against spiritual darkness and write an epopee on the founder of the Hungarian national dynasty, Árpád, and to probe the limits of human knowledge through comparing religious systems or marveling at the flowery mysteries of a botanical garden. Csokonai's delicate rococo art is a mirror of enlightened and romantic endeavors, many of which unfolded only in the activities of later, if not always happier, representatives of the Hungarian national renaissance of the nineteenth century.

Any serious analysis of Csokonai's *oeuvre* would go far beyond this attempted brief sketch of some of its aspects. The promises inherent in his poetic efforts were incomplete because of his untimely death and the adverse circumstances in which the promises had to be realized. Still his poetic efforts are suggestive of the many facets of intellectual life and concern in late eighteenth-century Hungary. Indeed the period of change and stress in which he lived was brought about by powerful forces that had been at work since the reconquest of the country from the Turk and, more particularly, since the defeat of the anti-Habsburg fight of Francis II Rákóczi (1711), but their cumulative effect became visible only toward the end of the century. After two centuries of Turkish, dynastic, religious, and civil wars the population of devastated Hungary, estimated at about 4.1 million in 1720, more than doubled. The country was still underdeveloped, with fewer than a half million inhabitants in sixty-one chartered royal cities, the largest of which was Debrecen, with a population of just under thirty thousand. With the exception of Pressburg (Pozsony, Bratislava), which became the capital after the Ottoman occupation of Buda, some mining centers of Upper Hungary, Kolozsvár (Klausenburg, Cluj), and a few "Saxon" towns in Transylvania, Hungarian cities were large villages with hardly any stone or brick buildings in them. The repopulation of the country after the Ottoman withdrawal also changed Hungary's ethnic composition in favor of the non-Magyars who probably constituted well over half of its people on the eve of the national awakening of East-Central Europe.[29]

The demographic changes, along with the reforms of the army and administration led to a gradual shift of the economy from the periphery toward the center; the creation of semimodern government agencies generated centralizing and modernizing trends that resulted in an awakening of all segments of society and a re-evaluation of their respective social and political

[29] For a concise characterization of cities in eighteenth-century Hungary, see Albert Gárdonyi, "A vármegye és a város társadalma" (County and City Society), in *Magyar művelődéstörténet*, 4: 333–42. For population figures, see the references in Barany, *Stephen Széchenyi*, 147, nn. 47–48. A recent analysis of the political, economic, social, and cultural conditions and the international situation of the entire multinational Habsburg monarchy in the eighteenth century can be found in the first section of C. A. Macartney, *The Habsburg Empire, 1790–1918* (New York, 1969), 1–112.

functions. An agrarian boom stimulated by the dynasty's recurrent foreign wars and the permanent stationing of troops in a country where an increase in population was not accompanied by industrialization contributed to the worsening of the serf's condition and to Vienna's colonial policy toward Hungary. The agrarian question and a tariff policy giving preferential treatment to the German-Slavic hereditary provinces were closely interrelated through the Hungarian nobility's successful resistence to taxation. Benevolent protection of the peasant by the absolutist regime for humanitarian reasons as well as for purposes of increasing state revenue was not only an irritating interference with Hungarian public and private law;[30] it also appealed to those in favor of enlightened reform, from Csokonai's contemporary, the economist Gregory Berzeviczy, to Stephen Széchenyi and Nicholas Wesselényi, leaders of the liberal movement in the 1830s.

In the absence of large urban centers and a significant middle class, which it would have liked but could not further as a counterbalance to the nobility, enlightened absolutism in Hungary focused on the peasant.[31] This propeasant policy rather than important constitutional grievances and national resentment catalyzed the feudal revolt that gathered momentum toward the end of Joseph II's reign. The feudal revolt was also supported by an increasing number of Protestant noblemen, originally favorably disposed to the emperor who abolished religious discrimination and admitted them to the civil service. In fact, opposition to the Habsburgs seems to have centered in the northern and eastern counties of Hungary and Transylvania, where the overwhelmingly Protestant masses of the gentry and lesser nobility felt threatened economically. The loss of Silesia by the Habsburgs, a stricter customs policy, the burdens of the military campaigns, and the first partitioning of Poland tended to have a disruptive effect on Hungarian foreign trade, and this had a particularly adverse impact in an area where the exportation of wines to Prussia and Poland was an important source of income. Fear of losing their tax exemption was particularly acute among the impoverished parts of the privileged classes whereas the upper strata, often educated in Western countries and familiar with enlightened ideas of government, also resented the growing arbitrariness of the Josephinian state.[32]

[30] Béla K. Király, *Hungary in the Late Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1949), 5–10, 54–56, 77–81, 90–110, 129–47; Győző Ember, "Zur Klassenpolitik des Habsburger-Absolutismus in Ungarn in den sechziger Jahren des 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Nouvelles études historiques* (Budapest, 1965), 1: 391–400.

[31] Ember, "Zur Klassenpolitik," 404–12. In the eighteenth century burghers were reluctant to get involved in public affairs. See Elemér Mályusz, "A magyarországi polgárság a francia forradalom korában" (The Hungarian Bourgeoisie in the Age of the French Revolution), *Jahrbuch des Wiener ungarischen historischen Instituts*, 1 (1931): 225–82, *passim*. See also Kálmán Benda, ed., *A magyar jakobinus mozgalom iratai* (Documents of the Hungarian Jacobin Movement) (Budapest, 1952–57), 1: XVI–XXI.

[32] Éva H. Balázs, *Berzeviczy Gergely, a reformpolitikus, 1763–1795* (Gregory Berzeviczy, the Reform Politician) (Budapest, 1967), 8–10; Gábor Tolnai's review of Balázs' book, in *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 71 (1967): 492–97; Király, *Hungary in the Late Eighteenth Century*, 174–77.

To be sure, many aspects of the Austrian version of enlightened absolutism—dubbed Josephinism because of its perhaps somewhat overemphasized association with the reign of the "revolutionary emperor"—were far from unpopular in Hungary initially. Progressive members of the nobility, the intelligentsia, and the embryonic middle classes favored the secularization and modernization of the country's administration and educational system, religious tolerance, the lessening of the peasant's burden (if not complete emancipation), and greater opportunities for non-nobles in the state service. Some young aristocrats, too, were under the influence of Josephinian legal theories, which stated, *inter alia*, that the state had the right not only to change outdated feudal institutions but also to control the Church. Francis Széchenyi, the founder of the Hungarian National Museum and a patron of art and literature in both Austria and Hungary, to mention one example, was a student of Karl Anton Martini and Joseph Sonnenfels in the college for the aristocratic elite, the Vienna Theresianum. Martini and Sonnenfels, scholars who made significant contributions to the formulation of Josephinian state philosophy, were the authors of legal textbooks that were also used in Hungary; they, along with the works of Rousseau, prepared the soil for the popularization of the theory of the social contract in a country where legalistic thinking was almost a way of life of the privileged classes.[33]

By the end of his reign, however, Joseph II lost much of his support in Hungary. Most members of the nobility resented his efforts to replace the Hungarian municipal constitution with a centralized, German-speaking bureaucracy; many of the socioeconomic changes brought about by state action, despite good intentions, tended to have a disruptive effect even on strata that would have benefited from them in the long run. At the time of Joseph II's death in 1790, when Hungary was virtually in a state of rebellion, some leaders of the nobility thought of inviting a member of the Prussian or English ruling house to the throne. The nobility's bid for power was supported by the masses of lesser noblemen, but the leadership came from the well-to-do gentry, who justified their constitutional demands by a characteristic use of the phraseology of Rousseau and the Enlightenment.

Faced with a dangerous situation caused by the French Revolution, a war with Turkey, an uprising in the Austrian Netherlands, Prussian pressure, and a feudal revolt in Hungary, the new Habsburg monarch, Leopold II, reached an agreement with Prussia in mid-1790, thereby outmaneuvering his domestic opposition. True, national feeling still ran high in the Diets of the early 1790s. Segments of the nobility kept pressing for reforms, an indication that although Hungarians were resentful of the authoritarian trends of Josephinism, many of their endeavors nevertheless were its spiritual children

[33] For Sonnenfels, see Robert A. Kann, *A Study in Austrian Intellectual History* (New York, 1960), 146–258. For the importance of Martini's *De lege naturali* in fighting against "fanaticism and superstition" in Hungary, see Sándor Eckhardt, *A francia forradalom eszméi Magyarországon* (The Ideas of the French Revolution in Hungary) (Budapest, n.d.), 81. For Francis Széchenyi, see Barany, *Stephen Széchenyi*, 13, *passim*.

reflecting the impact of enlightened ideas. Aside from this, the feudal classes were forced into a compromise that stabilized political conditions in Hungary for the lifetime of the next generation. The essence of the compromise was a retreat of enlightened absolutism to the status quo of pre-Josephine days and the reaffirmation of the domination of Hungary's internal affairs by the nobility.[84]

Among the factors motivating the acceptance of the compromise with the dynasty, fear of a peasant revolution loomed very large. With memories of the violent peasant outbursts of the eighties in Hungary and Transylvania still fresh, the enthusiasm of the Hungarian estates for French revolutionary ideas diminished after events in France took a sharp turn to the left. Hungarian nobles were mindful of the radical pamphlets circulating among their serfs; some pamphlets were written with the approval of Leopold II, who intended to use the controlled unrest of the lower classes as a counterbalance to the unruly nobility and also to continue subtly his older brother's work of enlightened reform. But the discovery of the so-called Martinovics conspiracy and its cruel suppression in 1794–95 ended all plans for reform and silenced all potential political opposition in Hungary.

The Hungarian Jacobin movement was directed by Ignatius Martinovics, a highly educated but utterly ambitious and unstable man. A member of the Franciscan Order, which he abandoned under Joseph II to become professor of physics at the University of Lemberg (Lvov), he was widely traveled and familiar with the English and French philosophical and political literature of his time. He enthusiastically supported the reforms of Joseph II, while hoping to implement his own anticlerical and democratic political ideas under Leopold II, whom he regularly informed about the activities of the secret societies of the illuminati, Jesuits, and patriots in Hungary. Spurred on by a combination of wounded vanity and resentment against court reaction under Leopold's son and successor, Francis, and perhaps also by a sincere desire for social progress, the former police agent decided to organize two societies. One of them, the Association of Reformers, was destined for the nobility, the other, the Association of Liberty and Equality, for the radical intelligentsia. The noble reformers were kept ignorant of the existence of the more radical society, which was to use members of the first group as its tools only to eliminate them after the success of the first phase of the planned insurrection. Thus Martinovics attempted to exploit the radicals' longing for social reform as well as the Hungarian national party's constitutional opposition to the court.

The conspirators, however, were unknown to the masses and had no public support. After a few weeks of watching, their organization was suppressed by the police in mid-1794; in the next spring a series of trials resulted in severe punishment that included seven death sentences. Among those arrested many were noblemen from "good families"; republican ideas were

[84] For the feudal revolt, see Király, *Hungary in the Late Eighteenth Century*, 177–239.



Fig. 2. Transylvanian peasants from the region of Sibiu (Hermannstadt, Nagyszeben) in winter and summer dress. Early eighteenth century. Photograph: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Bildarchiv (Vienna, Austria).



Fig. 3. Bleeding head of Ignatius Martinovics. Contemporary drawing by Joseph Oberfrank. Photograph: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Kézirattára (Budapest, Hungary).

popular among the instructors and students of the university at Pest and other institutions of learning. Especially important from the point of view of the further development of the Enlightenment in Hungary was the long imprisonment of many of the leading literati, including Kazinczy and the revolutionary poet John Bacsányi. In an atmosphere of suspicion and intimidation the slightest connection with the Martinovics circle, such as the reading of a declaration or the translation of a revolutionary poem or pamphlet, would be sufficient cause for detention.[35]

[35] The major modern source collection for the Martinovics movement is the three-volume work edited by Benda, *A magyar jakobinus mozgalom iratai*. For the international and domestic ramifications of the conspiracy, see Denis Silagi, *Jakobiner in der Habsburger-Monarchie*

The strange metamorphosis of Martinovics, although far from unique in the history of revolutionary movements, was not typical in Hungary. Nevertheless, the penetration of enlightened ideas tended to lead to a greater interest in new political concepts and experiments: the newly born Hungarian press adopted a vigorous tone, and hundreds of socially concerned pamphlets were published in the early 1790s.[36] The case of Joseph Hajnóczy, who was executed with Martinovics, appears to be more characteristic. Hajnóczy, former secretary and protégé of Francis Széchenyi, was certainly no adventurer. Of middle-class background like Martinovics, Hajnóczy, an outstanding legal scholar, took as his point of departure the theory of social contract in order to set forth, under the impact of British, French, and American political philosophy, the most systematic challenge presented to the Hungarian feudal constitution prior to 1848.[37] He started out as a Josephinian but was also responsive to the budding Magyar nationalism of the age; his constitutional projects were derived from the concepts of natural law, popular sovereignty, and, ultimately, republican egalitarianism.[38]

The catalytic agent that seems to have contributed most effectively to the incipient reshaping of Hungarian political and social attitudes was Freemasonry. Aristocrats and gentry rubbed shoulders with burghers and intellectuals of low birth in the Masonic lodges, whose bylaws often prescribed loyalty to the ideals of the American and French revolutions.[39] Ever since Maria Theresa's husband, Francis I, had been a Mason it was fashionable to belong to a Masonic order: Freemasonry served as an outlet for the Voltairian anticlericalism of many illuminati and also as a vehicle for ideas about the universal brotherhood of man, religious tolerance, and social progress. Commenting on his newly founded literary journal *Orpheus* to a writer-friend in 1790, Kazinczy, whose Masonic name was Orpheus, indicated that in his struggle against darkness and superstition he would use as a shield the ideas of Voltaire, Rousseau, Helvetius, and Freemasonry.[40] Thus, propagating the Enlightenment, Hungarian literature, and Masonry were intertwined. Furthermore, although the attitude of Joseph II toward Freemasonry was equivocal, to say the least, Masonic organizations continued to flourish; in fact, they were most instrumental in the diffusion of noble dis-

(Vienna, Munich, 1962), especially 128–201; for Transylvania, see Elemér Jancsó, *A felvilágosodástól a romantikáig* (Bucharest, 1966), 66–95; for further references, see Barany, *Stephen Széchenyi*, 19–21.

[36] For data, see Király, *Hungary in the Late Eighteenth Century*, 153–70.

[37] György Bónis, *Hajnóczy József* (Joseph Hajnóczy) (Budapest, 1954), 176, *passim*.

[38] See, for example, his suggestions concerning a Hungarian national army, *ibid.*, 262–66. For Hajnóczy, see also Benda, *A magyar jakobinusok*, I: XXXVI–XL, XLV–XLVI, LV–LVI.

[39] A member of the Viennese lodge American-French-German Union was obliged, *inter alia*, "to defend with all my strength, in writing, orally and also with sword in hand the present condition of France and America against all despots" according to a report written by Martinovics in January 1792. Benda, *A magyar jakobinusok*, I: XXI, LIV, *passim*; Eckhardt, *A francia forradalom eszméi*, 112–16.

[40] *Ibid.*, 210–12.

sent and the spirit of opposition in Hungary.[41] In 1791 Leopold II repeatedly warned his son, the Archduke Palatine Alexander Leopold, about Hajnóczy, Francis Széchenyi, four members of the related Festetich family, and other "dangerous persons," all of whom belonged to the "red American lodge" connected with the court of Prussia.[42] Yet Leopold II's attitude toward Freemasonry was, generally speaking, benevolent; he himself gave instructions for the creation of a secret association patterned after the Masonic organization to promote his reform plans. Actually Masonic lodges continued to operate legally until the liquidation of the Martinovics conspiracy, and the membership of the lodges included the noble and non-noble intellectual elite in Hungary.

One of the main features of the Josephinian state was the strong assertion of its prerogatives vis-à-vis the established Roman Catholic Church. The process began well before Joseph II but became more pronounced during his reign. The competition for man's mind between the secular state and spiritual authorities was of particular significance in the spheres of education and censorship. Maria Theresa transferred the control of book trade and publication to state agencies, leaving only the censorship of ecclesiastic works in the hands of the Church; under Joseph II the relaxation of censorship, especially in regard to newspapers and periodicals, opened up new channels for the penetration of enlightened ideas into Hungary and other parts of the Habsburg realm.[43] To be sure, censorship was again tightened toward the end of Joseph II's reign as a consequence of the Transylvanian peasant uprising, the unrest in the Low Countries, and the Turkish war. Still, relative freedom of the press, compared to what went before and came after the Josephinian decade, was one of the major factors, even during the first phase of the French Revolution, that helped the emergence of more radical trends on the Hungarian scene.[44]

[41] For a survey of Freemasonry in the Habsburg monarchy, the order of the illuminati, and Joseph II's patent regulating Masonry, see Silagi, *Jakobiner in der Habsburger-Monarchie,* 31–49. For Freemasonry as a catalyst in the intellectual-political ferment of late eighteenth-century Hungary, see Mályusz, "A magyarországi polgárság," 231–32, *passim;* Balázs, *Berzeviczy,* 18–20, *passim;* Windisch, "Kovachich," 99–102; Benda, *A magyar jakobinusok,* 1: XIII, XXII–XXIII. For Transylvanian Free Masons, see Jancsó, *A felvilágosodástól a romantikáig,* 19, 118–19; for Kazinczy and the *Orpheus,* see János Váczy, *Kazinczy Ferencz és kora* (Francis Kazinczy and His Times), 1 (Budapest, 1915): 111–23, *passim.*

[42] Elemér Mályusz, ed., *Sándor Lipót főherceg iratai, 1790–1795* (The Papers of Archduke-Palatine Alexander Leopold) (Budapest, 1926), 443, 455. For further references, see Barany, *Stephen Széchenyi,* 22.

[43] Regina Donáth, "A könyvcenzura az állam kezében—Mária Terézia és Barkóczy primás" (Censorship of Books in the Hands of the State—Maria Theresa and Primate Barkóczy), *Magyar Könyvszemle,* 83 (1967): 43–49; Béla Dezsényi, *A magyar hirlapirodalom első százada* (The First Century of Hungarian Journalism) (Budapest, 1941), and *idem, Az időszaki sajtó története a Dunatáj országaiban* (The History of the Periodical Press in the Countries of the Danubian Region) (Budapest, 1947), 13.

[44] György Kókay, "A pozsonyi ujságcenzura II. József korában" (Press Censorship in Pressburg in the Age of Joseph II), *Magyar Könyvszemle,* 84 (1968): 13–30; Eckhardt, *A francia forradalom eszméi,* 100–32. For details, see Oszkár Sashegyi, *Zensur und Geistesfreiheit unter Joseph II* (Budapest, 1958).



Fig. 4. Inauguration of the University of Buda in the royal castle on June 25, 1780. Contemporary wash drawing by J. M. Schmutzer. Photograph: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete (Budapest, Hungary).

As with censorship, basic change in the educational system was initiated under Maria Theresa. Whereas in Austria the reform was implemented under the supervision of Gottfried Van Swieten, president of the Studien-Hofkommission, which could be regarded as the first state department for education in Europe, its main guide lines for Hungary were drawn up by the director of the Hofbibliothek, Francis Adam Kollár, an intimate adviser of both Maria Theresa and Joseph II. Characteristically, Kollár, a prominent Slovak-Hungarian Jesuit scholar, had to remain behind the scenes, because in a book dealing with the origins of legislative power in Hungary he advocated royal absolutism and opposed the tax exemption of the nobility, with the result that his work was publicly burned by the executioner upon the order of the Diet.[45]

[45] Lajos J. Csóka, "A Ratio Educationis korszaka" (The Age of the Ratio Educationis), *Magyar Művelődéstörténet*, 4: 467–69; Ludwig v. Gogolák, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des slowakischen Volkes* (Munich, 1963–69), 1: 152. For Austria, see Hanns Leo Mikoletzky, *Österreich — Das grosse 18. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, Munich, 1967), 251–61; Charles H. O'Brien, *Ideas of Religious Toleration at the Time of Joseph II* (Philadelphia, 1969), 31–38.

The *Ratio educationis*, as the reform became known, was the first attempt to establish, under the auspices of the state, a nationwide comprehensive secular educational system responsive to the needs of all nationalities, religious denominations, and social strata of Hungary. Coming four years after the suppression of the Jesuits (1773) but before the dissolution of other monastic orders, the *Ratio*, in the spirit of enlightened utilitarianism, put the emphasis on secondary and higher education, whereas Joseph II was to stress elementary schools. Lack of textbooks and an inadequate number of trained teachers must have severely limited these educational reforms from the very beginning. Even so, they constitute a remarkable achievement of enlightened absolutism in Hungary, where nothing comparable has been attempted on a similar scale and with similar good will and impartiality. In 1788–89, when war and a bad harvest did not augur well for the Muses, 464 new elementary schools were opened in Hungary: 46 were "mixed" (interdenominational), 98 Catholic, 47 Uniate, 15 Lutheran, 7 Calvinist, 248 Greek Orthodox, and 3 Jewish. In 1789, at the end of his third year in office as royal superintendent of elementary schools in northeastern Hungary, Kazinczy, one of the two Protestants first appointed to the newly created position, reported the establishment of 124 new schools in his district: among them, 61 were Catholic, 5 "Russian" (that is, Orthodox), 25 Lutheran, 5 Calvinist, and 7 Jewish, 19 "common" and 2 "half common" (shared by several religious denominations). Sometimes defying the will of the parish or higher ecclesiastic authorities, the various denominations began, in a true ecumenical spirit, to use each other's churches for educational purposes. Indeed these timid first steps toward a pluralistic society and not the Jacobin conspiracy or even the revival of Magyar national literature might have turned out to be the most impressive results of the Enlightenment in Hungary had they not been obliterated by the years of political reaction after 1794 and during the Napoleonic wars. Small wonder that in the debate over the first bill for elementary education introduced in the revolutionary parliament of 1848, when the issue of religion seemed to cast a shadow over liberal intentions, some older representatives recalled with nostalgia the spirit of the "Josephinian" school reform.[46]

The *Ratio educationis* promoted the educational ideal of a sober and practical citizen useful for the state. It tried to further both vocational (especially agricultural) and religious-humanistic education that tended to stress, in a somewhat unrealistic way, encyclopedic knowledge. Although it made the study of Hungarian history compulsory, it treated Magyars as only one of the many equal nations of the kingdom, suggested the teaching of all subjects in all the vernaculars at the elementary level, and promoted the use of German only for utilitarian-pragmatic reasons. To be sure, Protestants, suspicious of the *Ratio*'s directives on the basis of past experience, first tried to main-

[46] Moritz v. Kármán, *Ungarisches Bildungswesen* (Budapest, 1915), 55–83; Julius Kornis, *Ungarische Kulturideale* (Leipzig, 1930), 3–17; Váczy, *Kazinczy*, 1: 152–95, 362–72.

tain their independent school systems by insisting on the principle of academic freedom, a right granted to them along with freedom of religion in the Edict of Tolerance in 1781. But as the years went by they gradually adjusted their curricula to the *Ratio*,[47] the guidelines of which could be studied with some benefit even by twentieth-century educators—and not only in Central Europe.

Maria Theresa's *Ratio educationis*, then, served as an important "transmission belt" of enlightened ideas in Hungary. It stimulated the modernization and unification of Hungary's antiquated and fragmented school system in order to increase the number of productive and useful citizens in the eastern half of the Habsburg state. One of its byproducts was, as intimated above, a greater accommodation of Protestant schools to the official educational guidelines. Indeed some of the Protestant churches and educational institutions—Debrecen is a good example—developed a certain clerical orthodoxy by the end of the century that was in part the result of a split between secular and ecclesiastical Protestant leaders and that signalized not only adjustment to the requirements of the Josephinian state but an endeavor to perpetuate conformity to an established hierarchy.[48] Csokonai, no model of a well-behaved student, was not the only one who rebelled against the stifling atmosphere of rigid Calvinist discipline. Other talented contemporaries such as the poet Daniel Berzsenyi and the playwright Charles Kisfaludy were also expelled from their Lutheran and Catholic high schools respectively.

Hungary's religious affairs must not be overlooked in any analysis of the interlocking concepts of Josephinism, education, and Enlightenment. It has been claimed that "Josephinism was named after Joseph II but it actually began with Joseph I and the spread of Jansenism in Austria. It was Jansenism that prepared the road for Josephinian ecclesiastic law."[49] As to Hungary, the theory that the "apostolic king" had a right to supervise the activities of the Church independently from Rome had been formulated by the all-powerful minister of Leopold I, Cardinal Kollonics, and by the mid-eighteenth century, state control of theological seminaries helped not only the modernization of the training of the Catholic clergy but also the spread of Gallican, Jansenist, and Febronian ideas.[50] Moreover, the beginning of the eighteenth century was marked by the anti-Habsburg fight led by a champion of complete equality between Catholics and Protestants, the devoutly Catholic Francis II Rákóczi, whose thought reflected the influence of Port-Royal.[51] But

[47] Johann Lipták, *Geschichte des evangelischen Lyzeums A.B. in Kesmark* (Kežmarok, 1933), 92.

[48] Emeric Révész, "Esquisse de l'histoire de la politique religieuse hongroise entre 1705 et 1860," *Etudes historiques* (Budapest, 1960), 1: 712–15.

[49] Heinrich Benedikt, "Der Josephinismus vor Joseph II," 183, *passim*, in *Österreich und Europa, Festgabe für Hugo Hantsch zum 70. Geburtstag* (Vienna, 1956). See also Adam Wandruszka, "Maria Theresia und der österreichische Staatsgedanke," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 76 (1968): 182–83.

[50] Egyed Hermann, "A vallásos ember a barokk korban" (The Religious Man in the Age of the Baroque), in *Magyar művelődéstörténet*, 4: 422–23. For the Catholic Enlightenment and Jansenism in the Habsburg lands, see O'Brien, *Ideas of Religious Toleration*, 38–58.

[51] Révész, "Esquisse de l'histoire de la politique religieuse hongroise," 699–711.

his memoirs and "confession," written in exile, had no impact on the Hungarian public at the time. Still, all major centers of Catholic learning in eighteenth-century Hungary had collections of polemical works on Jansenism, and in many centers the Jansenist books prevailed. Hungarian Jansenists reveal in their writings the influence of Voltaire and Rousseau; one writer in 1771 translated Marmontel's enlightened and sentimental *Bélizaire* into Latin.[52] Traveling in northeastern Hungary and Transylvania in the late 1760s, a Belgian Jesuit was horrified by the penetration of "pernicious" French ideas and books in private, often ecclesiastical, libraries.[53]

Actually the Enlightenment in Hungary received its first religious and sentimental impulses from Protestant rather than Catholic quarters. Both sentimentalism and Enlightenment drew heavily upon Pietist thought in many parts of Northern and Eastern Europe.[54] In Hungary it penetrated the largely German-inhabited cities of the western and northern parts of the country through Lutheran schools and teachers: Matthias Bél, author of a monumental historico-geographical description of Hungary and perhaps the most nearly universal of eighteenth-century Hungarian-Slovak scholars, was a product of the universities of Halle and Leipzig and a devoted disciple of August Hermann Francke.[55] Characteristically, Bél described himself as being "Slavic by tongue, Hungarian by nationality, and German by erudition." There is, then, some justification for stressing the significance of these multiethnic areas during the early Enlightenment (*Frühaufklärung*) of the mid-seventeenth to mid-eighteenth century[56] in Hungary, just as there is enough evidence to suggest the importance of the German element in pioneering enlightened ideas—and some unenlightened ones—all over East-Central Europe.[57]

Of similar importance is the role played by the Principality of Transylvania. With its traditions of religious freedom, enjoyed by Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, and Unitarians (but not by Orthodox Romanians) since the sixteenth century, this Ottoman-protected counterbalance to Habsburg power maintained close connections with the Protestant West while also being part of the French alliance system in Eastern Europe until the end of the seventeenth century. West European Protestant, and French cultural influences were strong in Transylvania: the first to dream of a nationwide educational system and to promote the ideas of Descartes in Hungary, the Transylvanian John Apáczai Csere was educated in Utrecht, where he published a Magyar encyclopedia in 1653. At the same time the Czech pioneer

[52] Tibor Kardos, "Rapports européens de la littérature hongroise du sentimentalism," in *Littérature Hongroise – Littérature Européenne*, 238–40.

[53] G. F. Cushing, "Books and Readers in 18th-Century Hungary," *Slavonic Review*, 47 (1969): 64.

[54] Carl Hinrichs, "Der Hallische Pietismus als politisch-soziale Reformbewegung des 18. Jahrhunderts," in his *Preussen als historisches Problem* (Berlin, 1964), 172–84.

[55] Gogolák, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des slowakischen Volkes*, 1: 152–70.

[56] Eduard Winter, *Frühaufklärung* (Berlin, 1966), especially 193–213.

[57] Valjavec, *Deutsche Kulturbeziehungen*, 3: *passim*.

of modern education, John Amos Comenius taught for four years at the Calvinist college of Sárospatak.[58]

Whereas most of the Protestant theologians and college teachers in northern and western Hungary were German-trained in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, many of their counterparts in Debrecen, Sárospatak, and Transylvania got their education in Switzerland, Holland, and England. By the second half of the eighteenth century translations published in Transylvania of the works of Molière, Corneille, Voltaire, Marmontel, and other French writers numbered over one hundred, and more were circulated in manuscript form. Apparently French influence was not confined to the upper classes. In the introduction to his *Magyar Athenas* (1766), which listed some five hundred Hungarian writers, the Transylvanian Calvinist theologian Peter Bod sarcastically noted that henceforth even Romanian infants will start crying in French in their cradles.[59]

Besides politically motivated French sympathies, the foreign connections of Transylvanian Protestantism, including its strong ties with the English Puritans, must not be ignored in an area where religious toleration was an essential criterion of enlightened thought and behavior. Ironically it was a French professor, Isaac Basire, the exiled court chaplain of Charles I and a supporter of the restoration of the Stuarts, who fought the Puritans tooth and nail in Transylvania and it was the Transylvanian George Mártonfalvi Tóth, a prominent Hungarian Puritan teacher in Debrecen, who in 1670 condemned the institution of serfdom on religious grounds. He held that man's right to rule extended only to other creatures, not to his fellow human beings, and that "all men are equal by nature."[60]

Beyond the religious sphere, English writings on philosophy, the natural sciences, and constitutional law became increasingly popular among those interested in reform: John Locke was translated in the mid-eighteenth century and, somewhat later, several manuscripts discussed the writings of Thomas Paine. The Hungarian theater, established in Kolozsvár (Cluj) in 1792, started a veritable cult of Shakespeare, while students from the "Saxon" districts of Transylvania proved to be natural mediators of the literary and philosophical products of the German lands. The last decade of the century also witnessed the emergence of an Association for the Cultivation of the Magyar Idiom (Erdélyi Magyar Nyelvmivelő Társaság) in Marosvásárhely (Tîrgu Mureş). The Society's activities gradually included, besides literature and linguistics, history and the natural sciences; the main promoters of the Society, George Aranka and Samuel Gyarmathi, maintained

[58] Winter, *Frühaufklärung*, 216.

[59] Gábor Tolnai, *Régi magyar főurak* (Hungarian Aristocrats of Old) (Budapest [1939]), 100–06; Jancsó, *A felvilágosodástól a romantikáig*, 8, 24–28. For the impact of the Enlightenment on the Romanians, see Keith Hitchins, *The Rumanian National Movement in Transylvania, 1780–1849* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), 58–111.

[60] László Makkai, *A magyar puritánusok harca a feudalizmus ellen*. (The Struggle of Hungarian Puritans against Feudalism) (Budapest, 1952), 160, 167–71, 179–85.

close contact with Czech, Romanian, and even Russian scholars. Indeed one must assign a special place to the cultural traditions and European inspiration of Transylvania in the history of the Enlightenment in East-Central Europe. Small wonder that contemporary intellectuals had a soft spot in their hearts for this multicultural country. Csokonai was no exception. In one of his philosophical poems he described Marosvásárhely, seat of the scholarly Association and the Teleki Library, as a strong bastion of the Enlightenment in the struggle against obscurantism, a struggle whose outcome might, in his words, determine whether the nation can enter "the garden of humanity."[61]

It is no simple coincidence that almost all the writers of the Hungarian Noble Bodyguard were Transylvanians who had a French-oriented cultural background even before they went to Vienna.[62] Whereas young magnates were encouraged to study in the Theresianum, Maria Theresa established the Noble Bodyguard for sons of the Hungarian lesser nobility. Each county had the right to delegate two noble youths to the queen's bodyguard; court etiquette, theater, music, indeed the whole atmosphere of the imperial city were supposed to transform the young barbarians into civilized gentlemen. Yet while acquiring good manners and imbibing Western culture, some Hungarians formed their own literary society, the central figure of which was George Bessenyei.

A disciple of Voltaire and other enlightened luminaries, Bessenyei was a writer and philosopher whose early works, published in 1772, have been traditionally hailed as the harbingers of the revival of Hungarian literature and sometimes even as the decisive signs of the appearance of the Enlightenment in Hungary.[63] Both interpretations tend to be over-restrictive and ethnocentric, but there is an element of truth in them.[64] Along with his first dramas Bessenyei published a translation of Pope's "An Essay on Man" and it was through this translation that Csokonai got acquainted with the English poet.[65] Csokonai and many younger writers greatly respected Bessenyei because he linked social progress with the cultivation of the Magyar vernacular.[66] Even before the much resented language decrees of Joseph II, according to which Magyar was unsuitable as a cultural vehicle, Bessenyei insisted in his pamphlet *Magyarság* (Magyardom) (1778) that "no nation on the globe has ever acquired wisdom and depth before incorporating the

[61] Jancsó, *A felvilágosodástól a romantikáig*, 9, 12–13, 40–42, 96–187, 211–17.

[62] *Ibid.*, 53–54, *passim*.

[63] Waldapfel, *A magyar irodalom a felvilágosodás korában*, 7–10, 179–81.

[64] See the perceptive essay by József Szauder, "A XVIII. századi magyar irodalom és a felvilágosodás kutatásának feladatai" (The Tasks of Researching Eighteenth-Century Hungarian Literature and the Enlightenment) and the subsequent discussion, *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 73 (1969): 131–75.

[65] See Horváth, *Csokonai*, 31. The influence of the English poet's "civilized religiosity," to use Peter Gay's term, can be seen in his great poem on the immortality of the soul. For Pope's significance in the enlightened philosophy of Bessenyei, see Ferenc Biró, "Érzékenység, természet, gondviselés (Bessenyei György indulása, I)" (Sensibility, Nature, Providence), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 73 (1969): 211–19.

[66] For Csokonai's admiration for Bessenyei, see n. 16 above.

sciences into its own vernacular. Every nation has become knowledgeable by [using] its own and never a foreign language. . . ." A class-conscious nobleman, he nevertheless moved in the direction of enlarging the feudal concept of the noble *natio Hungarica* by suggesting that peasants would never talk to their wives in Greek, Hebrew, or Latin and visualizing, like Csokonai, the inclusion of the peasant in an enlightened cultural policy. In subsequent writings he took a strong stand against religious intolerance; he also advocated Magyarization and a scholarly association for the promotion of Magyar—an idea that eventually led to the foundation of the Hungarian Academy by Stephen Széchenyi in 1825.[67]

Recently dubbed a "chauvinist cosmopolitan," according to whom "Mankind and science have pulled us together in this part of the world to such an extent that when one refers to fatherland and patriotism, one must mean Europe," Bessenyei held, "The world is my fatherland, the human race is my nationality."[68] Still the literary-cultural revival in the last quarter of the eighteenth century resulted, under the impact of the twin stimuli of Enlightenment and Romanticism, in an identification of language and national character. The notion that each people must fulfill its peculiar destiny in its own vernacular coupled with the identification of enlightened progress with patriotism and of promotion of the vernacular with dissemination of knowledge were attitudes shared by all backward societies in East-Central Europe.[69] Motivated by the common drive to catch up with more advanced Western countries, a phenomenon familiar from post-Napoleonic Russian history, young Hungarian noblemen contaminated by sophisticated Vienna "returned home as conscience-stricken as their fathers had been when they came back from the battlefields of the West" at the end of the War of Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War.[70] Sometimes the military can be a civilizing force and, paradoxically, major wars often have cultural shock effects. As exemplified by Gretchen's brother Valentin in Goethe's *Faust,* being a professional soldier was still a way of life in the eighteenth century. However, for peasants impressed forcibly or through trickery, service in the army was tantamount to a life sentence.

Interpenetration of Enlightenment and national awakening was bound to lead to a clash of linguistic nationalisms. Bessenyei and his officer friends furthered enlightened ideas as well as Magyar literature, but they also reacted to the Germanizing trends of Josephinism. Soon Magyar cultural nationalism was used to justify the Magyarization of cultural and social life. The political resentment this caused among non-Magyars, who themselves underwent a similar experience, was not mitigated by the many Hun-

[67] Waldapfel, *A magyar irodalom a felvilágosodás korában,* 144–50.

[68] Citations in Vajthó, *Bessenyei,* 98.

[69] Valjavec, *Deutsche Kulturbeziehungen,* 3: 40–44, 67–68; Endre Arató, *A nemzetiségi kérdés története Magyarországon 1790–1848* (History of the Nationality Question in Hungary, 1790–1848) (Budapest, 1960), 1: 76–111; Hitchins, *The Rumanian National Movement,* 58, *passim.*

[70] Király, *Hungary in the Late Eighteenth Century,* 10–11.

garian politicians of the 1790s who tried to defend the feudal constitution and Magyar supremacy with arguments borrowed from Montesquieu and Rousseau.[71]

Rousseau's egalitarian ideas, of course, were used by the Hungarian Jacobins to undermine the position of a nobility that tried to justify its constitutional privileges with them. Thus radicals and reformers alike were fascinated by Rousseau's view of man as a social being whose existence and *modus operandi* ought to be related to society as a whole. But poetic souls such as Csokonai, who called himself "Rousseau's man" and patterned his way of life, according to Kazinczy, after that of the "hermit of Ermenonville,"[72] were infatuated with the author of the *Nouvelle Héloïse,* whose emotional riches compensated a sensitive person rejected by a world unworthy of noble intentions.

As shown by the two-pronged influence of Rousseau, Enlightenment and sentimentalism were interrelated phenomena "that first began to break through the general apathy" preceding the literary-cultural revival in late eighteenth-century Hungary.[73] The former was not exclusively French, nor was the latter predominantly German, as is sometimes assumed. On the wider European scene, the spirit of both Enlightenment and sentimentalism spread from England and France to Germany.[74] As far as Hungary was concerned, there were twice as many Hungarian translations of French sentimental, often second-rate, novels as there were of German in the years 1770–90; it was only after that period that the number of translated German novels prevailed over translations from both French and English.[75] Moreover, for Hungary one of the important sources of both "French" Enlightenment and "German" sentimentalism was Switzerland. Between 1685 and 1794 there were 63 Hungarian students in Geneva; the number of Swiss stipends for Hungarians was 4 in Berne, 3 in Zurich, and 2 in Basel as late as 1791. These figures do not include students who had independent means or obtained financial help from Hungarian institutions; in Basel alone there were over 200 in the eighteenth century. Some of the best professors in Debrecen were graduates of the University of Basel, which was also a favorite school of Transylvanians. The informal gatherings of Hungarians in Basel around 1760, when three Teleki counts were enrolled, could be compared to the activities of the literary circle formed by Bessenyei a decade later in Vienna.[76]

71 Eckhardt, *A francia forradalom eszméi,* 22–40. For further references, see Barany, *Stephen Széchenyi,* 28–38.

72 Béla Dezsényi, *Magyarország és Svájc* (Hungary and Switzerland) (Budapest, 1946), 101.

73 G. F. Cushing, "The Birth of National Literature in Hungary," *The Slavonic and East European Review,* 38 (1960): 460.

74 Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism* (New York, 1961), 352–53; *idem, The Mind of Germany* (New York, 1965) 23.

75 Antal Wéber, "La prose Hongroise et l'influence de la littérature sentimentale d'Europe Occidentale," in *Littérature Hongroise – littérature Européenne,* 265.

76 Dezsényi, *Magyarország és Svájc,* 58–75; Alszeghy, "A könyv és olvasója," 500, 510. For the

Besides religious contacts dating back to the period of Reformation and the impact of enlightened political literature published in Switzerland the literary revival in Hungary, too, was stimulated by Swiss writers. Kazinczy, for example, began his career as a writer in the 1780s by translating the popular idylls of Solomon Gessner. The impact of Gessner on Hungarian writers, an influence that lasted well into the nineteenth century, can be seen from a remark made by Csokonai who spoke of the "Gessnerian century of Magyar poetry."[77] As Csokonai's lovely short novel *Kisses* and the delicate lacework of his entire poetry suggests, he, too, was under the influence of and contributed to the sentimental trend in literature.[78]

Susceptibility to the socially conscious philosophy of sentimentalism, promoted by both the Puritans and the Pietists, was further enhanced, paradoxically, by two opposing trends within the Roman Church, by Jansenism and by the Jesuit order, which was the champion of counter-reformation in Hungary, too. Without ignoring the difference between the antirational principles underlying Jansenism and the highly rational philosophy of the Jesuits one may say that denial of absolute papal supremacy by both Jansenists and Jesuits, the emphasis of the Jansenists on predestination and divine grace, their anticlericalism and inclination toward Gallicanism, the stoic heroism of Jesuit dramas that pointed to the inevitable injustices inherent in any worldly society, taken together, tended to propagate a sentimental fatalism and had points of contact with the endeavor of the age to assert the secular authority of the state over the institutional Church.[79]

Feeling and emotion in both Jansenist meditation and sentimental soliloquy have common psychological roots, as is revealed in the literary and historical writings of the German-Hungarian Jansenist Aurel Ignatius Fessler, whose works served as source material for a generation of Hungarian Romantic writers.[80] The cult of solitude manifested itself in Rousseau's popularity, as Csokonai's example demonstrates,[81] and the revival of interest in Petrarch, whose poems were rendered in lyric Magyar prose by Joseph Kármán, author of the best Hungarian sentimental novel *Fanni hagyományai* (Fanny's Papers) and editor of a short-lived journal for women, *Uránia*. Like Goethe's Werther and other sentimental heroes, Fanny is a sensitive soul

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significance of the three Teleki brothers, Samuel, Joseph, and Adam, in spreading French civilization in Transylvania, see Jancsó, *A felvilágosodástól a romantikáig*, 7.

[77] Dezsényi, *Magyarország és Svájc*, 76–102.

[78] Antal Wéber, *A magyar regény kezdetei* (The Beginnings of the Hungarian Novel) (Budapest, 1959), 39–40; Kardos, "Rapports européens," 247–48.

[79] *Ibid.*, 219–24, 236–37.

[80] *Ibid.*, 240; István Sőtér, *Magyar-francia kapcsolatok* (Hungarian-French Connections) (Budapest, 1946), 88. See also Peter F. Barton, *Ignatius Aurelius Fessler* (Vienna, Cologne, Graz, 1969). This recent biography of one of the most complex and prolific writers of our period of concern (his years were 1756–1839) is a treasure house of information on the religious aspects of the Enlightenment and Romanticism in Central and Eastern Europe.

[81] For the multiple literary inspiration of Csokonai's predilection for the poetry of loneliness, see the stylistic analysis of Mihály Szegedy-Maszák, "Csokonai: A magánossághoz" (Csokonai: To Solitude), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 73 (1969): 281–90.

in conflict with the surrounding world. But the atmosphere of the novel is Hungarian and realistic: the central figure, a young woman, is crushed as much by her own emotional confusion generated by her love for a worthy man as by her father, a feudal tyrant. Hence Fanny's personal tragedy is a symbol of a larger conflict inherent in the very milieu in which she lives, a milieu depicted in rather harsh colors by Kármán in his essay *A nemzet csinosodása* (The Embellishment of the Nation), many suggestions of which anticipate cultural policies advocated by the next generation in the Age of Reforms. Sentimental and rational motifs are, then, intertwined in Kármán's *oeuvre* as they are in Csokonai's.[82]

The son of a Lutheran pastor, Kármán was a member of the new intelligentsia whose sentimentalism was a reflection of a longing for democracy and freedom of feeling and hence a supplement to and promoter of enlightened reform. The social and national awareness of such sentimental poets as Paul Ányos and Gabriel Dayka, one a Paulist monk who wrote a satirical poem directed against Joseph II, the "behatted king," and the other an ex-priest who ridiculed clerical reaction, not to mention Kazinczy or John Bacsányi, both of whom were involved in the Hungarian Jacobin conspiracy, support the thesis that the sentimental trend in Hungarian literature—just like the effort to renew the Magyar idiom (*nyelvújítás*) to make possible the expression of new ideas—was more than a literary fad; it was an endeavor to change cultural tastes, human attitudes, and social behavior, and as such it was an organic part of the Enlightenment. Even conservative authors like the most popular Hungarian sentimental poet, Alexander Kisfaludy, a one time French prisoner of war in the Provence, were well acquainted with the literature of the Italian and French Enlightenment; while rejecting its philosophy, they nevertheless drew upon its literary achievements in their own writings.

Sentimentalism, recently described by a Marxist literary historian as the obverse side of the Enlightenment, was in a sense the main trend of Hungarian literature between 1780 and 1830.[83] Among its German sources the Göttingen *Hainbund* and the *Musen-Almanach* may be mentioned; Csokonai, for example, learned a good deal from Gottfried August Bürger, whose famous ballads were inspired by folk poetry.[84] Even more influential were the sentimental heroic dramas and operas, many of them by Metastasio, that were shown by the Jesuits. In the Jesuit school of Buda alone, 108 dramas

[82] Hankiss, *Európa és a magyar irodalom*, 221–29; Wéber, "La prose hongroise," 261–63.

[83] József Szauder, "A magyar szentimentalizmus problémái" (Problems of Hungarian Sentimentalism), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 67 (1963): 405–21; Antal Wéber, "A szentimentális stilusirány elméleti és történeti kérdéseiről" (About the Theoretical and Historical Questions of the Sentimental Trend in Style), *ibid.*, 71 (1967): 125–39; Éva W. Windisch, "Klasszicizmus és szentimentalizmus a XIX század elején" (Classicism and Sentimentalism at the beginning of the 19th Century), *ibid.*, 381–408; Hankiss, *Európa és a magyar irodalom*, 148–49, 279–83; Kardos, "Rapports européens," 242–44, 248–50.

[84] Császár, *A német költészet hatása*, 46–52.

were performed between 1740 and 1772;[85] in the same period Metastasio was translated into both Latin and Hungarian. In 1794 and 1797 Csokonai translated three plays of Metastasio, and Kazinczy, too, kept himself busy in prison by translating the Italian author. As early as 1764 the pupils of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame, an institute for girls in Pressburg, performed a play by Metastasio in French.[86]

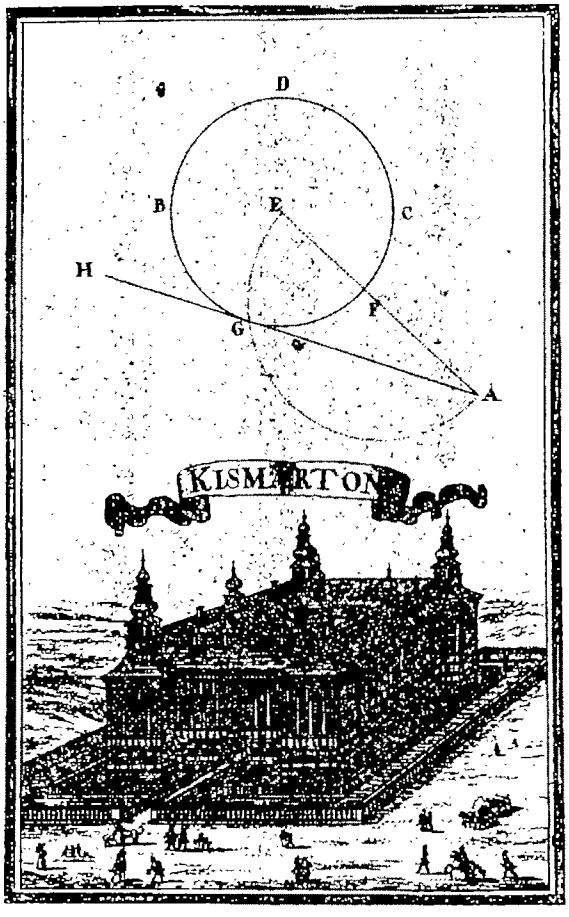


Fig. 5. Designed by Carlo Martino Carlone, the Kismarton (now Eisenstadt, Austria) castle of Prince Paul Esterházy is the first monument of Hungarian baroque architecture. In the 1760s it was the residence of the composer Joseph Haydn. Photograph: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Bildarchiv (Vienna, Austria).

Metastasio's significance reminds us of the importance of the Italian elements in the Central European, including Hungarian, Enlightenment. Ever since the end of the War of Spanish Succession the Habsburg dynasty was most prominent on the Italian peninsula. Among the legal scholars, the Viennese professor Martini was from the Trentino, and Beccaria taught in Milan; both were citizens of the Habsburg Empire.[87] Italian influence at

[85] Cushing, "Books and Readers," 59. For the role of the baroque, more specifically of the Jesuit theater in the educational process, see Tolnai, *Régi magyar főurak*, 138–59.

[86] Kardos, "Rapports européens," 240–41; Alszeghy, "A könyv és olvasója," 499.

[87] Wandruszka, "Maria Theresia und der österreichische Staatsgedanke," 186.

court, in the fine arts, architecture, and literature had been strong in the Baroque, and Italian music and theater played a prominent part in the social life of the cosmopolitan aristocracy of the Habsburg realm. Italian, along with French and German, song, music, and verse had considerable influence in Hungary, on Csokonai as well as on many others.[88] The refined interplay between music and the spoken word, the striving for linguistic euphony, of which Csokonai was a past master, were characteristic for the neologists who wanted to enrich and embellish the Magyar idiom. Analogous efforts to reform the literary languages of the peoples of Eastern Europe by adapting them to modern requirements marked the dividing line between old and new and were significant aspects of the Enlightenment and Romanticism in the whole area.[89]

At the same time, as the Latin translations of Metastasio show, Latin continued to serve as the *lingua franca* of the educated. A Hungarian Jesuit's Latin translation of the moral philosophy written by Johann August Eberhardt, a Protestant follower of Christan Wolff in Halle, was used as a text for decades at the University of Pest and in Catholic academies in Hungary.[90] Similarly, Anton Bernolák and Nicholas Révai wrote their respective Slovak and Hungarian grammars in Latin in order to overcome the linguistic and cultural pluralism that Comenius and other foreign observers described as characteristic for Hungary in the second half of the seventeenth century. But even at that time Magyar ceased to be a vernacular used by the uneducated classes only and began to develop into an idiom capable of expressing involved theological arguments and feelings worthy of a more advanced literary style.[91] By the late eighteenth century the linguistic evolution reached a stage in which Greek and Latin meter could be incorporated into Magyar verse, thus opening the way to possibilities previously unavailable to poets—a phenomenon not unknown in other East European literatures.[92]

Shifts in the political and socioeconomic structure and changing educational, religious, and cultural patterns were paralleled by greater institutional flexibility, new social attitudes, and an amalgamation of ideas peculiar to the Hungarian scene. Even in the institutional Church, which opposed deism

[88] Alszeghy, "A könyv és olvasója," 504–08; Emil Haraszti, "A barokk zene" (Baroque Music) in *Magyar Művelődéstörténet*, 4: 611–12, 625–32. For Metastasio's "enlightened" influence on baroque music, see Fritz Valjavec, *Geschichte der abendländischen Aufklärung* (Vienna, 1961), 249–50.

[89] László Gáldi, "La néologie en Europe Centrale et Orientale," in *Littérature Hongroise – Littérature Européenne*, 275–85. For the interpenetration of foreign melodies and the domestic traditions of religious and folk songs, see Márta Mezei, "Dalköltészetünk a felvilágosodás korában" (Our Lyrical Poetry in the Age of Enlightenment), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 73 (1969): 220–42.

[90] Kornis, *Ungarische Kulturideale*, 4–6, 13 n.4. For Wolff, see Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation* (New York, 1968), 328–30.

[91] Jean Bérenger, "Latin et langues vernaculaires dans la Hongrie du XVII[e] siècle, *Revue Historique*, 242 (1969): 5–28.

[92] Károly Horváth, "La signification des termes 'classicisme' et 'romantisme' dans les littératures hongroise et est-européennes," in *Littérature Hongroise – Littérature Européenne*, 311–13.

and materialistic skepticism, the spirit of Enlightenment and Josephinism seemed to have transformed the outlook of part of the clergy. As writers, scholars, teachers, and even censors, many Jesuits acted like other Hungarian patriots, promoting the cultivation of the Magyar vernacular, spreading new knowledge, and practicing religious tolerance at the time when official court policy attempted to rescind, with the connivance of the Catholic estates, Protestant privileges obtained in previous centuries. Whereas the Jesuits were influential among the upper strata of society, the Piarists, many of them educated in Rome, were more active among the lower classes, teaching in their schools the rationalistic principles of Bacon, Galilei, Descartes, Newton, and Leibniz and stressing in the curricula the natural sciences and practical skills in agriculture and commerce.[93]

Among the Protestant youth forced to go abroad to pursue their higher education, one of the signs of changing times was the rising prominence of the University of Göttingen during the latter half of the eighteenth century. This new center of learning gradually replaced in importance such traditional ones as Halle, Leipzig, or Jena. As a result of Hanover's dynastic ties with England the atmosphere in Göttingen was more liberal. Its student body consisted largely of scions of prominent families from all over Europe and Great Britain; in the curriculum, law and political science loomed larger than theology. One of the famous professors was August Ludwig Schlözer, the pioneer of Russian and East European studies. Some of his numerous Hungarian students such as Matthias Rát, founder of the first Magyar newspaper, the *Magyar Hirmondó* of Pozsony, wished to introduce in their native country Schlözer's method of unbiased investigation on the basis of primary sources.[94] Following in the footsteps of his teacher, Rát paid considerable attention to commerce and agriculture in his paper, first published in 1780. But unlike Schlözer he sympathized with the Americans in their war of independence against the British. His paper was one of the early focuses of Hungarian cultural life that propagated literature and scholarship in Magyar. Yet Rát belonged to that small minority of Hungarians who rejected the linguistic intolerance of Bessenyei and his followers and hoped that "none of the nations living in the two fatherlands [Hungary and Transylvania] will make here its idiom common [universal]. . . ." He also thought that Magyars and other East European peoples should learn from the past and share their experience and knowledge with each other to transform Hungary into a treasurehouse of European scholarship.[95]

[93] Kármán, *Ungarisches Bildungswesen,* 42–49; Bálint Hóman and Gyula Szekfü, *Magyar Történet* (Hungarian History) (2d ed.; Budapest, 1935–36), 5: 14–17; Eckhardt, *A francia forradalom eszméi,* 167–89; István Jelenits, "A latin nyelvü epigramma a tizennyolcadik századbeli piaristák költöi gyakorlatában" (The Latin Epigram in the Poetic Practice of 18th Century Piarists), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények,* 73 (1969): 176–97; *idem,* "Conradi Norbert: Sic est, conscripsi versus . . . ," *ibid.,* 243–45.

[94] Valjavec, *Deutsche Kulturbeziehungen,* 3: 49–54; Dezsö Dümmert, *Göttinga és a magyar szellemi élet* (Göttingen and Hungarian Intellectual Life), (Budapest, 1962). 1–25.

[95] György Kókay, "Göttinga, Rát Mátyás és felvilágosodás kori irodalmunk kezdetei" (Göttingen, Matthias Rát and the Beginnings of Our Literature in the Age of Enlightenment), *A*

Rát's appreciation of the cultural values of all peoples living in Hungary was matched only by the most radical members of the Martinovics-led Jacobins and by Hungarian patriots as yet unaffected by Magyar linguistic nationalism.[96] In the latter category we find Schlözer's other disciple, the economic reformer Gregory Berzeviczy, who continued to write and publish in Latin or German. This widely traveled descendant of an old Hungarian Lutheran family was one of the few members of the gentry who understood the economic, social, and moral implications of serfdom. Like the two Széchenyis, Francis and, later, his son Stephen, Berzeviczy was deeply impressed by England's commerce and industry. He was particularly delighted to see the well-being of "that lower class of inhabitants whom we call peasants. This most numerous class of the people enjoys most happily all civil rights here flourishing to such an extent that it is no different in outward appearance from the privileged upper classes."[97] Convinced that the modification of the feudal system in England and Western Europe benefited society as a whole, Berzeviczy anticipated Stephen Széchenyi by proposing that the abolition of feudalism was the foremost task of reform in Hungary.[98] Cognizant of Hungary's multireligious composition, he claimed that Hungarians of different creeds ought to be human beings and citizens of one fatherland first. Perhaps reflecting on the Magyarizing tendencies of his compatriots in a multiethnic country, he stressed, in a letter written in 1808 to a former teacher in Göttingen, that "actually, we here in Hungary are not a nation. . . ."[99]

Although he himself sympathized with the cause of national resistance to Habsburg absolutism in the 1790s Berzeviczy's enlightened, "prenational" patriotism implied loyalty to the state and its ruler and dedication to the well-being of all peoples in the common fatherland. His sober attitude was shared by others anxious to improve conditions in Hungary, for example, by those Hungarians who in the eighteenth century planned to create an academy and scholarly association for the promotion of the sciences, arts, and letters along the lines of the German, Austrian, and Bohemian models. The novelty of Bessenyei's proposal, and subsequently the linguist Révai's, was that they visualized the Hungarian scholarly association as an agency whose exclusive task would be to cultivate the Magyar idiom, the assumption being that the development of the Magyar tongue would stimulate the evolution of all branches of scholarship. But even at a time when Magyar national

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Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Nyelv és Irodalomtudományok Osztályának Közleményei, 23 (1966): 131–35.

[96] Arató, *A nemzetiségi kérdés*, 1: 63–67; Benda, *A magyar jakobinusok*, 1: LXXII, LXXV–LXXVI; Béla Pukánszky, *Német polgárság magyar földön* (German Burghers on Magyar Soil) (Budapest, n.d.), 10–31.

[97] Cited in Latin by Balázs, *Berzeviczy*, 221.

[98] Ignácz Acsády, *A magyar jobbágyság története* (History of Serfdom in Hungary) (Budapest, 1908), 435.

[99] See Gábor Tolnai's citation in his review of Balázs' book on Berzeviczy, in *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 71 (1967): 496.

sentiment was on the rise as a reaction to Joseph II's policies the historian Martin Kovachich ignored the demands of Magyar linguistic predominance in his proposals for a Hungarian Historical Association and Institute in 1787–92. Inspired by the *Codex diplomaticus* (1758) of the Polish Mathias Dogiel, Kovachich used enlightened arguments, pointing to Czech and Polish initiatives in his own projects and emphasizing that Hungary must refute the charges of foreigners, according to whom she was to remain an uncivilized country forever.[100]

Eventually the less cosmopolitan and more nationalistically oriented plans for the academy prevailed. They focused on the humanities rather than on the natural sciences. The reasons for this are complex. There is some justification for the allegation that it was in the realm of literature that the "rich program of the Enlightenment" was able to survive, because literature was the medium capable of articulating Magyardom's right to its idiom, a right formulated in the Age of Enlightenment.[101] As early as 1790, the year in which he started his *Orpheus*, Kazinczy described literature as a nation-sustaining force. A supporter of the Josephinian school reforms, he was not afraid of using German in teaching to help the progress of civilization; yet he promoted Magyar as the "first and common" idiom, which German, Slovak, Serb, and Romanian children, too, ought to learn.[102] That Enlightenment and Magyar national pride must mutually strengthen each other was Bessenyei's working hypothesis; the same assumption lay at the heart of Kazinczy's literary activity and Csokonai's poetry as well. The identification of language with nationality and the predominance of Magyardom in spreading civilization in Hungary, however, implied that the triumph of Kazinczy's movement aimed at renovating the language, a movement that was apolitical per se, ultimately led to the prevalence of Magyar nationalistic trends over the more comprehensive Hungarian, essentially multilingual, erudition and territorial patriotism of a Berzeviczy or a Kovachich. Enlightened ideas were ingredients of both trends, and few contemporaries could see the difference between the two. Attention has traditionally been focused on the literary-cultural struggle won by Kazinczy for those who tended to identify the cause of national literature with that of the fatherland while narrowing down literature to the Magyar tongue alone. The gradual but purposeful abandonment of the "a-national" non-Magyar, chiefly but not exclusively Latin, legacy for the sake of the new Magyar "national" literature was a mutilation of the totality of the Hungarian cultural tradition.[103] Although replacement of Latin by the vernacular was one way of making Hungarian cultural life more democratic, the byproduct of the process was an ethno-

100 Windisch, "Kovachich," 92–116.

101 Szerb, *Magyar irodalomtörténet*, 192, 226.

102 Váczy, *Kazinczy*, 301, 310–11.

103 This was noted as early as 1924. See János Horváth, "A magyar irodalom fejlődéstörténete (Részletek) (Közli: Korompay János)" (History of the Evolution of Hungarian Literature. Excerpts. Published by János Korompay), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 73 (1969): 357–61, 364–67.

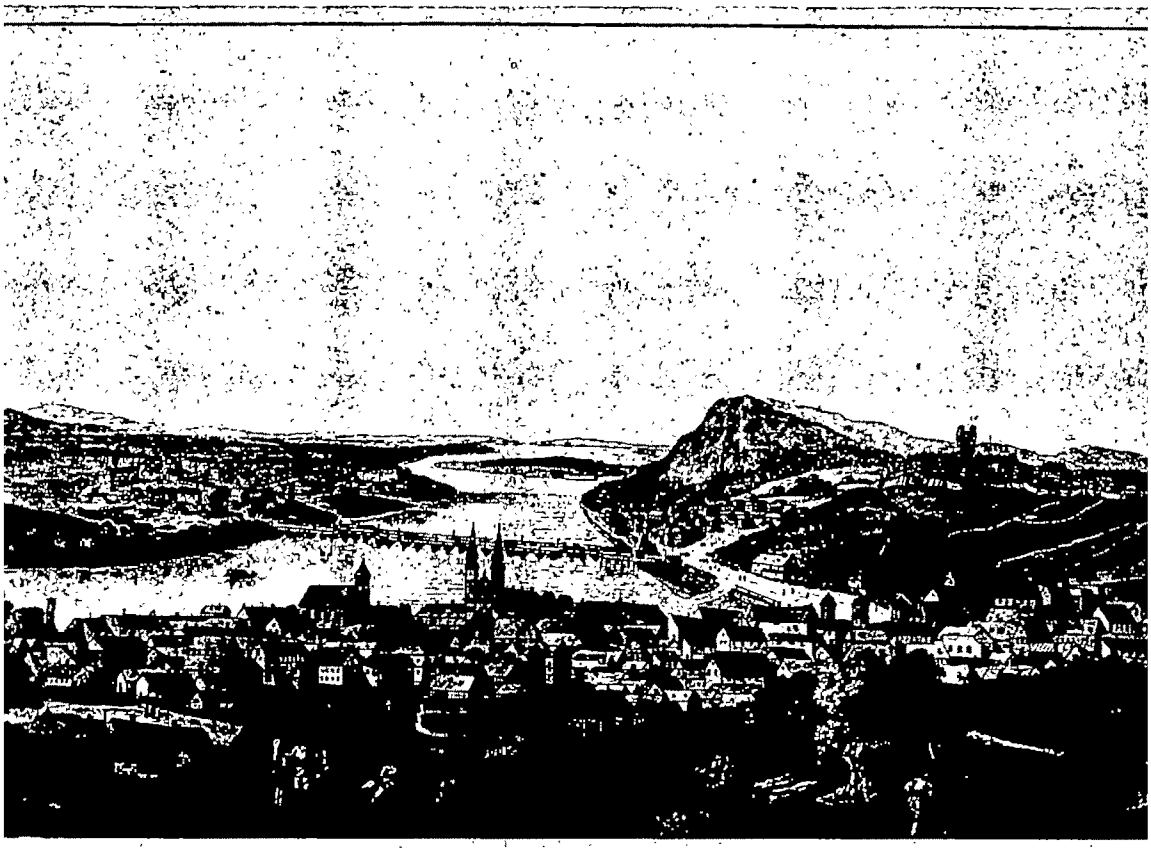


Fig. 6. View of the twin cities of Buda (right) and Pest (left) around 1800. Photograph: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Bildarchiv (Vienna, Austria).

centric provincialism characteristic of Magyardom's outlook until very recently.

The change in emphasis greatly contributed to the transformation of Hungarian, essentially pluralistic, patriotism into modern, or exclusive, Magyar nationalism. Referring to a study he wrote the previous year on "The Elevation of Magyar to the Stage of a Civil Idiom," Kazinczy stressed, in 1809, that the central idea of his work was "*nothing but Nationalism*. That is my idol, and not some petty consideration."[104] It should be noted again, however, that enlightened cosmopolitanism and national pride coexisted in the minds of most Hungarian pioneers of the Enlightenment, including Kazinczy; he refused to treat as sacrosanct the interpretation of nationalism that, as he put it, "abhors anything alien even though it may be beautiful."[105]

This interpenetration of old and new concepts, enlightened and romantic at the same time, was perhaps also a reflection of the appearance of new social forces. In this context one may refer to the development of the twin cities of Buda and Pest as new focuses of political and cultural life in Hun-

[104] *Ibid.*, 365 (emphasis in original).

[105] Sándor Süle, *A keszthelyi Georgikon* (The *Georgicon* of Keszthely) (Budapest, 1967), 216.

gary. The transfer of the former Jesuit University of Nagyszombat (Trnava), first to Buda and then, under Joseph II, to Pest, which was also the seat of the highest courts, and of important central government agencies including the Hungarian Lieutenancy (Consilium regium locumtenentiale Hungaricum) and the Hungarian Chamber—or financial administration—from Pressburg to Buda were steps toward transforming the twin cities into the capital of Hungary. Many members of both the incipient Hungarian bureaucracy, Josephinian by inspiration, and the academic community of the university favored enlightened reform; some of them were involved in the Martinovics movement.

Vienna, of course, continued to be the hub of political and cultural activities, whence modern ideas, in part transmitted from the West, in part generated in the imperial city itself, emanated toward Central Europe. But by the end of the century new centers of civilization began to play a role among the awakening nations of the Habsburg realm and the Balkans. One such center was Buda and Pest with its multiethnic population of Magyars, Serbs, Croats, Romanians, Greeks, Slovaks, Bulgarians, Jews, and, above all, Germans, all of whom were natural consumers and transmitters of the scholarly and literary works put out in many languages by the university print shop in Buda. Indeed the future capital of Hungary contributed significantly to the cultural enrichment of all the nationalities of the kingdom.[106]

Throughout the eighteenth century the number of libraries open to the public and of books printed and sold in Hungary continued to increase. To be sure, the quantitative growth did not always reflect improvement of the available reading material, and the taste of most readers may not have been very refined either. They cared but little for scholarship; what they yearned for was national grandeur. A case in point is the public's adverse reaction to the work of John Sajnovics, which appeared in 1770. In his book the Jesuit linguist-astronomer demonstrated that the language of the Hungarians and the Lapponians was identical (*Demonstratio idioma Ungarorum et Lapponum idem esse*) and his theory about the Finno-Ugric affinity of the Magyar tongue was supported by another pioneer of modern comparative linguistics, Samuel Gyarmathi, before the century was over. Yet the Hungarians felt insulted by Sajnovics's scholarly argument, and Dugonics, author of the popular novel *Etelka* (1788), flattered the aroused public by ridiculing Sajnovics. *Etelka*'s plot was inspired by numerous foreign literary sources but dealt with the conquest of Hungary by the Magyars, and this is what mattered. In the novel the heroes are Magyars and all the villains foreigners, mostly Slavs; the author went to great pains to explain that the Finns appearing in his book were not poor relatives smelling of fish but brave

[106] László Sziklay, "Rôle de Pest-Buda dans la formation des littératures Est-Européennes," in *Littérature Hongroise – Littérature Européenne*, 329–44, 354; Arató, *A nemzetiségi kérdés*, 1: 157–61; Dezsényi, *Az időszaki sajtó*, 23–25.

people worthy of the friendship of Árpád's conquering heroes. This naive (but dangerous) ethnocentricism, not unique to Hungary alone, was also a sign of the crude literary taste of both Dugonics, a Piarist monk of southern Slav background, and his Magyar readers. According to a knowledgeable British analyst, however, eighteenth-century Hungarian literary taste "was probably little different from that of the English public at the time." The same writer correctly stresses that what was essential was the emergence of "a relatively large reading public, from the aristocracy who read both Hungarian and foreign books to the peasant with his almanacs and *ponyva* [chapbooks]." The existence of a large and growing reading public was a medium "for the diffusion of new ideas, and for experiment in language and literature";[107] it was also a guarantee that the clock could not be turned back entirely to pre-Josephinian days.

Another encouraging phenomenon was the incipient erosion, if not the outright crumbling, of rigid barriers separating the different segments of society. The practices of the Josephinian state promoted the process, but it was the spread of secular education and growing respect for the skills and talents generated by it that served as the common denominator for a new *honoratior* class in what still remained a feudal society for generations to come. Recognition of the social functions of education in an enlightened modern age made it both fashionable and patriotic for those aspiring to a useful if not leading role in society to widen their horizon, patronize fine arts and literature, and make distinctions among members of society on the basis of talent and erudition alone. Masonry proclaimed such lofty goals, and this in turn may have influenced the patriotic literati of the society founded by George Bessenyei. These men, all of them members of the Noble Bodyguard, treated each other as equals in their social contacts regardless of their military rank.[108]

The strengthening of the sentimental trend in both patriotism and literature added further momentum to the unfolding of a new kind of Magyar nationalism already mentioned before. The career of Count George Festetich, brother-in-law of Francis Széchenyi, is a good example of how the spirit of Enlightenment combined with nationalism to move Hungarian patriots. As a lieutenant colonel in 1790 he supported the negotiations of the "Party of Liberty" with the Prussians and signed a petition "to the honorable estates of the sublime fatherland," a statement demanding Hungarian officers and Magyar language of command for Hungarian army corps. After the failure of the feudal revolt and his retirement from the army he founded the Georgicon, the first agricultural institute of the Monarchy in one of his estates on Lake Balaton. At the end of his life he organized yearly cultural festivals known as the Helicon of Keszthely; on these occasions the gray-

[107] Cushing, "Books and Readers," 62–65, 69–77. See also Alszeghy, "A könyv és olvasója," 489–510.

[108] Vajthó, *Bessenyei*, 26.

haired aristocrat, hat in hand, chose to honor the eminent writers and artists.[109]

Festetich, along with Francis Széchenyi, was among Csokonai's patrons who helped him publish some of his poems. The Catholic magnate was also the founder of the Calvinist Gymnasium at Csurgó, where Csokonai found a temporary position after his expulsion from Debrecen.[110] Small wonder that the poet wrote in dithyrambs of the "two divine counts of Keszthely and Cenk," namely, George Festetich and Francis Széchenyi and of the latter's wife, the sister of count George, Julia.[111] Effusive poems dedicated to wealthy patrons are usually dismissed by literary critics interested chiefly in the esthetic value of poetry. But the historian and sociologist must go beyond the fashionable baroque and rococo clichés characteristic of the decoration rather than of the essence of human relations. The eulogy written on the occasion of the untimely death of Paul Czindery in 1798 is not one of Csokonai's great poems. It could easily be explained by the poor poet's desire to comfort the well-to-do widow who was also a member of the Festetich family.[112] But the eulogy ceases to be simply a versified obituary if we know that young Paul Czindery had translated Rousseau's *Contrat Social* into Latin in 1792, that besides being related to George Festetich this active supporter of enlightened reform was described as Stephen Széchenyi's "most serious, erudite, and conscientious precursor," and that he sent a handwritten copy of the text of the American Declaration of Independence to his intimate friend Berzeviczy.[113] Under these circumstances the funeral dirge put into the mouth of the widow of an admired benefactor by a poet-friend three years after the public execution of Martinovics and his associates was not merely a private affair but a profession of the sincere personal belief that "the low world had not been worthy of the sojourn of such a glorious soul in its midst."

The close relations among the progressive aristocratic Széchenyi and Festetich families with the Czinderys, who were medium-size landowners, the friendship of the Catholic Transdanubian Paul Czindery with the Lutheran Berzeviczy of the Zips (Spiš, Szepesség) again remind us of the inadequacy of any one-sided interpretation, be it sectional, sociological, economic, or

[109] For the controversies surrounding George Festetich, see Süle, *A keszthelyi Georgikon*, 10–15, *passim*. For an evaluation of the educational purposes and economic implications of the Helicon festivals, see *ibid.*, 206–17.

[110] Kármán, *Ungarisches Bildungswesen*, 106.

[111] "Mélt. gróf Festetics György ő nagyságára" (To His Honor Count George Festetics, Esq.), *CsÖV*, 2: 95–101. See also "Gróf Széchenyi Ferencnének" (To Countess Mrs. Francis Széchenyi), "A nagymélt. gróf Széchenyi Ferenc ő excellenciája nemzeti könyvtárára" (To the National Library of his Excellency the Honorable Count Francis Széchenyi), and "Gróf Széchenyi Ferenc ő excellenciájához" (To His Excellency Count Francis Széchenyi), *ibid.*, 2: 70–77, 110–12.

[112] "Czindery sirja felett" (On the Grave of Czindery), *CsÖV*, 2: 535–39.

[113] Eckhardt, *A francia forradalom eszméi*, 40–41; Henrik Marczali, *Az 1790/1-diki országgyűlés* (The Diet of 1790–91) (Budapest, 1907), 1: 317. Neither Marczali nor Eckhardt was aware of the true identity of the translator of the *Contrat Social* and Berzeviczy's friend. The problem has been recently clarified in Balázs, *Berzeviczy*, 160, 188–92, 203–06, 211, 363–74.

ideological, of either the ferment among the nobility and other classes of society or their susceptibility to enlightened ideas.

To appreciate the impact of the Enlightenment on Hungary one has to keep in mind the country's cultural conditions. Unlike eighteenth-century France, men of letters in Hungary did not constitute a well-organized elite, let alone a subsidized bureaucracy.[114] Aside from a few aristocratic patrons, the Hungarian cultural milieu was almost hopelessly provincial. It is noteworthy that Martin Kovachich, the first historian of the Hungarian Enlightenment, who wrote in 1787, stressed, besides the experience of Hungarian soldiers abroad, the significance of the presence of Bohemian, Silesian, and Saxonian refugee students in Hungary: having fled from the areas affected by the wars to the University of Nagyszombat (Trnava), they appear to have confronted their Hungarian counterparts with a previously unknown intellectual challenge.[115] Indeed, with the exception of those who were in the military service or stationed in Vienna, or perhaps studying at foreign universities, few Hungarians had an opportunty to go abroad; domestic travel, too, was inconvenient if not impossible during certain parts of the year. There were no literary salons and theaters (the first permanent Hungarian theater opened in Transylvania at the end of 1792), and private library facilities and manuscript collections were too far away for many writers and scholars. The fine arts were practically nonexistent; it was only in the western corner of Hungary that serious music could be heard in the chateaux of the Esterházys or a few other magnates. For many years, to be sure, Joseph Haydn was conductor and composer-in-residence in the Esterházy castles of Kismarton (now Eisenstadt, Austria) and Eszterház (now Fertőd, Hungary). The last mentioned palace, built by Prince Nicholas Esterházy, "the Magnificent," was called by the French ambassador the "Hungarian Versailles." A show piece of baroque and rococo architecture decorated by Austrian, French, German, and Italian artists, Eszterház was famous for its opera, ballet, and theater performances, which were often attended by the imperial court and the diplomatic corps. But whereas Eszterház remained a cosmopolitan cultural center of European significance for about two decades, the best poets of the period, like Csokonai, had never attended a symphonic concert or seen an opera. It is against the background of this isolation from the mainstream of European civilization that their achievements must be measured.[116]

Poets and writers seldom make history. But their impressionable souls tend to register trends concealed from less perceptive eyes. They may also express,

[114] See Robert Darnton, "Social Tensions in the Intelligentsia of Prerevolutionary France," paper given at the annual meeting of the AHA, Washington, Dec. 29, 1969, pp. 6–11, in typescript. I wish to thank Professor Darnton for having provided me with a copy of his paper.

[115] Eckhardt, *A francia forradalom eszméi*, 10.

[116] See the interlocution of Károly Vörös in the discussion of the Enlightenment in Hungary, *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 73 (1969): 167–69.

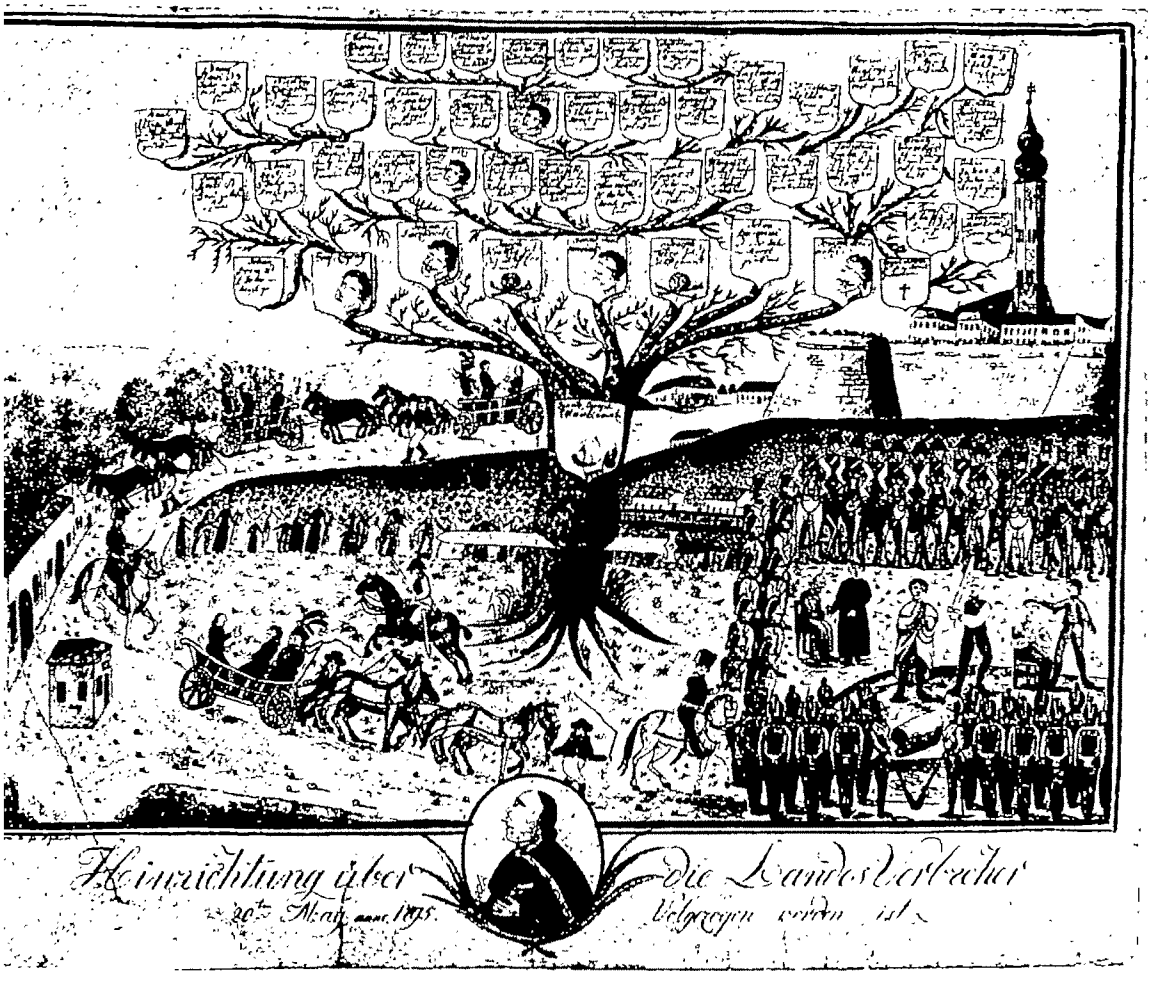


Fig. 7. Execution of Martinovics and his associates; tree of the movement with names and portraits of the participants. Contemporary sepia drawing by Hugo Sigmundt. Photograph: Magyar Nemzeti Muzeum, Történelmi Képcsarnok (Budapest, Hungary).

in image and sound, often subconsciously and only for those willing to listen, dreams and desires that cannot be otherwise articulated in an oppressed and underdeveloped society. After events took a radical turn in France, Vienna had no more use for antifeudal illuminati who, to paraphrase the poet Bacsányi, kept a watchful eye on Paris. The subsequent discovery of the conspiracy of the Hungarian Jacobins marked the end of enlightened absolutism and resulted in a wave of terror that frightened the country into silence. Whatever tender flowers the Enlightenment may have nourished in previous decades seemed to languish under a harsh regime of censorship. Those literati who were not under arrest and many of their patrons lived in an atmosphere of hopelessness and despair, an atmosphere depicted in bleak colors by Csokonai in 1798:

Our modest success is dashed in pieces once more. Hardly one or two worthwhile books come out yearly; the printers are confined to prayerbooks and almanacs once more. Our theatre has died in its cradle, our best authors have either died or fallen into misfortune, and the rest are silent, with none to rouse them.[117]

The poet's letter was addressed to Francis Széchenyi, himself a progressive reformer in earlier years. As a protector of the executed Hajnóczy, Széchenyi was on the list of "dangerous persons," as was his brother-in-law George Festetich, Csokonai's other patron.

Still the forces of the Hungarian Enlightenment that can be traced back to the seventeenth century appear to have gathered sufficient momentum in 1765–95 to survive the political disaster at the close of the century. Some of the socially and economically progressive reforms of Maria Theresa and Joseph II that attempted to improve the peasant's lot and the school system were enacted by the Diets of the 1790s, which also extended far-reaching tolerance and privileges, if not complete equality, to the non-Catholic Christians of Hungary. Other initiatives, discussed in the committees of the Diets, had to wait another generation before they could be put on the agenda again. But Josephinist practices continued in government bureaucracy and the realm of Church affairs throughout the Franciscan period.[118] In the cultural sphere, too, one can observe the continuity of enlightened ideas even though in allegoric and inconspicuous forms: Csokonai's eulogy of Paul Czindery is an example. Aware of the public's French sympathies, even the newspapers would try, on occasion, to elude the vigilance of the censor by inserting an "innocuous" item, for example, about Ambassador Bernadotte's display of the tricolor on the Viennese embassy of France after the conclusion of the peace treaty of Campo Formio.[119] Even more interesting is the case of the historian George A. Belnay. In 1790 he published a Latin pamphlet that opposed "the noble autocracy," reminding it of the lessons of the American Revolution and contrasting with the "monstrous" feudal system the equal civil rights of every member of society on the basis of natural law.[120] Nine years later, in his *Historia literarum bonarumque artium in Hungaria*, dedicated to Francis II, the same author listed Stephen Bocskai and Gabriel Bethlen, both champions of Protestantism and of Transylvania's independence from the Habsburgs, among the "outstanding patrons" of art and literature in seventeenth-century Hungary.[121] Belnay's essay, published

117 Cited in G. F. Cushing, "The Birth of National Literature in Hungary," *Slavonic and East European Review*, 38 (1959–60): 464.

118 See Barany, *Stephen Széchenyi*, *passim*; Moritz Csáky, *Der Kulturkampf in Ungarn* (Graz, 1967), *passim*.

119 Béla Dezsényi, "A magyar ujságolvasók tájékoztatása a cenzura kijátszásával 1797-ben" (Information of Hungarian Newspaper Readers by Eluding Censorship in 1797), *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 83 (1967): 364–67.

120 Király, *Hungary in the Late Eighteenth Century*, 151; Mályusz, "A magyarországi polgárság," 250–51; Marczali, *Az 1790/1-diki országgyűlés*, 2: 164–65.

121 Georgius Aloysius Belnay, *Historia literarum bonarumque artium in Hungaria* (Vienna, 1799), 102.

in Vienna, suggested by implication, then, the political neutrality of art and literature, and this may have pleased the censors of the Franciscan system. It was perhaps this vision of a neutral and apolitical literature that permitted literature to become the rallying point of Hungarian cultural life again in the early nineteenth century.

Enriched by many new artistic forms experimented with during the eighteenth century under the impact of both foreign and domestic stimuli, literature did indeed become that "nation-sustaining" force that Kazinczy intended it to be after the turn of the century. After spending "2,387 days" in jail, as he put it in his memoirs, Kazinczy became the literary dictator of Hungary, thanks to his ability to channel the latent energies of his educated compatriots into literature while steering clear of overt political involvements.[122] But Csokonai, who celebrated his old friend's release from prison with a poem in 1801, did not live to see this; he died even before a collection of his works could be published. Only one year after Csokonai's death the first Hungarian newspaper of the new century, *Hazai Tudósitások* (Reports from the Homeland), began publication in Pest in 1806. Its editor, Stephen Kultsár, who was not allowed to publish political news from abroad during the first two years, concentrated on the promotion of the Magyar language, literature, and theater. The paper ushered in a new era, after a decade of repression, because it shifted the center of Hungarian journalism from Vienna and Pressburg to Pest, resuming thus the work begun by Kármán's short-lived periodical, *Uránia*, and contributing to Pest's emergence as Hungary's cultural capital at a time when the literary revival was handicapped by fragmentation and lack of communication among writers.[123]

Kultsár's program was summed up in a passage that appeared in 1823:

> The foremost ornament of every nation is scientific learning (*tudományos kimüvelödés*). We must strive for this not only because thereby we can raise our human dignity and enrich our domestic conditions . . . but even more because through the diffusion of the sciences in the Nation we can make the Country's Strength more potent, the Nation's glory more radiant.[124]

This formulation of the creed of Hungarian enlightened patriotism, reminiscent of Bessenyei, could have been and indeed was set forth by Stephen Széchenyi in *Hitel* (Credit). But *Hitel* appeared only in 1830; in 1823 Széchenyi was still trying to find his identity, and in 1809, in a letter written to his father, the former Freemason and Josephinist Count Francis, he highhandedly repudiated "the bluffs of cunning illuminati" (*geschickte Aufklärer*) because of their presumed hostility to the ideals of Christianity.[125]

In the same year in which the future founder of the Academy chose to reject

[122] Cushing, "The Birth of National Literature," 465–70.

[123] Dezsényi, *Az időszaki sajtó története a Dunatáj országaiban*, 14–15, 18, 22; *idem*, *A magyar hirlapirodalom első százada*, 13–19.

[124] *Ibid.*, 19.

[125] Barany, *Stephen Széchenyi*, 39, 207–08.

the Enlightenment, a conservative historian, George Fejér, wrote a study "On the Easiest and Most Appropriate Way of Establishing A Hungarian Scholarly Association" (*Egy magyar tudós társaság legkönnyebb, és leghelyesebb feláll itásáról*). Fejér, who later was to publish forty-three volumes of medieval Hungarian documents in his *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae,* relied heavily on Condorcet and other French enlightened authors in setting forth the arguments showing the need for an Academy.[126] But when, prodded by Stephen Széchenyi, the Diet of 1825 enacted the law that established the Hungarian Academy, the new institution's foremost task was the cultivation of the Magyar language and literature. Thus the very moment of the realization of one of the main goals of the Hungarian Enlightenment also signalized the transformation of the cosmopolitan legacy of the eighteenth century in accordance with the wishes of early Magyar nationalism.

To be sure, Széchenyi's reform work was not oblivious to the social heritage of the Enlightenment either. In fact, peasant emancipation, too, was justified by Hungary's liberals, who insisted on the need for building a new nation of which all strata of society, including the peasants, would be an integral part. Yet to Csokonai and his generation the possibility of realizing these expectations remained remote. Ten years after Csokonai's death but ten years before Stephen Széchenyi's emergence into the limelight of history, the erudite Michael Fazekas, "namesake and friend"[127] of Hungary's foremost enlightened poet who defended Csokonai's reputation even against Kazinczy,[128] published a comic epic poem, *Ludas Matyi* (Matthew the Gooseherd) anonymously, because of "our nation's insensitivity toward us [writers]."[129] Political considerations may also have motivated Fazekas' caution: his hero, a peasant lad, succeeds in getting even three times with the lord who once had whipped him. But in giving popular literary expression to the dreams of the downtrodden Fazekas was still very much hoping against hope at the time he wrote his masterpiece. Be this as it may, his example shows us once more the frustration and elusiveness of the cultural ambitions of enlightened writers in Hungary. Ironically, it was in the opening stanza of the most exquisite of his love-lyrics, addressed "To Hope," that Csokonai revealed what appears to have been at once his innermost feeling and the characteristic feature of the entire period of the Hungarian Enlightenment:

Thou, a mortal-teaser
Heavenly mirage,
Blind Hope, Thou, deceiver,
Goddess-like image!

[126] Eckhardt, *A francia forradalom eszméi,* 209–10.

[127] "Főhadnagy Fazekas urhoz" (To Lieutenant Mr. Fazekas), *CsÖV,* 2: 217.

[128] In the literary debate dubbed "Arcadia trial," which involved the legend to be written on Csokonai's tombstone. Kazinczy was critical of some of the rustic aspects in Csokonai's—and his Debrecen friends'—writings.

[129] Horváth, *Csokonai,* 75–76.

Created by and for
A soul in distress,
And courted ever more
As his patroness.
Thy honey-dewed lips are luring,
Thy smile tempting sweet.
Why keepeth my spirit yearning,
Playing hide and seek?
Leave me now to my fate,
Stay away Thou must!
Charmed, I swallowed Thy bait:
Thou betrayed my trust.[180]

[180] "A reményhez" (To Hope), *CsÖV*, 2: 174. English translation by Mrs. Susan Barany.

Europe's "Discovery" of China and the Writing of World History

EDWIN J. VAN KLEY

Ours is an age of renewed interest in world history. The enthusiastic reception given William McNeill's *The Rise of the West* a few years ago amply illustrates our concern for written history that embraces the entire human community and that transcends national, religious, and cultural boundaries. Courses in world history or world civilization seem to be replacing the traditional Western civilization courses in our colleges, and we are inundated with textbooks that try to integrate bits of Asian and African history with that of the West. Comparative historical studies abound. We have created international commissions for the writing of world history, such as the UNESCO project, in the hope of more successfully avoiding parochial interpretations. The parochial labels and phrases that still clutter our professional vocabulary are gradually being replaced by more descriptive terms: Oriental has become Asian; the Far East is now East Asia; and the Near East may become the Eastern Mediterranean. It is obvious that world history is one of the major concerns of this generation's historians.

Interest in world history did not begin in our day, of course. Historians in the Western, Christian tradition have always been concerned with world history—universal history, they called it. Universal histories also pretended to be histories of mankind. They described man's beginnings and his development through all the time he had been on earth. But while their titles typically embraced "the history of the world from its creation to our own day," the world described between their covers was usually limited to the ancient Near East, Greece, Rome, and Western Christendom. The most obvious change since the day of the old universal history has been a redefinition of what should be included in world history—a change toward geographic universality as well as or even in place of chronological universality.

The redefinition of the content of world history also has had a fairly long history in the West. At least since the Renaissance, Western scholars have had to assimilate newly discovered information, both from antiquity and from the non-European world, with their view of world history. Usually this new information could be accommodated without impairing the traditional struc-

ture of universal history. Frequently the authenticity and accuracy of the new information could be questioned. In 1658, however, the Jesuit missionary Martinio Martini published Europe's first systematic account of ancient Chinese history—a history that seriously challenged the traditional structure, and a history whose claims to authenticity could not easily be dismissed.[1] Martini's "discovery" of ancient Chinese history inaugurated one of the stormier centuries in the history of Western historiography and in the end precipitated significant changes in the way world history was written.

Organization, the way in which the story of mankind is divided, presents a major problem to any writer of world history. In our day we have come to see the inadequacy of the customary division of history into ancient, medieval, and modern eras that must include China, Japan, India, and Africa as well as the Western world. In the seventeenth century as well, there were generally accepted ways of dividing the story. Universal history was commonly divided into the sacred and the profane. Sacred history was derived from the Old and New Testaments and continued in the history of the Church; profane history was based on any other documents. There were subdivisions. Sacred history typically came in three dispensations: that of the law of nature, from the Creation to Moses; that of the written law, from Moses to Christ; and that of grace, from Christ to the writer's own day. Profane history was sometimes divided into three periods, reflecting the type and reliability of the sources: obscure or uncertain time, extending from the Creation to the appearance of the earliest Greek fables; fabulous or heroic time, up to the establishment of the Olympic Games; and historic time. More commonly, profane history was divided into four large periods, each dominated by one of the four great monarchies supposedly prophesied in the Book of Daniel:[2] the Assyrian or Babylonian, founded by the Biblical Nimrod;[3] the Persian; the Greek; and the Roman, which was usually thought to continue into the writer's own day. Many universal histories were divided into smaller periods called epochs, which took their names from significant historical events. The epochs varied somewhat from writer to writer, but those of the universal

1 Martinio Martini, *Sinicae historiae decas prima res a gentis origine ad Christum natum in extrema Asia, sive magno Sinarum imperio gestas complexa* (Amsterdam, 1659). First edition, Munich, 1658.

2 Daniel 2:31–49.

3 Nimrod was the fourth-generation descendent of Noah in the line of Ham. The description of his deeds in Genesis 10:8–11 was traditionally understood to include the founding of the Babylonian or Assyrian monarchy. For examples see Hilmar Curas, *Einleitung zur Universalhistorie, zum Gebrauche bey dem ersten Unterrichte der Jugend* . . . (Berlin and Stettin, 1816), 82; Willem Goeree, *De kerklyke en weereldlyke historien* (2d ed.; Leiden, 1730), 30; Johann Ludwig Gottfried, *Historische Chronica, oder Beschreibung der vornehmsten Geschichten, so sich vom Anfang der Welt bis auf der Jahr Christi 1619 zugetragen, nach Abtheilung der 4 Monarchien und beygefügter Jahrrechnung aufs fliessigste in Ordnung gebracht* (Frankfort, 1630), 23; Matthias Prideaux, *An Easy and Compendious Introduction for Reading all Sorts of Histories* . . . (4th ed.; Oxford, 1664), 159–60; or Giles Strauchius, *Breviarum chronologicum: or a Treatise Describing the Terms and Most Celebrated Characters, Periods, and Epochas Used in Chronology* . . ., tr. Richard Sault (3d ed.; London, 1722), 182.

flood, the calling of Abraham, the conquest of Troy, the exodus from Egypt, and the founding of Rome were commonly used.

To most seventeenth-century historians the only reliable account of man's earliest history was to be found in the Old Testament. For these early ages, therefore, sacred and profane history were identical, since both depended on the same source. History began with God's creation of the world and the first man, Adam. It began again, in effect, with Noah and his three sons after the universal flood. All humans, then, were descended from Adam through Noah. Most, if not all, of the world's nations had their origin still later in the dispersion of tribes from the Plain of Shinaar narrated in the Biblical account of the Tower of Babel.[4] If the evidence had been accurately preserved, therefore, all nations would be able to trace their lineage back to Babel and back to one of the sons of Noah, beyond which all men had a common ancestry. Few peoples other than the Jews, however, had preserved a knowledge of their earliest history. Worse still, later generations had often mythically and poetically elaborated the story of their origins in accounts that were subsequently judged to have historical value. But to seventeenth-century Europeans, only the inspired Old Testament provided certainty concerning the world's earliest history, and consequently traditional universal historians tested the ancient annals or records of any people by their conformity to that one reliable account.

If the traditional histories were something less than geographically universal, they were indeed chronologically universal. They began with the beginning of time—with the Creation—and usually dealt with all of the time intervening between creation and the terminal date of the book. An accurate chronology of the events described in Genesis, therefore, was crucially important; "the handles of history," one chronologist called it.[5] European scholars worked carefully through the Old Testament, calculating from the genealogies in Genesis and other books what they believed to be the correct dates for such important events as the exodus from Egypt, the calling of Abraham, the confusion of tongues at Babel, the universal flood, and, of course, the creation of the world. But the chronologies compiled in this fashion varied greatly depending on the chronologist's method and on which version of the Old Testament he used. For example, according to computations based on the Hebrew Masoretic texts, the universal flood described in Genesis occurred 1,656 years after the creation of the world. According to the Samaritan Pentateuch, however, only 1,307 years separated the two events, while calculations based on the Greek Septuagint version gave intervals of 2,242, 2,262, or 2,256 years.[6] Those scholars who used the Masoretic

[4] Genesis 11:1–9.

[5] John Blair, *Chronology and History of the World from Creation to the Year of Christ 1753 Illustrated in LVI Tables* (London, 1756), i.

[6] The Masoretic texts are the improved and standardized texts produced by Jewish scholars between the seventh and tenth centuries A.D. The Septuagint is the Greek version of the Hebrew scriptures traditionally thought to be the work of seventy Alexandrian scholars during the

texts for their computations observed that all extant Hebrew texts agreed and that St. Jerome's Vulgate, based on manuscripts no longer available, supported and confirmed the Hebrew-text computations. Partisans of the Septuagint version, however, pointed to the agreement between existing Greek copies to demonstrate that differences between the Greek and Hebrew versions were not the result of copyists' errors, but that the Septuagint translators had used Hebrew manuscripts older than those available to St. Jerome or still available to seventeenth-century scholars. They observed, furthermore, that while the Church had used the Vulgate for the last millennium, during the first centuries of its existence it had used the Septuagint.[7] Although unanimity could not be achieved among seventeenth-century scholars concerning ancient Biblical chronology, that based on the Hebrew Masoretic texts was by far the most commonly accepted. Archbishop Ussher's prestigious chronological study was widely acclaimed and came to be regarded almost as orthodoxy.[8] The authority of Ussher's computations can be illustrated by the fact that his dates were inserted into the margins of the English Authorized Version of the Bible after 1700. According to Ussher, the world was created in 4004 B.C., and the universal flood occurred 1,656 years later, in 2348 B.C.

The wide acceptance of the traditional format of universal history and of the chronology based on Hebrew texts produced numerous universal histories that looked very much alike. When, for example, Andreas Imhof introduced his *Neu-eröffneten historischen Bilder-Saal* in 1692, he lavishly praised Johann Gottfried's *Historische Chronica* and frankly acknowledged his debt to the earlier historian. To Imhof a new universal history seemed necessary not because new archives had been opened, new information discovered, or a new way of organizing the material developed, but because Gottfried's book was too expensive, because its plates were not properly integrated with the text, and because Gottfried occasionally displayed more religious partisanship than Imhof would have liked.[9] Eleven years later Nicolas Guedeville published a universal history that, although not a direct

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reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, 285–247 B.C. The Samaritan Pentateuch is a divergent Hebrew text written in Samaritan or Old Hebrew characters. It was cited by several of the early Church fathers and became known in Europe during the early seventeenth century. Many scholars considered it to be vastly superior to the Masoretic texts.

[7] For an early eighteenth-century summary of the arguments regarding the Old Testament versions, see Samuel Shuckford, *The Sacred and Profane History of the World Connected, from the Creation of the World to the Dissolution of the Assyrian Empire at the Death of Sardanapalus, and to the Declension of the Kingdoms of Judah and Israel, under the Reigns of Ahaz and Pekah* (2d ed.; London, 1731–37), 1: 56–61. First edition, London, 1728.

[8] James Ussher, *Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti, a prima mundi origine deducti, usque ad extremum templi et reipublicae Judicae excidium* . . . (London, 1650–54).

[9] Andreas Lazurus Imhof, *Neu-eröffneten historischen Bilder-Saal, das ist: kurze deutliche und unpassionirte Beschreibung der Historiae Universalis von Anfang der Welt bis auf unsere Zeiten in ordentliche und mercksame Periodos und Capitul eingetheilet* . . . (Nuremberg, 1692), xiii.

translation of Gottfried's work, was sufficiently similar in organization and content to enable him to use Gottfried's plates.[10]

Perhaps the most serious challenge to the traditional scheme of world history and the factor most instrumental in changing that scheme was the "discovery" of ancient Chinese history. The first bits of information about ancient Chinese history were included in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century descriptions of China, but they caused little alarm in Europe. Already in 1584 the Spanish Augustinian Juan Gonzales de Mendoza had included in his history a "Genealogy of the Kings of China," which dated the first monarch at 2550 or 2600 B.C.—long before the universal flood.[11] But Mendoza presented only a list of obscurely romanized names with no convincing detail to support them. Subsequent writers described events such as the building of the Great Wall and the thirteenth-century Mongol conquest, but they said virtually nothing about ancient Chinese history.[12] Alvaro Semmedo, for example, observed that Chinese historians claimed a very high antiquity for their empire, but he distrusted the accuracy of the early Chinese records.[13] The Jesuit missionaries in China, however, soon learned about ancient China and realized that if the Chinese histories were accurate they posed serious problems for Western scholars. Apparently as early as 1637, after much discussion and negotiation, the missionaries received permission to use a Septuagint-based chronology for their work in China in order to accommodate the generally accepted dates for China's first emperors.[14] The information available to European readers before 1658, however, was much too vague to create problems. They only knew that China was very old, a rather unimpressive bit of information compared with the many other wonderful things being written about the Middle Kingdom. But the publication of Father Martini's *Sinicae historiae* in 1658 dispelled the earlier obscurity and clearly placed the challenge of ancient Chinese history before European readers.

Martini's book attempted to trace Chinese history from earliest times to the birth of Christ, or the middle of the Han dynasty. He began his history

[10] Nicolas Guedeville, *Le grand théâtre historique ou nouvelle histoire universelle, tant sacrée que profane depuis la création du monde, jusqu'au commencement du XVIII^e siècle* (Leiden, 1703). For an earlier and widely known example of the traditional universal history, see Johannes Sleidanus, *De quatuor summis imperiis libri tres* (Amsterdam, 1564).

[11] Juan Gonzales de Mendoza, *The History of the Great and Mighty Kingdom of China, and the Situation thereof* . . ., ed. George T. Staunton (London, 1853–54), 2: 69–76. First edition, Rome, 1585.

[12] For example, see Nicolas Trigault, *De christiana expeditione apud Sinas* . . . (Augsburg, 1615), and Alvaro Semmedo, *Imperio de la China; i cultura evangelica en èl por los religios de la Compania de Iesus* (Madrid, 1642).

[13] Alvaro Semmedo, *The History of that Great and Renouwned Monarchy of China* . . . (London, 1655), 106.

[14] Antoine Gaubil, *Traité de la chronologie chinoise, divisé en trois parties, composé par le Père Gaubil, missionaire à la Chine, et publiée pour servir de suite aux mémoires concernant les Chinois, par M. Silvestre de Sacy* (Paris, 1814), 283–85.

with Fu Hsi, the first legendary sage emperor, whose reign, Martini calculated, began in 2952 B.C. Martini dismissed the long dynasties that were supposed to have reigned before Fu Hsi as myth, observing that most Chinese scholars did the same, but he did not question the authenticity of Fu Hsi and his successors. After describing Fu Hsi, Martini traced the traditional succession of sage emperors and ancient dynasties, devoting to each emperor a brief chapter in which he chronicled the emperor's outstanding achievements and the major events of his reign. Much of the *Sinicae historiae* makes dull reading, although the controversies it provoked among European scholars were anything but dull. Martini's history included seven Chinese emperors who apparently reigned before the generally accepted date for the Biblical deluge (2349 B.C.), in which all the people on earth except Noah and his family were supposed to have drowned. Martini, of course, was aware of the problem this created. He reported that the Chinese annals on which he had based his work described a great flood that occurred about 3000 B.C. in such a way that one could interpret it as the Genesis flood. But even if the Chinese annals and Genesis were describing the same flood and the two chronologies could be reconciled, there remained additional problems. According to Chinese tradition, Fu Hsi was merely the first emperor; the land had been inhabited for a very long time before his reign. Fu Hsi was supposed to have been expert in astronomy, a science whose development, Martini reasoned, required long stretches of time. "I am certain," he wrote, "that outermost Asia was inhabited before the deluge."[15] He made no attempt to explain how the Chinese had preserved records of their antediluvian history, nor did he try to reconcile the ancient Chinese chronology with that based on the Hebrew Old Testament. These, he declared, were not his concerns.

Many European scholars, however, quickly made it their concern to reconcile ancient Chinese chronology with that based on the Old Testament. One of the first to deal with the problem was Isaac Vossius, an expatriate Dutch scholar with an almost limitless admiration for things Chinese. The ink of the *Sinicae historiae* had scarcely dried before Vossius came out with a book contending that, on the basis of the Chinese chronology, the traditional Biblical chronology derived from Hebrew texts was inaccurate and that a chronology based on the Septuagint version of the Old Testament should be accepted in its place. The Septuagint-derived chronologies placed the Genesis flood back in the fourth millennium B.C., making it relatively easy to accept Martini's ancient Chinese dates. But Vossius went further still. Even with the additional centuries provided by a Septuagint chronology, he had difficulty accommodating ancient Chinese history to the notion of a universal flood. Finding no compelling reasons why the flood should have been universal, he concluded that the deluge described in Genesis had been a local phenomenon. Scholars had argued before in favor of the Septuagint

[15] Martini, *Sinicae historiae*, 12; "Hanc enim qua de scribo, extremam Asiam ante diluvium habitatem fuisse pro certo habeo." *Ibid.*, 21.

and against the universality of the flood, and most of Vossius' arguments were not novel. His insistence that the Chinese historical annals disproved the traditional picture of ancient history and chronology, however, was new.[16] In sum, Vossius, like Martini, was so impressed by the accuracy of the ancient Chinese annals that he preferred them in case of conflict and questioned instead the traditional Biblical chronology and the universality of the Genesis story.

Vossius' ideas naturally met considerable opposition. Many scholars were horrified by his cavalier treatment of Old Testament history. But those who clung to the traditional Hebrew-text chronology were left only two alternatives: they could reject the Chinese annals as myth, or they could attempt to correlate them in some fashion with the traditional chronology. To be sure, some scholars adamantly refused to accept the Chinese annals, but many were anxious to find some way of reconciling the two ancient chronologies. The Chinese record as described by Martini was not easily disregarded; it looked exceedingly impressive to seventeenth-century Europeans. Compared with the ancient literature of Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece, and Rome, it seemed remarkably free of miraculous or fantastic tales. Furthermore the impressive—indeed, almost unbroken—continuity of the Chinese record lent an aura of authenticity to the story it told. And when Martini related how Chinese historians often marked important events by observing the positions of stars and planets, who in Isaac Newton's century would not be impressed?

Georg Horn, a Leiden theologian and historian who published a refutation of Vossius' book soon after it appeared, provides an intriguing example of the tension generated by the appearance of the Chinese annals.[17] Throughout the rather vigorous polemic between Vossius and himself, Horn appeared to have been unmoved by the evidence of the Chinese annals.[18] Almost seven years later, however, he published the *Arca Noae,* in which he attempted to reconcile ancient Chinese history with ancient Biblical history. He still accepted Archbishop Ussher's Hebrew-text chronology, even to the point of asserting that "the earth was created on October 23, 4004 B.C." By accepting the traditional date for the flood as well, he was compelled to identify it with the reign of Yao, the seventh sage emperor.[19] From Martini's *Sinicae historiae* Horn learned that large parts of China were submerged during Yao's reign and that Yao's successors, Shün and Yü, became famous for

[16] Isaac Vossius, *Dissertatio de vera aetate mundi, qua ostenditur natale mundi tempus annis 1440 vulgarum anticipare* (The Hague, 1659), 44–48.

[17] Georg Horn, *Dissertatio de vera aetate mundi, qua sententia illorum refellitur qui statuunt natale mundi tempus annis minimum 1440 vulgarem aeram anticipare* (Leiden, 1659).

[18] For this controversy see the following: Isaac Vossius, *Castigationes ad scriptum Georgii Hornii de aetate mundi* (The Hague, 1659); Georg Horn, *Defensio dissertationis de vera aetate mundi, contra castigationes Isaaci Vossii . . .* (Leiden, 1659); Isaac Vossius, *Auctarium castigationem ad scriptum de aetate mundi* (The Hague, 1659); Georg Horn, *Auctarium defensionis pro vera aetate mundi* (Leiden, 1659).

[19] Georg Horn, *Arca Noae. Historia imperiorum et regnorum a condito orbe ad nostra tempora* (Leiden, 1666), 4–5, 13.

draining these waters and reclaiming the inundated land.[20] Martini thought that these lands had been submerged since the floods of 3000 B.C. Horn, however, contended that the submerged land proved that there had been a flood during Yao's reign, and this flood he identified with the Biblical deluge. But if the universal flood of the Genesis account had occurred in Yao's reign, Horn still faced the problem of explaining how the Chinese were able to remember their antediluvian history. He saw two alternatives: either Chinese history before Yao was myth, or a record of antediluvian events had been preserved by occupants of Noah's ark. Horn was willing to consider the second alternative, but to do so meant that ancient Chinese history and ancient Hebrew history necessarily rested on the same tradition, since only Noah and his family survived the flood. Horn therefore suggested that the ancient Chinese annals were merely a distorted account of the history more clearly recorded in the first chapters of Genesis.

Horn demonstrated his thesis by identifying each of the sage emperors with one of the Old Testament patriarchs. Fu Hsi, he suggested, could have been Adam. The tradition that Fu Hsi had no mother but the earth, seemed convincingly similar to the description in Genesis of Adam's creation from the earth's dust. The second sage emperor, Shên Nung, would then be Cain. Horn thought their names were similar, and both were described as agriculturalists. Shên Nung's successor Huang-ti, the Yellow Emperor of Taoist legend, Horn identified with Cain's son Enoch. Just as Enoch was taken up to heaven without dying, so Huang-ti was suddenly whisked away to a mountain top and given instant immortality.[21] And so Horn continued down through the ranks of Chinese culture heroes until he came to Yao, who he thought was obviously Noah. Not only had the flood occurred during Yao's reign, but Martini had described him as a pious and holy man, terms eminently appropriate for Noah as well.[22] Horn concluded, therefore, that Genesis and the Chinese annals were actually two records of the same history. The differences between them, he thought, could easily be explained by the effects of time on the memory of the Chinese. Far from challenging ancient Biblical history, therefore, the Chinese annals actually helped verify the Hebrew scriptures and the traditional chronologies derived from them.

Horn's attempt to identify sage emperors with Old Testament patriarchs was repeated with variations by many writers during the following century. In 1669, for example, the English scholar John Webb wrote an essay exploring the possibility that Chinese was the primitive language of mankind—the language spoken by Noah and all men before the confusion of tongues at Babel. Accepting Horn's identification of Noah and Yao, but not his other identifications, Webb reasoned that China was settled by Noah and some

[20] Martini, *Sinicae historiae*, 39–40.

[21] Horn, *Arca Noae*, 14, 15, 16. See also Martini, *Sinicae historiae*, 30. The fact that Genesis awards immediate immortality to the Enoch who is a fifth-generation descendant of Cain's brother Seth, rather than to Cain's son, Horn explained by saying that the Chinese confused the two Enochs.

[22] Horn, *Arca Noae*, 17–18.

of his children soon after the flood and before the confusion of tongues at Babel. (In fact Webb thought Noah had lived in China even before the flood and had built the ark there.) Consequently, if all men spoke one language before the confusion of languages at Babel, and if the modern Chinese still spoke the language of their empire's founders, then Chinese was the original language of all mankind. Webb supported his thesis by describing many characteristics of the Chinese language that he thought betrayed its primitive nature.[23]

Webb also rejected the theory, advanced by the Jesuit scholar Athanasius Kircher, that China had been settled by Egyptians. Kircher suggested this because of what he thought were similarities between Chinese characters and Egyptian hieroglyphs.[24] Webb saw little similarity between the languages, but he objected to the theory on other grounds as well. It was generally believed, he pointed out, that the Egyptians had descended from Ham, Noah's second son, whose descendants were cursed by Noah and supposedly became idolators. Jesuit missionaries, however, reported that the ancient Chinese had never worshipped idols but had served the one true God. Webb concluded, therefore, that the Chinese could not have descended from the idolatrous race of Ham, but that China must have been settled by Noah himself or by his oldest son, Shem.[25]

During the last decades of the seventeenth century the Jesuit policy of cultural accommodation in China—particularly their accommodation of certain Confucian rites and ceremonies—received increasingly severe criticism from the order's Franciscan and Dominican rivals; the ensuing quarrel became known as the Rites Controversy. Many aspects of the Jesuit image of China and its history were questioned as well. For example, when the Dominican missionary Domingo Navarrete wrote his description of China in 1676, he frankly acknowledged that one of his aims was to refute Jesuit notions about primitive Chinese religion and to demonstrate that the ancient Chinese had no knowledge of God. He was convinced that the Chinese could not have descended directly from Noah or from Shem. But Navarrete retained a high respect for Chinese antiquity, despite his anti-Jesuit bias. He accepted Fu Hsi as the first authentic Chinese emperor and Martini's date, 2957 B.C., as the first year of his reign. He then identified Fu Hsi with Noah's son Ham, using a Septuagint-based chronology to correlate their dates. Finally, as if to divorce the ancient Chinese completely from the true religion, he identified Fu Hsi-Ham with the Persian Zoroaster.[26]

[23] John Webb, *An Historical Essay Endeavoring a Probability that the Language of the Empire of China is the Primitive Language* (London, 1669), 60–62, 70–71, 32, 162–212.

[24] Athanasius Kircher, *La Chine illustrée de plusieurs monuments tant sacrés que profanes, et de quantité de recherchés de la nature & de l'art*, tr. F. S. Dalquie (Amsterdam, 1670), 303, 305, 311. First Latin edition, Amsterdam, 1667.

[25] Webb, *Historical Essay*, 31–32.

[26] Domingo Fernandez Navarrete, *An Account of the Empire of China, Historical, Political, Moral, and Religious. A Short Description of that Empire and Notable Examples of its Emperors and Ministers* (London, n.d.), 3, 4. First edition, Madrid, 1676.

The Jesuit missionaries, too, occasionally tried their hands at identifying Chinese emperors with Hebrew patriarchs. As might be expected, they usually based their chronological computations on the Septuagint version, and they tended to identify the earliest sage emperors with either Noah or his descendants in the line of Shem. The Rites Controversy apparently made them a bit more cautious than Martini had been. Father Philip Couplet, for example, admitted in his remarks about Chinese chronology appended to the Jesuit translation of the Confucian classics known as the Four Books that the traditional accounts of Fu Hsi and his successors contained material that was obviously mythological. Couplet did not think the fabulous aspects of the story were sufficient reason for rejecting the annals or for doubting the existence of the sage emperors; one might as well question the existence of Saturn, Jupiter, Hercules, Bacchus, or Romulus.[27] Nevertheless Couplet began his chronological tables with Huang-ti rather than Fu Hsi. His translator colleagues, however, thought Fu Hsi was an authentic Chinese emperor. In the preface to their translation of the Four Books they described Fu Hsi as a descendant of Shem, who settled in China soon after the confusion of languages at Babel.[28] But the Jesuit translators professed sympathy with those who could not accept the Septuagint and admitted that the myths embedded in the history of the first six emperors raised some doubts about the authenticity of the account. They concluded that if it could be demonstrated that a chronology based on the Masoretes were indisputably true, they would happily accept Yao as the first emperor. Following a Hebrew-text chronology, Yao could have been established in China shortly after the incident at the Tower of Babel. In either case China was populated soon after the flood. The dates of Yao and his successors, Couplet and his colleagues asserted, were as firmly established as were those of the Greek Olympiads.[29]

Even the clearly fabulous aspects of the Chinese annals could provide opportunities for correlating ancient Chinese history with the Old Testament. For example, Christian Mentzel, the physician and Chinese-language scholar who translated a Chinese history schoolbook into German, thought he saw misty fragments of the Biblical stories of the Creation and the Fall in the legends surrounding Fu Hsi and his sister Nu Kua. Mentzel identified

[27] "Sed enim quamvis haec meritò censeantur fabulosa, non ausim tamen ob eam causam fidem omnem derogare Sinicae antiquitati, asserendo hujusmodi homines numquam extitisse. Quis enim neget extitisse quondam Saturnum, Janum, Jovem, Herculem, Bacchum, Orpheum Romulum, & c. tametsi res plurimas quae nunquam extiterunt, eisdem non tantùm Poëtae affinxerint, sed Historiographi quoque gravissimi tribuerint?" Philip Couplet, "Praefatio ad tabulam chronologicam," *Confucius sinarum philosophus, sive scientia Sinenses Latine exposita. Studio et opera Prosperi Interocetta, Christiani Herdtrich, Francisci Rougemont, Philippi Couplet. . . . Adjecta est tabula chronologica sinicae monarchiae ab hujus exordio ad haec usque tempora* (Paris, 1687), x–xi. Three of the Four Books are translated here: *Ta Hsüeh* [*The Great Learning*], *Chung Yung* [*The Doctrine of the Mean*], and *Lün Yu* [*The Analects of Confucius*].

[28] "Proemalis declaratio," *ibid.*, lxxiv–lxxv.

[29] "Etenim annorum computus saltem ille qui ab *Yao* Rege usque ad haec tempora decurrit, adeo ordinatus, & tanto consensu scriptorum omnium exactus ad suas periodos seu cyclos sexaginta annorum, ut non magis dubitari queat de illius integritate, quàm de Graecorum per olympiadas suas supputatione, cui tantum fidei & authoritatis tribuitur." *Ibid.*, lxxv.

Fu Hsi with Adam, Nu Kua with Eve. The story of Fu Hsi's birth resembled Adam's creation. Furthermore, Fu Hsi was supposed to have had the body of a snake, and the second character of Nu Kua's name could mean one having a wound from the bite of a tree or the fruit of a tree. Mentzel thought all this looked like distorted remnants of the Genesis account of Adam's fall.[30]

Efforts to correlate the ancient Chinese annals with the Hebrew Old Testament still engrossed the English historian Samuel Shuckford in 1728. He thought the ancient Chinese descriptions of Fu Hsi more closely resembled the Genesis description of Noah than that of Adam. Beyond this he accepted Webb's theory that Noah traveled eastward after leaving the ark, eventually settling in China, and that consequently the Chinese were not at the Tower of Babel when the languages were confused. Shuckford accepted Ussher's Hebrew-text chronology and correlated it with the Chinese annals by demonstrating that the various estimates for the beginning of Fu Hsi's reign all fell within Ussher's dates for Noah's life—2948 to 2016 B.C. The only error in the Chinese chronologies then, according to Shuckford, was that they recorded all the events of Fu Hsi-Noah's life as if they had occurred when he was emperor of China, while in fact he was emperor only during the last 115 years of his suspiciously long life.[31]

Martini's account of how the sun stood still for ten days during Yao's reign provided Shuckford still another opportunity to correlate the Chinese annals with Genesis. Following the chronological calculations that resulted from his identification of Noah and Fu Hsi, Shuckford found that the Biblical story of the sun standing still for Joshua probably occurred in the seventy-fifth year of Yao's reign. But in the Old Testament story the sun stood still for several hours, not for ten days. Shuckford, however, was not easily discouraged. He suspected that European translators were wrong about the Chinese character they had translated as day. If the character were translated as hour, Shuckford observed, the Chinese records and the Old Testament story coincided almost exactly.[32]

The game of identifying sage emperors with patriarchs continued through the eighteenth century. Serious scholars as well as popularizers played it. The German Sinologist Gottlieb Bayer, for example, equated Fu Hsi with Adam, Shên Nung with Adam's son Seth, and Huang-ti with Noah.[33] To do this he had to accept as authentic several emperors between Shên Nung and Huang-ti whose existence most European scholars either questioned or rele-

[30] Christian Mentzel, *Kurtze chinesische Chronologia oder Zeit-Register, aller chinesischen Kayser, von ihrem also vermeynten Anfang der Welt biss hierher zu unsern Zeiten, des nach Christi unsers Seligmachers Geburt 1696sten Jahres, in einer richtigen Ordnung von Jahren zu Jahren, mit ihren rechten Characteren, Nahmen, und Beschreibungen, auch mit zween chinesischen erklärten Tafeln der vornehmsten Geschichten von ihrem Anbeginn der Welt, gezogen aus der chineser Kinder-Lehre "Siao ul hio" oder "lun" genandt* . . . (Berlin, 1696), 18–19.

[31] Shuckford, *Sacred and Profane History*, 1: 100–105, 29, 2: 60–61.

[32] *Ibid.*, 3: 462–63. See also Martini, *Sinicae historiae*, 37.

[33] Gottlieb Siegfried Bayer, *Museum sinicum in quo sinicae linguae et litteraturae ratio explicatur* (St. Petersburg, 1730), 2: 289.

gated to subordinate provincial roles. Bayer found an Old Testament equivalent for each of them. Etienne Fourmant, the French orientalist and royal librarian, searched the obviously mythological dynasties before Fu Hsi for possible correlations.[34] He discovered that the characters used in the name of the legendary creator, P'an-ku, could be understood to mean something like "saved from the waters by the ark," and thus might refer to Noah or, more probably, to his son Japheth. A former Jesuit *abbé*, Claude Lambert, questioned the authenticity of all the emperors before Yao. Even Chinese scholars, he thought, had too many reservations about them. He was convinced that Chinese history began with Yao, whom he identified with Joktan, the younger brother of Peleg and son of Eber, one of Shem's descendants. Lambert thought Yao-tang, another form of Yao's name, strongly resembled Joktan, and he appears to have been convinced by reading Genesis 10:30 regarding Joktan: "And their dwelling was from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar, a mount of the East."[35] As late as 1775 the English classical scholar and bibliophile, Jacob Bryant, was still making such identifications. Bryant thought that the Chinese, like the Egyptians, had borrowed their ancient history from other, older peoples. What the Chinese thought to be the record of their ancient past was merely a shadowy memory of the events recorded in Genesis. He identified Fu Hsi with Adam, Shên Nung with Noah, and Huang-ti with Noah's son Ham, whom he also identified with the Egyptian Serapis.[36]

There seems to have been no limit to the variety of these correlations and identifications. Writers who knew little or no Chinese—and often no Hebrew—could always see the sage emperors' names as corruptions of the original Hebrew. Besides, the deeds of the Chinese culture heroes—the discovery of fire, the invention of letters, the institution of marriage, or the invention of agriculture—were described vaguely enough in the Chinese annals to be reminiscent of the accomplishments of the Mosaic patriarchs. We may be tempted to smile a bit at the somewhat curious efforts of these seventeenth- and eighteenth-century scholars, especially when we realize that they were trying to correlate the Biblical and classical tradition with Chinese legend rather than with history. Still, attempts to identify Chinese culture heroes with Hebrew patriarchs were part of a serious and significant endeavor—Europe's first attempt to bring China into world history.[37]

[34] Etienne Fourmant, *Réflexions sur l'origine, l'histoire et la succession des anciens peuples Chaldéens, Hébreux, Pheniciens, Egyptiens, etc. jusqu'au tems de Cyrus . . .* (Paris, 1747), 2: 487. First edition, Paris, 1735.

[35] Claude François Lambert, *Histoire générale, civile, naturelle, politique & religieuse de tous les peuples du monde, avec des observations sur les moeurs, les coutomes, les usages, les caractares, . . .* (Paris, 1750), 10: 117, 99–101.

[36] Jacob Bryant, *A New Sytem or an Analysis of Ancient Mythology: wherein an Attempt is Made to Divest Tradition of Fable: and to Reduce the Truth to its Original Purity* (3d ed.; London, 1807), 4: 256–57. First edition, London, 1775–76.

[37] For additional French examples of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century dispute over the Chinese annals and the attempts to correlate them with Old Testament chronology, see Vergile Pinot, *La Chine et la formation de l'esprit philosophique en France, 1640–1740* (Paris, 1932), 189–279.

Isaac Vossius, the first European scholar to have accepted enthusiastically Martini's description of ancient Chinese history, made no attempt to identify sage emperors with patriarchs. To him the apparent conflict between the two chronologies could be easily resolved if the Septuagint version were used as the basis for Old Testament chronology or if the Genesis flood were not assumed to be universal. Vossius accepted both possibilities, and he consequently did not need to identify patriarchs with sage emperors in order to reconcile Biblical and Chinese accounts. The acceptance of a Septuagint-derived chronology became increasingly common among those who wrote about China during the century and a half after Vossius. Jesuit missionaries not only used it in China, but after 1658 most of them used it for accounts published in Europe as well.[38]

All the traditional arguments for and against the Septuagint continued to be used after 1658. At times the debate became somewhat heated. Paul Pezron, the Benedictine chronologist at St. Maur, accused first-century Jewish scholars of deliberately shortening the chronology of the patriarchs in order to prove that the Messiah had not yet come. According to Pezron, these Jewish scholars divided the earth's predicted six-thousand-year history (a parallel with the six days of creation) into three, two-thousand-year periods: the years before Moses' law, the years between the annunciation of the law and the advent of the Messiah, and the years after the Messiah.[39] Since those who perpetrated the forgery destroyed all earlier texts, the Septuagint translators in the third century B.C. must have used older and more accurate Hebrew texts than those available to St. Jerome and subsequent Christians.[40] But while traditional arguments in favor of the Septuagint continued to be used, a growing number of scholars insisted that the Septuagint chronologies must be accepted in order to accommodate ancient Chinese history.[41]

As Vossius had demonstrated, there were no serious chronological problems in reconciling Chinese history since Fu Hsi (2952 B.C.) with ancient Hebrew history if a Septuagint-based chronology were used; this placed the flood as early as 3617 B.C. Disputes might rage over which of Noah's children fathered the Chinese or whether China was settled before or after the confusion of tongues at the Tower of Babel, but those who followed the Septuagint were, at least, not compelled by their chronology to accept one position or another. The issues had to be debated on other grounds—the nature of the Chinese language, for instance, or of antique Chinese religion. Nor

[38] In addition to the works of Couplet and Gaubil cited above, see Jean Baptiste du Halde, *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique, et physique de l'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise* . . . (Paris, 1735), and Giovanni Battista Riccioli, *Chronologiae reformatae et ad certas conclusiones redactae tomus primus continens doctrinam temporum* . . . (Bologna, 1669).

[39] Paul Pezron, *L'Antiquité des tems rétablié et defenduë contre les Juifs & les nouveaux chronologists* (Paris, 1687), 274–78. See also Gilbert Charles le Gendre, *Traité de l'opinion ou mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de l'esprit humain* (2d ed.; Paris, 1735), 1: 254–55.

[40] Pezron, *L'Antiquité*, 35.

[41] See especially Riccioli, *Chronologiae reformatae*, 221–22, 248; and Pezron, *L'Antiquité*, 248–49.

were they forced to identify sage emperors with Hebrew patriarchs. In fact Navarrete was able to use a Septuagint-based chronology to prove that Fu Hsi could not have been Adam.[42] Acceptance of the Septuagint version as the basis for ancient chronology consequently enabled many scholars to evaluate and criticize the Chinese annals without the distorting concern for chronological reconciliation.

Criticism of the Chinese annals increased appreciably during the last decades of the seventeenth century. The motivation of the critics varied: some doggedly defended the traditional view of ancient history and chronology; others were primarily motivated by their opposition to the Jesuits and their China mission.[43] Much of the criticism, however, resulted from the increasing volume and sophistication of the information about ancient Chinese history available to Europeans. In the 1670s, for example, the English jurist Matthew Hale could still write:

> As touching the Chinese and their long derived Annals, there is so much spoken by report or relation, but nothing authentik thereof is extant to the common view but some ingenious yet uncertain Collections out of Martinius by Mr. Webb in his Essay touching the Primitive Language; Vossius, and some others: And therefore I should spare anything touching them.[44]

This could not accurately have been said a century later; by then much more and much better information about ancient Chinese history was available to European readers. Large sections of Martini's *Sinicae historiae* had been translated and included in more popular works.[45] Much historical information, as well as discussions of the historical problems, was included in the *Lettres édifiantes,* a voluminous series of the letters of Jesuit missionaries that Father Jean du Halde began publishing in 1702.[46] Several new general descriptions of China had been published, the most important of which were Navarrete's in 1676, Louis le Comte's in 1696, and du Halde's in 1735.[47]

[42] Navarrete, *Account of the Empire of China,* 3.

[43] For a thorough account of the effects of the Rites Controversy on the criticism of ancient Chinese history and chronology in France, see Pinot, *La Chine,* 189–279. See also Basil Guy, *The French Image of China before and after Voltaire,* vol. 21 of Theodore Besterman, ed., *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* (Geneva, 1963); and Arnold A. Rowbotham, *Missionary and Mandarin* (Berkeley, 1942).

[44] Matthew Hale, *The Primitive Origination of Mankind, Considered and Examined According to the Light of Nature* (London, 1677), 135.

[45] For example, see Johann Nieuhof, *Het gezantschap der Neerlandtsche Oost-Indische Compagnie aan den grooten Tartarischen Cham, den tegenwoord keizer van China . . . sedert den jaaren 1655 tot 1657 . . . Beneffens een naukeurige beschrijving der Sineesche steden, dorpen, regeering, wetenschappen, hantwerken, zeden enz* (Amsterdam, 1665); and Olfert Dapper, *Gedenkwaerdig bedryf der Nederlandsch Oost-Indische Maetschappye op de kust en in het keizerrijk van Taising of Sina: . . . Beneffens een beschrijving van geheel Sina* (Amsterdam, 1670). Nieuhof's book was first translated into English in 1669; Dapper's in 1671.

[46] *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères, par quelques missionaries de la Compagnie de Jesus,* ed. Jean Baptiste du Halde (Paris, 1702–73).

[47] Domingo Fernandez Navarrete, *Tratados historicos, politicos, ethicos y religiosos de la monarchia de China: descripcion breve de aquel imperio . . . con narracion . . . de varios sucessos, y cosas singulares de otros reynos, y diferentes navegaciones . . .* (Madrid, 1676); Louis Daniel le Comte, *Nouveaux mémoires sur l'état présent de la Chine* (Paris, 1696); du Halde, *Description géographique.*

All these contain significant sections devoted to ancient Chinese history. Du Halde's great *Description géographique,* for example, contains over two hundred pages on Chinese history, more than half of which deal with the earliest, pre-Shang, period; it contains some discussion of the sources for ancient Chinese history as well.[48] Some of the sources themselves were translated into European languages. The Jesuit translation of three of the Four Books was published in 1687.[49] Mentzel's translation and commentary on a book called *Hsiao erh lun (Discourse with a Child)* appeared in 1696.[50] The *Ch'ün ch'iu (Spring and Autumn Annals)* was translated in 1750 but never published.[51] Finally in 1770 a translation of the *Shu ching,* or *Classic of History,* appeared,[52] and in 1777 the Jesuit Joseph de Mailla published the first volume of his translation of the thirteenth-century philosopher Chu Hsi's voluminous history of China.[53] Perhaps even more important than the translation of Chinese texts into European languages were the careful analyses of ancient Chinese history and sources made by Fourmant and by the Jesuit missionary Antoine Gaubil.[54]

The new information about China and Chinese history touched off a wave of popular interest in China during the eighteenth century. Not only did it feed the fires of the Rites Controversy, but Voltaire and the *philosophes* used the descriptions of Chinese society, politics, religion, and philosophy to criticize European institutions and customs. European religious strife and intolerance were contrasted with China's humane toleration of religious variety. The role of the hereditary aristocracy in European governments and society was contrasted with the aristocracy of learning selected by state examinations, which governed China. An idealized view of Chinese ethics and public morality was used to discredit the assumption that Christianity was indispensable for public morality. And, of course, the ancient historical annals were used to discredit the Old Testament.[55] The *chinoiseries* of eigh-

[48] Du Halde, *The General History of China. Containing a Geographical, Historical, Chronological, Political and Physical Description of the Empire of China, Chinese Tartary, Corea, and Thibet* (3d ed.; London, 1741), 1: 269–495, 2: 1–12.

[49] *Confucius sinarum philosophus.*

[50] Mentzel, *Kurtze chinesische chronologia.*

[51] "Tchun tsieou, le printems & l'automne, au annales de la principauté de Loù, depuis 722 jusqu'en 481 avant l'ere chrétienne, . . . Écrites par le célèbre philosophe Confucius l'an 480 avant Jésus-Christ après qu'il se fut demis de la charge de Ministre d'État qu'il possedoit à la cour de Loù . . . et traduites en françois par la Roux Deshauterayes, 1750," MS Français 14686, Bibliothèque Nationale.

[52] Antoine Gaubil, tr., *Le Chou-king, un des livres sacrés des Chinois, qui renferme les fondements de leur ancienne histoire, les principes de leur gouvernement & de leur morale; ouvrage recueilli par Confucius* . . . (Paris, 1770).

[53] Joseph Anne-Marie de Moyriac de Mailla, *Histoire générale de la Chine, ou annales de cet empire: Traduites du Tong-Kien-Kang-Mou* . . . (Paris, 1777–85). Pinot reports that de Mailla's book was written much earlier, but that its publication was delayed until 1777. *La Chine,* 250–51.

[54] Fourmant, *Réflexions;* Gaubil, *Traité de la chronologie chinoise,* probably written, although not published, in 1749.

[55] The secondary literature on China and the Enlightenment is fairly large—too large to cite more than a few examples here. In addition to the works of Pinot, Guy, and Rowbotham cited above, the reader might see Henri Cordier, *La Chine en France au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1910); Walter Engemann, *Voltaire und China* (Leipzig, 1932); Basil Guy, "Rousseau and China," *Revue*

teenth-century decorative arts, literature, architecture, and gardening were all part and product of this greatly expanded knowledge of and interest in China.[56] Whether motivated by the issues of the Rites Controversy, the campaigns of the *philosophes,* or by a disinterested concern for historical accuracy, European scholars were building an increasingly broader base from which to evaluate China's past.

One of the difficulties encountered by European scholars in accepting Martini's account of Chinese antiquity was the paucity of references to China in the other antique literature with which Europeans were familiar. The English historian Bishop Burnet, for example, sarcastically professed amazement that so ancient, powerful, and learned an empire as the China described by Martini had left no traces in the literature of other ancient peoples:

> And it appears from the Credit of their Relations, and the monuments of the Place itself that this Empire has continued from a very remote Antiquity, and flourished exceedingly in Arts and Learning; and that without any Correspondence with Learned Nations, or receiving from them, for aught we can find, either Colonies, or the Founders of their Nation; as if they were of a different Original from the rest of Mankind, and the Posterity of Noah; but were self-descended and self-taught.[57]

Many Europeans, like the Scottish theologian Robert Baillie, saw no reason why Chinese accounts should be judged more accurate than the fables of the Chaldeans, Egyptians, Greeks, or Romans.[58] Those who accepted the Chinese annals, however, often contended that it was precisely the absence of miraculous and outlandish events that made the ancient Chinese records so credible. This, they often observed, was in marked contrast to the earliest records of any other ancient people.[59] Few writers before Voltaire, apparently,

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de littérature comparée, 30 (1956): 531–36; Donald F. Lach, "Leibnitz and China," *Journal of the History of Ideas,* 6 (1945): 436–55; Donald F. Lach, "China and the Era of Englightenment," *Journal of Modern History,* 14 (1942): 209–23; Lewis A. Maverick, *China, a Model for Europe* (San Antonio, 1946); and the following articles by Arnold H. Rowbotham: "China and the Age of Enlightenment in Europe," *Chinese Social and Political Science Review,* 19 (1935): 176–201; "The Impact of Confucianism on European Thought of the Eighteenth Century," *Far Eastern Quarterly,* 4 (1945): 224–42; and "Voltaire, Sinophile," *Publications of the Modern Language Association,* 47 (1932): 1050–65.

[56] Regarding seventeenth- and eighteenth-century *chinoiserie,* see William W. Appleton, *A Cycle of Cathay: the Chinese Vogue in England during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (New York, 1951); V. V. Barthold, *La découverte de l'Asie. Histoire de l'orientalisme en Europe et en Russie* (Paris, 1947); and Eleanor von Erdberg, *Chinese Influence on European Garden Structure* (Cambridge, 1938).

[57] Thomas Burnet, *Doctrina antiqua de rerum originibus: or an Inquiry into the Doctrine of the Philosophers of all Nations Concerning the Original of the World. Trans. by Mr. Mead and Mr. Foxton* (London, 1736), 18–19. The first edition was *Archaeologiae philosophicae: sive doctrina antiqua de rerum originibus, libri duo* (London, 1692).

[58] Robert Baillie, *Operis historici et chronologici libri duo; in quibus historia sacra & profane compendiose deducitur ex ipsis fontibus, à creatione mundi ad Constantinum Magnum, & quaestiones ac dubia chronologica, quae ex V. & N. Testamento moveri solent, breviter & perspicuè explicantur & vindicantur* (Amsterdam, 1668), 24. First edition, Amsterdam, 1663.

[59] For example, see John Jackson, *Chronological Antiquities or the Antiquities and Chronology of the Most Ancient Kingdoms, from the Creation of the World, for a Space of Five Thousand Years* (London, 1752), 1: xxxvi.

objected to the century-long reigns of the sage emperors; because they were thought to be either identical with or contemporary to the Old Testament patriarchs, traditional Christians were not surprised by their longevity.[60] Those who would have gladly attacked the authority of the Old Testament found in the Chinese annals so useful a weapon that they were loath to criticize such details as a sage emperor's life span. But there were some miraculous and outlandish accounts in the Chinese histories: Fu Hsi's serpentine body, for example; Shên Nung's ox-like head; and the immediate immortality Huang-ti was supposed to have received on a mountain top. Some critics ridiculed the mythical aspects of ancient Chinese history and questioned the existence of the sage emperors.[61] Others treated the stories of Fu Hsi, Shên Nung, and Huang-ti as they had treated Greek fables—as distortions and additions to an essentially factual story.[62] Fabulous though such stories were, they still seemed restrained compared with Greek, Roman, or Egyptian myths.

Perhaps the most impressive aspect of China's ancient history was the occasional inclusion of astronomical observations in the record. As Pezron observed in 1687, the Chinese from the very earliest times appear to have fixed important dates by astronomical observations as well as by the sixty-year cycle. In 2513 B.C., during the reign of the sage emperor Chuan Hsü, Chinese historians recorded a conjunction of the five planets on the same day in which the sun and the moon were in conjunction.[63] To Voltaire in 1765 this was still a convincing argument for the authenticity of the Chinese histories:

> If any annals bear a character of certitude they are those of the Chinese, which have joined, as has already been said elsewhere, the history of the heavens with that of the earth. Alone of all the peoples, they have constantly marked their eras by eclipses, by conjunctions of planets; and our astronomers who have examined their calculations, have been astonished to find them almost all true. The other nations invented their allegorical fables and the Chinese wrote their history, pen and astrolabe in hand, with a simplicity of which there is found no example in the rest of Asia.[64]

[60] For example, see Pezron, *L'Antiquité*, 246: "*Fohi* [Fu Hsi] nâquit du tems des Patriarches, ayant été contemporain d'*Heber*, de *Phaleg*, & de *Rehu* tris-ayeul d'Abraham, & alors les hommes vivoient encore deux, trois, & quatre siècles, ainsi qu'on le voit par l'Histoire Sainte. De-là vient qu'il a regné si long-tems, c'est-à-dire, 115. ans, comme les Chinois en tombent d'accord, parce que la durée de sa vie a approché de celle des Patriarches."

[61] For example, see Antoine Yves Goguet, *The Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences and their Progress among the Most Ancient Nations* (Edinburgh, 1761), 3: 301–25; Jean Fouquet, *Tabula chronologica historia sinicae connexa cum cyclo qui vulgo Kia tse dicitur* (Rome, 1730); or "An Explanation of the New Chronological Table of the Chinese History, translated into Latin from the Original Chinese, by Father Johannes Franciscus Fouquet, Soc. Jes. Bishop of Eleutheropolis and published at Rome in the Year 1730," *Philosophical Transactions*, 36 (1729–30): 397–424.

[62] "Quae omnia tametsi etiam Sinae, ut dixi, respuant uti falsa, negare tamen non possumus Europaeo homini studiosiùs singula consideranti, nescio quid rursus priscae veritatis inter fabulas istas, ceu densas inter tenebras, pauxillum tenuissimae lucis intermicare: quod eò fidentiùs affirmo, quòd omnes ferè fabulae ortum suum habeant ex eo quod fabulosum non est." Couplet, "Praefatio ad tabulam chronologicam," *Confucius sinarum philosophus*, iv. See also Bryant, *New System*, 4: 264–67.

[63] Pezron, *L'Antiquité*, 245, 253; Martini, *Sinicae historiae*, 33.

[64] François-Marie Arouet de Voltaire, *Essai sur les moeurs et l'esprit des nations, et sur les*

Long before Voltaire wrote, however, other European scholars began to question the accuracy and authenticity of the astronomical observations recorded in the ancient Chinese histories. Eclipses and conjunctions of planets could be verified mathematically. The astronomer Jean Cassini, for example, calculated backward to verify several of the observations recorded in the Chinese annals and concluded that most of them could not have been observed at the time or from the place stated. The celebrated conjunction of five planets in Chuan Hsü's reign, Cassini concluded, could not have occurred in 2513 B.C., but rather in 2012 B.C., five centuries later.[65]

Isaac Jaquelot, Pierre Bayle's theologian-antagonist, also had scant respect for Chinese astronomy. If the ancient Chinese were such sophisticated astronomers, he asked, why did they construct their sixty-year cycle without reference to any celestial movement? And how was it possible, almost two centuries after the calendar was supposed to have been regulated, for two famous astronomers to have been executed for failing to predict an eclipse? Jaquelot concluded that astronomy was but imperfectly developed in ancient China, and he suspected that the ancient astronomical observations, together with most of China's earliest history, were probably borrowed from the Near Eastern peoples.[66] The Jesuit Louis le Comte agreed that the Chinese knew too little astronomy and mathematics to calculate eclipses and conjunctions of ancient times. This, he contended, proved that the phenomena had been observed and recorded at the time they occurred and were not interpolated later into the record.[67]

Du Halde, who admired the Chinese, also distrusted the ancient astronomical observations. The Chinese, he pointed out, believed celestial phenomena like eclipses and conjunctions of planets were omens or portents. Court astronomers, therefore, had every incentive for fabricating good omens, like planetary conjunctions, and ignoring bad ones. As an example he described how a conjunction of four planets in 1724 was reported to the Yung-chung emperor as a conjunction of five planets:

> The emperor seem'd pleased with it, and received the Compliments of the Court on this Occasion; every Body gain'd by it, especially the Mathematicians, who did not err through ignorance.
>
> This false Conjunction, which was carefully chronicled, may be the Occasion of great Disputes and false Systems in future Times; if two or three thousand years hence an *European* should calculate this Conjunction, he would not find *Saturn* in it.[68]

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principaux faits de l'histoire, depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à Louis XIII, vols. 16 to 21 of *Oeuvres completes de Voltaire* (Paris, 1785), 16: 104.

[65] Jean Dominique Cassini, "Reflexions sur la chronologie chinoise par Monsieur Cassini," in Simon de la Loubere, *Description du royaume de Siam . . .* (Amsterdam, 1700), 2: 309–18. First edition, Amsterdam, 1691.

[66] [Isaac Jaquelot,] *Dissertations sur l'existence de Dieu, où l'on demontre cette verité par l'histoire universelle de la premier antiquité du monde . . .* (The Hague, 1697), 263, 265.

[67] Le Comte, *Nouveaux mémoires,* 1: 207.

[68] Du Halde, *The General History of China,* 1: 279.

Du Halde thought such fabrications detracted little from the accuracy of the ancient Chinese histories. Chinese scholars, at least, understood such things as common—probably necessary—pieces of court flattery and knew how to correct such a report. "Should this make us doubt other facts of *Yong Tching's* [Yung-chung's] History, it would be no difficulty to the *Chinese,* who perfectly understand this common piece of flattery and know what to abate of these Compliments to the Emperor on such occasions."[69]

The English theologian George Costard rehearsed most of the critical scholars' case against the Chinese astronomical observations in a letter printed in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society of London in 1747.[70] Chinese reporting was imprecise at best, contended Costard. They recorded only the day of a planetary conjunction, never the hour or position in the sky. The reporting was highly sporadic as well. For example, the first reported eclipse of the sun was recorded by the Chinese in 2155 B.C.; the next recorded eclipse did not occur until 776 B.C.—after an interval of 1,379 years. Furthermore, asked Costard, how could the ancient Chinese have been such sophisticated astronomers when their modern descendants seemed ignorant of many basic astronomical truths? They had only recently mastered the mathematics necessary to calculate planetary orbits. The avid interest shown by Chinese scholars in Jesuit astronomy and mathematics further testified to the primitive state of Chinese astronomy. Costard suspected that, in fact, the Chinese had no conception of regular natural laws governing the movements of stars and planets. Their superstitious attitude toward eclipses belied a belief in natural law. Costard was able to cite an eighth-century Chinese astronomer who explicitly argued against regular celestial movements:

> *Y-hang,* about the Year after *Christ* 721, had the Reputation among them of an able *Astronomer;* but being mistaken, it seems, in his Calculation of an *Eclipse,* rather than own his Ignorance, he pretended, that the *heavenly* Bodies did not always observe the same Laws. In Support of which extraordinary Hypothesis, he urged, that, in the Time of *Tsin,* the Star *Sirius* was eclipsed by the Planet *Venus;* tho' the Latitude of *Sirius* is 39° 32′ 8″, and that of *Venus* never exceeds 4°.[71]

Chinese historians also reported that books about astronomy were among those burned during the first Ch'in emperor's literary purge in 213 B.C. Costard doubted that very much had been lost.[72]

As it became apparent that the astronomical observations recorded in the Chinese annals were not incontestably accurate, the controversy was focused increasingly on whether or not inaccuracies in ancient Chinese astronomy

[69] *Ibid.*

[70] George Costard, "A Letter from the Rev. G. Costard, to the Rev. Thomas Shaw, D.D.F.R.S. and Principal of St. Edmund-Hall concerning the Chinese Chronology and Astronomy," *Philosophical Transactions,* 44 (1747): 475–92.

[71] *Ibid.,* 480. See also pp. 480–83.

[72] *Ibid.,* 484.

seriously descredited Chinese historical records. To the militantly anti-Jesuit orientalist Abbé Eusèbe Renaudot, for example, discrediting Chinese astronomy simply provided more evidence against the supposed antiquity of arts and sciences in China. In 1718 he published a translation of two ninth-century Arab descriptions of China in an attempt to demonstrate that the arts, sciences, and philosophy of ninth-century China were those of a primitive people.[73] Renaudot's Arabs spoke condescendingly about the primitive state of Chinese philosophy and science and were amused by the emperor's naive questions. If the Chinese had progressed so little by the ninth century, Renaudot reasoned, China could not be as old as the Jesuits claimed, and her ancient annals need not be regarded as challenges to the Old Testament. Later in the century both the French jurist Antoine Goguet and the Encyclopedist Nicolas Boulanger thought the problems raised by Cassini and Costard discredited most Chinese history before the third century B.C.[74]

On the other hand, Lambert, writing specifically against Renaudot, contended that Chinese astronomers clearly accomplished the practical tasks they had set out to perform—the regulation of the calendar for agricultural purposes, for example. They really had no interest in Jupiter's satellites or Saturn's rings, and they had no telescopes. Lambert explained the failure of the Chinese to develop a sophisticated mathematics or astronomy by observing that such studies were simply not the way to wealth and prominence in China. The best minds studied history, literature, and moral philosophy in order to pass the government-sponsored examinations. But Lambert considered the astronomical observations found in the Chinese annals to be of incontestable antiquity, despite occasional inaccuracies in recording.[75] The English theologian John Jackson admitted that many of the astronomical observations were seriously inaccurate, but contended that the authenticity of the ancient annals in no way depended on the accuracy of the observations.[76]

As early as 1659 Martin Shook had wondered how reliable the Chinese annals could be if, as Martini had related, most of the ancient historical and philosophical books had been burned by the first Ch'in emperor in 213 B.C.[77] Critics of the Chinese annals from that time forward pointed to the difficul-

[73] Eusèbe Renaudot, *Anciennes relations des Indes et de la Chine, de deux voyageurs mohamétans, qui y allèrent dans le neuvième siècle (traduites d'arabe)* (Paris, 1718). See especially the long appendix: "Eclaircissements touchant le prédiction de la religion chrétienne à la Chine; touchant l'entrée des mohamétans dans la Chine (qu'il place à l'an 780); touchant les Juifs qui ont été trouvés à la Chine; sur les sciences des Chinois."

[74] Goguet, *Origin of Laws*, 3: 284–86; [Nicolas Antoine] Boulanger, *L'Antiquité dévoilée par ses usages ou examen critique des principales opinions, cérémonies & institutions religieuses & politiques des différens peuples de la terre* (Amsterdam, 1766), 201–03.

[75] Lambert, *Histoire générale*, 10: 108–10, 113.

[76] Jackson, *Chronological Antiquities*, 2: 440.

[77] Martin Shook, *Fabula hamelensis, sive disquisitio historica qua praemissa generali dissertatione de historiae veritate ostenditur, commenti rationem habere, quae vulgo circumferunter de infausto exitu puerorum hamelensium. . . . Accessit diatriba qua probatur Noachi diluvium toti terrarum orbi incubuisse* (2d ed.; Groningen, 1662), 135. First edition, Groningen, 1659.

ties involved in obtaining reliable information about anything preceding the Ch'in dynasty.[78] Lambert, like other enthusiasts for Chinese antiquities, discounted the seriousness of the book burning, asserting that Chinese zeal for scholarship and reverence for history resulted in the preservation of most of the proscribed literature.[79] Goguet, however, observed that the old historical and philosophical texts were not recovered until 150 years after Ch'in Shih Huang-ti's purge. How, he asked, could the restored texts be free from lacunae, garbled passages, interpolations, or outright forgeries?[80]

By the mid-eighteenth century Europeans had ample evidence for Goguet's suspicions. It was known by then that Chinese historians disagreed with each other as to who was the first Chinese emperor. Fu Hsi, Huang-ti, and Yao each had his partisans, while some writers described dynasties of emperors reigning thousands of years before Fu Hsi. In addition to some obviously mythological passages, the ancient histories contained many internal contradictions. Important inventions or cultural innovations were sometimes attributed to two or more ancient emperors who lived centuries apart. In an appendix to Goguet's book, Michele le Roux Deshauterayes, an orientalist and professor at the Collège de France, emphasized these contradictions. He also correctly suspected that many of the sage emperors were later Taoist creations.[81]

Those eighteenth-century scholars who were linguistically best qualified to criticize the Chinese annals generally remained impressed by their accuracy and authenticity. Fourmant, for example, admitted that large parts of China's early history—perhaps everything before Yao—should, like the ancient Greek epics and fables, be taken to contain a substratum of truth embellished by myth. On the other hand, he pointed out that China's ancient history had not been gleaned from a few scattered texts but was part of a continuous, uninterrupted corpus of historical works spanning twenty-two dynasties in 150 volumes. Furthermore, these dynastic histories were so detailed that the text often read more like a journal than a history, and Chinese historians were always careful to keep the narrative of events separate from their commentary on the events. Fourmant also described the elaborate process still followed in Peking for recording the actions of the emperor and other court affairs.[82]

Perhaps the most thorough and sophisticated criticism of the sources for ancient Chinese history produced during the eighteenth century was Gaubil's. He recognized the problems attending the recovery of the ancient texts but also observed that Shih Huang-ti had not destroyed all historical docu-

[78] For example, see Pezron, *L'Antiquité*, 265; Burnet, *Doctrina antiqua*, 18–19; and Goguet, *Origin of Laws*, 3: 284–85.

[79] Lambert, *Histoire générale*, 10: 118–19.

[80] Goguet, *Origin of Laws*, 3: 284–85.

[81] Michel-Ange-André le Roux Deshauterayes, "Extracts from the Chinese Historians," in Goguet, *Origin of Laws*, 3: 300–25.

[82] Fourmant, *Réflexions*, 2: 434–44, 1: liv, 2: 427–28.

ments. The Ch'in family history, for example, had been preserved, and it purported to trace the dynasty back to the days of the sage emperor Shün. Nor was the *I ching* or *Book of Changes* destroyed. Gaubil apparently accepted the appendixes or "Wings" of the *I ching,* which contain some historical material, as having been written by Confucius long before the Ch'in dynasty. He then listed the extant sources for China's ancient history—the classics as well as the historians—and analyzed each text in terms of its chronological relationship to the events described, the way in which it was recovered after the Ch'in, the accuracy of the astronomical obversations contained in it, and the parallels or contradictions between it and other sources. Gaubil accepted Huang-ti as the first Chinese emperor. He thought Confucius and Mencius had failed to mention any emperors before Yao because China had probably not been civilized, or at least not well governed, before Yao's time. Fu Hsi and Shên Nung Gaubil considered princes or chiefs of the Chinese people during their long migration from Mesopotamia.[83]

The controversies continued during the latter half of the eighteenth century. Jesuits and their antagonists continued to battle over Chinese rites and ceremonies. Scholars and missionaries continued to debate the merits of ancient Chinese chronology and history. Both feeding the controversies and resulting from them was a growing body of information about China's ancient past that was being analyzed with increasing sophistication. For some scholars, like Nicolas Fréret, the secretary of the Royal Academy, Chinese history appears to have become, in fact, a self-justifying study, quite apart from any concern for reconciling it with the Bible or the general history of mankind.[84] Although they disagreed on the authenticity of the ancient records, by the mid-eighteenth century scholars like Fourmant, Gaubil, and Goguet knew the major sources and historians of ancient China and their supposed dates; they were also aware of the problems involved in using these sources.

Despite the growing concern among European scholars between the times of Martini and Voltaire for the problems and implications of Chinese history, and despite the growing body of information about Chinese history available to them, it was apparently still possible for some European writers of universal history totally to ignore China and its challenge to traditional world history. Bishop Bossuet's famous *Discours sur l'histoire universelle,* for example, published more than two decades after Martini's *Sinicae historiae,* contains not a word about the Chinese, Japanese, or Indians. While Bossuet modified the traditional sacred-profane division and the four-monarchies pattern, his purpose and scope of inquiry was no broader than that of Sleidanus or Gottfried: "a sermon with an historical text," Eduard Feuter called

[83] Gaubil, *Traité de la chronologie chinoise,* 73–74, 76–81, 74–183, 279–81, 249–77.
[84] See Pinot, *La Chine,* 249–77.

it.[85] Much the same can be said about the universal histories written by Antonio Foresti, Andraes Imhof, Nicolas Guedeville, and Gaspard Guillard de Beaurieu.[86]

Some historians appear to have been reluctant to include ancient China in their universal histories because of the controversies about the Chinese annals. The Danish writer Ludwig von Holberg, for example, thought it would be soon enough to consider Chinese history when the problems regarding the authenticity of the annals were resolved.[87] Others, like the Abbé Lenglet du Fresnoys, apparently saw no compelling reasons for broadening the scope of universal history to include China. He writes:

> Even though the history of that empire [China] were as certain as some would have it be understood, it is nevertheless a study of mere curiosity which does not contain much profit, because these peoples have never had much connection with any of those whose history is useful or necessary to us.[88]

Increasingly, however, European writers felt obliged to make room for China in their universal histories. Probably fewer than half of the universal histories written during the last half of the seventeenth century included China, but the great majority of eighteenth-century universal histories did so. Some, as we have seen, found the identification of sage emperors with Hebrew patriarchs to be the best way of bringing China into ancient world history. Shuckford's identification of Fu Hsi with Noah, for example, made China the earliest established empire in his history.[89] Some historians who declined to identify sage emperors and patriarchs still accepted China as the first empire founded after the flood. Both Johan Hase and Étienne Philippe de Prétot, whose universal histories for the most part follow the traditional pattern, made China, rather than Assyria or Babylon, the first empire.[90] Even writers like the Benedictine scholar Augustin Calmet, who rejected the ancient Chinese chronology and distrusted the annals, included a long, Jesuit-style description of China in his universal history.[91]

[85] Eduard Feuter, *Geschichte der neuern Historiographie* . . . (Munich and Berlin, 1925), 226.

[86] Antonio Foresti, *Mappamondo istorico, cioè ordinata narrazione dei quattro fommi imperii del mondo e della monarchia di Cristo da S. Pietro primo papa sino a' nostri tempi* (Parma, 1690); Andreas Imhof, *Neu-eröffneten Bilder-Saal* (Nuremberg, 1692); Nicolas Guedeville, *Le grand théâtre historique* (Leiden, 1703); and Gaspard Guillard de Beaurieu, *Cours d'histoire sacrée et profane* (3d ed.; Paris, 1766).

[87] [Ludwig von] Holberg, *An Introduction to Universal History*, tr. Gregory Sharpe (2d ed.; London, 1758), in a note appended to the table of contents.

[88] Nicolas Lenglet du Fresnoys, *Methode pour étudier l'histoire avec un catalogue des principaux historiens & de remarques sur la bonté de leurs ouvrages & sur le choix des meilleurs editions* (Paris, 1772), 9: 81. First edition, Paris, 1713. See also Claude de l'Isle, *Abrégé de l'histoire universelle, depuis la creation du monde jusqu'en 1714* (The Hague, 1731), ii–iv.

[89] Shuckford, *Sacred and Profane History*, 1: 100–05.

[90] Johann Matthias Hase, *Historiae universalis politicae quantum ad eius partem i. ac ii. idea plane nova et legitima tractationem summorum imperiorum etc.* (Nuremberg, 1743); [Etienne André Philippe de Prétot,] *Analyse chronologique de l'histoire universelle, depuis le commencement du monde, jusqu'a l'empire de Charlemagne inclusivement* (2d ed.; Paris, 1756). First edition, Paris, 1753.

[91] Augustin Calmet, *Histoire universelle, sacrée et profane, depuis le commencement du monde jusqu'a nos jours* (Strasbourg, 1731–71), 1: 231–37.

The English scholars whose cooperative efforts produced the first volume of their monumental *Universal History* in 1736 also distrusted the ancient Chinese annals. They were familiar with almost all the relevant literature about China available when they wrote, and they rehearsed in detail the arguments for and against accepting the ancient Chinese histories. They concluded: "We must, therefore, observe a medium between the two extremes which at present divide almost the whole literary world; and allow that the most antient historical memoirs of the Chinese are not entirely void of truth, though in the main they scarce merit the attention of the learned."[92] Nevertheless China received considerable attention from the learned authors of the *Universal History*. They conspicuously included Chinese cosmogony in the long section on ancient cosmogonies. They discussed the possible identification of Chinese sage emperors and Hebrew patriarchs and concluded that the Chinese had descended from Noah's son Japheth. They also examined Webb's thesis that Chinese was the world's original language, although they preferred to confer that dignity on Hebrew. Finally, they discussed extensively the problems of ancient Chinese history in the volume entitled *Additions*.[93]

These English historians were apparently somewhat uncomfortable with their low opinion of Chinese antiquity, for the general chronological tables found in the last volume of the second edition reveal a surprising change of mind. Here Fu Hsi is identified with Noah, who migrated to China immediately after the flood.[94] The change appears to have been an afterthought. No re-evaluation of the Chinese annals was made in earlier volumes of the second edition, and there are no volume and page references for the Chinese events listed in the chronological tables as there are for all other events. An explanatory remark in the preface to the last volume indicates that the chronological concurrence of Joshua's long day and the stationary sun of Yao's reign precipitated the change:

> To subjoin a short remark on a passage in the tables which requires a particular explanation: it occurs in the year after the flood 897, and relates to the probability there is that the miracle recorded in the sacred writings, of the sun's standing still at the command of *Joshua,* is also mentioned in the *Chinese* records. It is very true, that, as it stands there, it appeared visibly absurd and fabulous; for it is said, that it stood still for ten days; and the time when this happened is not at all determined, farther than that it was toward the latter end of the reign of the emperor Yau: but if, from this incredible and indeterminate relation, any truth can be struck out, it may be of great use in bringing to light the confused chronology of the *Chinese;* for that it is, in respect to very antient times, very confused, the *Chinese* themselves acknowledge; an endeavor to do this ought not be unacceptable. A phaenomenon so extraordinary, as the standing still of the sun, was very likely to be recorded in the annals of an in-

[92] *An Universal History from the Earliest Account of Time to the Present . . .* (London, 1736–44), *Additions:* 240.

[93] *Ibid.*, 1: 24–34, 115–16; *Additions:* 216; 1: 151–54; *Additions:* 215–41.

[94] *An Universal History from the Earliest Account of Time* (2d ed.; London, 1747), 21: 2–3.

quisitive and observing nation; and as likely as anything, to be magnified, or mistaken, when those annals fell into confusion, as by the confession of the *Chinese* themselves, it is allowed they did; and that great changes have happened in their character: so that there is nothing forced or improbable in supposing, that what we now read ten days, was originally but ten watches; which will bring it pretty near the truth.[95]

Working back from Yao and Joshua to Fu Hsi and Noah, the English historians saw what Shuckford had seen earlier—that Fu Hsi could have been Noah. They had known and rejected Shuckford's theory when they wrote the first edition of the *Universal History*. But they had used a Samaritan-text chronology for the first edition and were using Ussher's Hebrew-text chronology for the second. The authors apparently did not consider their new insight important enough to change earlier volumes of the second edition, but perhaps even this late modification indicates how difficult it was for eighteenth-century historians to ignore the claims of the Chinese annals.

Some eighteenth-century writers gave China a very large place in their universal histories. For example, Lambert's laudatory description of China and its history comprises almost two volumes of his *Histoire générale*.[96] Voltaire devoted the first two chapters of his *Essai sur les moeurs* to China. He claimed that the *Essai* was a continuation of Bossuet's *Discours sur l' histoire universelle,* which ended with Charlemagne, and he professed to have included the ancient history of the Chinese and other Asian peoples only because Bossuet had completely ignored them.[97] Actually Voltaire's enthusiasm for Chinese civilization would have insured the Chinese a prominent place in the *Essai* regardless of their treatment in Bossuet's work. Voltaire used China and its history to ridicule the parochialism of Bossuet and other historians who limited universal history to Western culture and its origins. In a short piece entitled, "Conversation with a Chinese," Voltaire put these words into the mouth of a Chinese to whom some European scholars had given a copy of Bossuet's *Histoire universelle:*

"Ah!" said he, "how fortunate! I shall now see what is said of our great empire —of our nation, which has existed as a national body for more than fifty thousand years—of that succession of emperors who have governed us for so many ages. I shall now see what is thought of the religion of the men of letters —of that simple worship which we render to the Supreme Being. How pleasing to see what is said in Europe of our arts, many of which are more ancient amongst us than any European kingdom. . . ." "Alas!" said one of the learned men to him, "you are not even mentioned in that book; you are too inconsiderable; it is almost all about the first nation in the world—the only nation, the great Jewish people!"[98]

[95] *Ibid.*, 21: xiii–xiv.

[96] Lambert, *Histoire générale*, 9: 268–11: 119.

[97] Voltaire, *Essai sur les moeurs*, 16: 300–01.

[98] Tobias Smollett, ed., and William F. Fleming, tr., *The Works of Voltaire; a Contemporary Version* (Paris, London, New York, and Chicago, 1901), 9: 205–06. In most editions and translations of Voltaire's works this piece is part of the article on "Gloire" or "Glory" in the

The China of Voltaire's *Essai,* therefore, is the oldest, most civilized, best governed, and wisest nation on earth, a nation whose historical records are incontestably accurate.[99]

During the eighteenth century, references to China and her ancient history occasionally appeared even in school textbooks. The Huguenot Jean la Croze's *Chronological Abridgement of Universal History,* for example, is hardly *avant garde.* Using a catechistic format he taught the traditional divisions of history: sacred and profane, the epochs, and the four monarchies. He accepted Ussher's chronology and asserted the superiority of Genesis over all other sources for ancient history. Nevertheless, in a chapter devoted to the founding of ancient monarchies after the confusion of languages at Babel, he asked:

Q. What other empire flourished in this period?
A. The empire of China, which by a long succession of kings, has been preserved till the present day.
Q. Who was its founder?
A. He was called Fo hi. [Fu Hsi].[100]

Johann Köhler's *Orbis terrarum in nuce* is no less traditional than La Croze's work. He nevertheless introduced his students to the challenge of the Chinese annals and to the controversies surrounding them, although he advised them to trust Scripture wherever conflicts appeared.[101]

China figured largely in other examples of eighteenth-century Europe's expanding historical horizons. Fourmant's student and successor, Joseph de Guignes, for example, wrote a history of the steppe peoples, who had so often impinged on both Western and Chinese society.[102] He did not pretend to be writing universal history; nevertheless, in some respects, he more nearly approached Voltaire's ideal than did most universal historians of his time. Based primarily on Chinese sources, Guignes' work was one of the first European histories to have lost the parochial, Western point of view. François-Marie de Marsey's history of modern non-European nations is another example of this new point of view.[103] In twenty-four volumes Marsey, an

Dictionnaire philosophique. More recent Voltaire scholars, however, no longer consider it part of the *Dictionnaire philosophique.* See, for example, Peter Gay's translation (New York, 1962), 2: 654–55.

[99] Voltaire, *Essai sur les moeurs,* 16: 313–21.

[100] Jean Cornand de la Croze, *A Chronological Abridgement of Universal History; to which is Added, an Abridged Chronology of the Most Remarkable Discoveries and Inventions Relative to the Arts and Sciences* (tr. of 7th ed.; London, 1800), 2. He died in 1705.

[101] [Johann David Köhler,] *Orbis terrarum in nuce, sive compendium historiae civilis chronologicum in sculptura memoriali. Die Welt in einer Nuss, oder kurtzer Begriff der merckwürdigsten Welt-Geschichte in einer gedächtnüs-hülfflichen Bilder-Lust; ausgefertig durch Christoph Weigeln* (Nuremberg, 1722), 19.

[102] [Joseph] de Guignes, *Histoire général des Huns, des Turcs, des Mogols, et des autres Tartares occidentaux, & c. avant et depuis Jésus-Christ jusqu'à présent; précédée d'une introduction contenant des tables chronol. & historiques des princes qui ont regné dans l'Asie. Ouvrage tiré des livres chinois & des manuscrits orientaux de la bibliotheque du Roi* (Paris, 1756–58).

[103] François-Marie de Marsey, *Histoire moderne des Chinois, des Japonnois, des Indiens, des Perses, des Turcs, des Russes, etc. pour servir de suite à l'histoire de M. Rollin* (Paris, 1754–73).

ex-Jesuit, tried to describe the geography, history, and civilization of the "modern" non-European peoples in the same way that Charles Rollin had described the ancient peoples.[104] The entire work is devoted to the peoples of Asia and America; its first volume deals with China. Marsey's work was no more intended to be a universal history than was Guignes'. Nevertheless, it provides additional evidence for the increasing concern among eighteenth-century European scholars to bring China and the rest of Asia into their view of world history.

This does not mean, of course, that eighteenth-century universal historians wrote successful general histories of mankind. Few were able to escape European parochialism in their evaluation of other cultures and in the relative emphasis given to European history in their universal histories. Despite his enthusiasm for Chinese history, even Voltaire devoted most of the *Essai* to European history. Furthermore, his Enlightenment-classicist standards and tastes formed the canon by which he freely judged other peoples and eras; as the Göttingen historian August von Schlözer put it, Voltaire still "spoke of Solomon's temple as of St. Peter's."[105]

The information about China included in most seventeenth- and eighteenth century universal histories was usually more descriptive than historical, and it was rarely integrated effectively with the rest of world history. Calmet, for example, merely inserted a few pages of Jesuit-style description into his first volume. Most of this material has nothing to do with ancient Chinese history; it describes China as seen by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Jesuit missionaries and is, therefore, irrelevant to the ancient world Calmet was describing in this volume.[106] Writers who treated China's ancient history more seriously often placed it in separate chapters at the end of the main work, as did the writers of the English *Universal History*. Lambert included more Chinese history than had the English historians, but his long section on China would be more accurately labeled description than history. Nor did Lambert attempt to integrate the histories of the various nations and peoples into a single narrative. His *Histoire générale* is not so much a universal or world history as an aggregate of many separate histories. Voltaire did a bit better. Apart from his first two chapters, devoted exclusively to China and containing much general description, he treated Chinese history within the chronological context of his world history. China is, therefore, a continuing part of the story. But the relationship between Chinese history and European history in the *Essai* is primarily chronological; Chinese history is not effectively integrated with Western history, but merely tacked on to the main story in chronologically smaller pieces.

Those writers who most effectively integrated ancient Chinese history with

[104] Charles Rollin, *Histoire ancienne des Égyptiens, des Carthaginois, des Assyriens, des Babyloniens, des Mèdes, et des Perses, des Macédoniens, des Grecs* (Paris, 1730–38).

[105] August Ludwig von Schlözer, *Weltgeschichte nach ihren Hauptheilen im Auszug und Zusammenhange* (Göttingen, 1792), 1.

[106] Calmet, *Histoire universelle*, 1: 231–37.

ancient Western history—usually by identifying sage emperors with patriarchs or by describing the settlement of China after the universal flood—often lost interest in Chinese history once they had resolved the problem of ancient chronology. China may be the world's oldest empire in Hase's chronological tables, but after the mythological sage emperors, the events recorded in the column devoted to China are almost all dynastic changes. China sometimes re-entered the universal histories when their authors discussed the thirteenth-century Mongol Empire and its conquest of China. Many writers also recorded the Ming restoration in 1368, the establishment of the Jesuit mission in China during the last decades of the sixteenth century, and the Manchu conquest of 1644. But the centuries between the Ch'in dynasty (221–206 B.C.) and the Mongol conquest (1279 A.D.) are usually ignored. Even Voltaire says nothing about China between his description of the empire in the first two chapters of the *Essai* and his relation of the Mongol conquest two volumes later.[107]

When Voltaire wrote his *Essai* in 1756, Martini's *Sinicae historiae* was just short of a century old. Universal history as written by Europeans had changed considerably during that time. European historians in Voltaire's day confronted an impressively large and sophisticated body of information about China and its ancient past. A mid-eighteenth-century historian might question or reject parts of ancient Chinese history and chronology; he might doubt the virtues and wonders of Chinese civilization described by the Jesuits; but it had become exceedingly difficult for him to ignore Chinese history. And for many writers the inclusion of ancient Chinese history had seriously altered the traditional conceptions of universal history. Few traces of the traditional organization and scope of world history remain in a work like the *Essai sur les moeurs,* for example.

Perhaps Voltaire should be regarded, therefore, not so much the pioneer of new trends in the writing of world history as the product of a century-long development. His work and his criticism of the work of earlier historians reflects and dramatizes the growing awareness in his day that the traditional structure and methodology of universal history was inadequate and that a new approach was necessary. Europe's new knowledge of ancient Chinese history played a major role in creating that awareness. The stormy debates provoked by the Chinese annals contributed to an increasingly critical attitude toward historical sources, Western as well as Chinese. The sometimes awkward, usually inadequate, but increasingly unavoidable attempts to include China in the universal histories written by Europeans exposed as never before the problems and inadequacies of the traditional approach to world history.

[107] Voltaire, *Essai sur les moeurs,* 18: 40.

Cultural Strain and Protestant Liberalism

WILLIAM R. HUTCHISON

Status theories of American reform as propounded in the 1950s have by now been subjected to a fairly steady barrage of qualification and refutation. A common response, in fact, to any mention of them is the knowing smile or the impatient dismissal, either of which carries the message that we all know those notions didn't work. Just as prevalent, however, is a broadly based agreement that the status concept, and certainly the "strain theory" of which it is one expression, deserves to be refined and built upon, not simply rejected. A reworking in that spirit is what the strain and status hypotheses have been receiving, both from their major critics and from those, such as the late Richard Hofstadter, whose advocacy first brought status theory prominently before the historical profession.[1]

Suggested revisions, though kaleidoscopically varied, have generally advocated more careful scrutiny of the symbols and symbolic actions that constitute responses to societal strains; and this scrutiny, in turn, has led into what is usually called cultural interpretation. Professed commitments to cultural values, in other words, have been viewed with increased respect as indexes to motivation—though not necessarily with any expectation that the historical actors examined will be found free, in certain of their activities and decisions, from equally strong class and status concerns.

The investigation reported in this essay began not as an attempt to test status theory or to test these newer symbolic and cultural modes of interpretation, but simply as an effort to construct a biographical profile for a movement on which critical synthetic scholarship was unusually limited—the liberal movement in American theology from 1875 to World War I. But when the data, drawn from 250 liberal and conservative biographies, promised to cast light on the question of what had moved men, or enabled them, to become religious liberals, the inquiry was then extended in such a way as

[1] The literature is extensive. For an attempt to synthesize it, see Robert W. Doherty, "Status Anxiety and Reform: Some Alternatives," *American Quarterly*, 19 (1967): 329–37. Hofstadter discusses the reworking of status concepts in *The Paranoid Style in American Politics, and Other Essays* (paperback ed.; New York, 1967), 82–92. Sharply critical accounts are those of Gerard A. Brandmeyer and R. S. Denisoff, "Status Politics: An Appraisal of the Application of a Concept," *Pacific Sociological Review*, 12 (1969): 5–11; and David P. Thelen, "Social Tensions and the Origins of Progressivism," *Journal of American History*, 56 (1969): 323–41.

to relate it more fully to recent discussions of the social sources of American reform. This meant, most importantly, giving special attention to those men within this theologically liberal group, and to some outside it, who were also leaders of the Social Gospel.[2]

The initial result was a confirmation that the cruder forms of status theory are of little use in explaining why men opted for religious liberalism, whether theological or social in emphasis. The more one sought *ex hypothesi* to see relationships between changing patterns of status or deference and particular ideological results, the more the hypothesis itself seemed based, to use Clifford Geertz's chiding phrase, on "a vague and unexamined notion of emotive resonance."[3]

The alternative view to be discussed here, which recognizes a certain amount of clerical commitment to ideals, could evoke a response like Carlyle's response to the news that Margaret Fuller had "accepted the universe": "She'd better!" Religious leaders had better be moved by value commitments. Yet, as is well known, clerical claims to asceticism or disinterest have traditionally received barely enough credence to permit railway discounts and tax-exempt institutional status (both now under review); and historians have been, let us say, even more realistic about these matters than the general public. Accordingly, Mr. Hofstadter's suggestion in 1955 that the late nineteenth-century clergy were "perhaps the most conspicuous losers from the status revolution" and that their discomfort about this loss of status helps explain adherence to the Social Gospel, provoked no perfervid defenses of ministerial idealism.

Nor should the present essay be read as such a defense. What it does contend is that, while social-status drives may well have caused men to enter the professions rather than become farmers or day laborers, they appear not to tell us why some chose the ministry over other professions, and still less why some became liberal ministers rather than conservative ones. For such explanations one must, as much recent theory has insisted, look closely at the rather different phenomenon of cultural strain, and at the processes by which men, reacting to such strain, defend their value systems or discard them and construct new ones.

Further definition of terms and a delineation of recent lines of theoretical discussion are necessary at this point. Strain theory arose initially as a supplement and corrective to modes of explanation that had found economically based class interests behind the formation of most ideologies, reformist or otherwise. Under its directives the sociologist or historian was enjoined, when he found persons and groups behaving in ways not apparently helpful

[2] See the appendix, pp. 406–07.

[3] Geertz, "Ideology as a Cultural System," in David E. Apter, ed., *Ideology and Discontent* (New York, 1964), 57.

to their economic interests, to look for evidence of displacement feelings, or of an anxiety to rise, or of other conscious and unconscious reactions to situations of social realignment.[4]

The status concept, which sounds more limited, was only slightly less ambitious in its aspirations as a vehicle for historical explanation. Its central proposal—that men must be seen as acting out of concern for personal and group status—could have either very limited or very sweeping implications, depending among other things upon the extent of one's skepticism about human motives. In the context of the postliberal social and religious thought of the 1940s and 1950s, the usual implications were sweeping; that is, we were in the mood to assume not only that selected portions of mankind act habitually from a self-regarding concern for status, but that people generally, at least in situations of social strain, act that way. Neo-orthodoxy, at work in theology and beyond it, had broadened the skepticism about professed motives that Progressive historians had regularly exercised in exposing sinister interests.[5] By stressing the dubious purity of all disinterest and by emphasizing the faults of the good, postliberal pessimism about human nature abetted the status theorist's tendency to suspect almost everyone—the reformer and the reactionary, the socially rising groups as well as the socially declining ones. Even Americans as a whole were pictured as having suffered status anxiety during those times when world opinion or world relationships had induced a general insecurity about their Americanness.[6]

So the status concept, as actually used, covered nearly as broad a ground as strain theory. This breadth, or more precisely the ubiquitousness of status explanations, was a major reason in itself why this kind of interpretation came under attack. But the pejorative thrust of the term "status" compounded the problem. The breadth and all-purpose utility of the status idea might have been less troublesome if such writers as Hofstadter had made more use of relatively neutral terms like "strain" and "response to strain" in the first place; if they had reserved the highly judgmental terminology of status-seeking for use where utterances, actions, or background could be shown clearly to justify the accusation. The emphasis upon status, while it diffused and considerably rearranged the moralism of progressive

[4] *Ibid.*, 52. See also Francis X. Sutton *et al.*, *The American Business Creed* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), 1–13, 303–25.

[5] See Merle E. Curti, *Human Nature in American Historical Thought* (Columbia, Mo., 1968), 26–36.

[6] Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York, 1955), 131–73; *idem*, "The Pseudo-Conservative Revolt," *American Scholar*, 24 (1954–55): 9–27. Most of the Mugwumps and professionals who turned to reform were pictured as having suffered objective decline, but architects and educators were thought to have experienced discontent because of a rise in objective position; their rise, it was argued, had placed them in new proximity to an overweening and obnoxious plutocracy or, in the case of educators, had given them new power to express long-held resentments. Hofstadter, *Age of Reform*, 152–55. Status anxiety in the form of doubts about whether we, as a nation of immigrants, are "really and truly and fully American" appears in Hofstadter's "Pseudo-Conservative Revolt," 22–25. Brandmeyer and Denisoff comment on the particular readiness to assume the importance of status pressures upon any and all segments of right-wing opinion. "Status Politics," 9.

and class-interest interpretations, perpetuated the notion that, on most social and political issues to which its analysis was applied, categories of self-interest (or selfish group-interest) and disinterest would continue to be highly relevant. The odd bedfellowship of reformers and reactionaries was justified by the historical matchmaker's discovery of their common concern for status and their comparable selfishness in pursuing it.

Those who have raised questions, directly or implicitly, about the usefulness of status interpretation are not, I think, denying that men frequently do act from self-regarding motives. The suggestion, rather, is that political, social, or ethical causes frequently provoke the formation of groups whose coherence, whose group identity, cannot be explained in the evaluative terminology of either economic interest or status interest. The unifying principle may be, instead, common commitment to a certain cultural style or to a given pattern of cosmic or societal meaning. Coherence may rest upon agreement about particular ways of defining reality or of defining the good society or of expressing the meaning of American democracy. Men divide themselves on some issues not into conflicting interests or into teams of the interested and the disinterested, but into broad symbolic groups for whose members a given political or ethical issue involves an entire system of cultural values.[7]

At least three patterns of interpretation have been discernible. In the first of these, the one that remains nearest to what most historians of the 1950s meant by status interpretation, men are seen as acting out of motives that are broader and on the whole less reprehensible than concern for status, but their expressions of dissent remain essentially irrational or nonrational expressions, efficacious, if at all, only in the area of personal psychological fulfillment. In a second version, the notion of status remains narrow and, if anything, more suggestive of a culpable self-interest than the diffuse psychological expressivism to which the first refers. Symbolic action, in this second view, is seen as definitely instrumental and efficacious, not essentially irrational at all; men acting symbolically know just what they are after, and status, rather consciously pursued, is thought to be a fair description of what they are after. A third version, the one to which the terminology of cultural interpretation most fully belongs, minimizes both irrationalism and bald self-interest; it accords to cultural values, whether championed directly or through symbolic forms of advocacy and legislation, full standing and

[7] Again the literature is enormous. Biographers and the historians of reform movements have nearly all paid status theory the compliment of taking it seriously. Most have, however, plucked at least their particular brands from the burning. See, for example, Jacob H. Dorn, *Washington Gladden: Prophet of the Social Gospel* (Columbus, 1966), 185; and Walter T. K. Nugent, *The Tolerant Populists: Kansas Populism and Nativism* (Chicago, 1963), 31–32. For the applications of cultural interpretation, see Lawrence W. Levine, *Defender of the Faith: William Jennings Bryan, The Last Decade, 1915–1925* (London, 1968), 361–62, *passim;* Lee Benson, "An Appraisal of Beard's Design of Proof and Method," in Seymour M. Lipset and Richard Hofstadter, eds., *Sociology and History: Methods* (New York, 1968), 174–75; and Samuel P. Hayes, "New Possibilities for American Political History: The Social Analysis of Political Life," in *ibid.*, 201.

autonomy as levers of social action. Cultural strain, defined as the upsetting or rending of those patterns of meaning around which individual men have constructed their lives, is looked upon, under this third interpretation, as every bit as real in certain situations as economic strain or status dislocation may be in others.[8]

These various formulas and their permutations have evolved as scholars have sought to understand particular ideological groupings that resist explanation under the earlier rubrics. In the case of the liberal Protestant leadership, one meets resistance as soon as he begins to examine any part of the proposition that the clergy's loss of status contributed significantly to their participation in reform. It is far from clear that the ministry as a profession was in decline during the Progressive period, and even less clear that those ministers who did experience displacement, or loss of status, were moved by that experience in the direction of theological or social reform.

Certainly leaders both of theological and of Social Gospel liberalism, early and late, could be found complaining that the church and the clerical profession were in deep and perhaps unprecedented trouble. David H. Greer's Beecher Lectures of 1895 surprised no one when they declared preaching to be in a decline that might be deplored "but will not, I think, be disputed." Harris Rall scored the religious indifference of the masses: "It is not that they oppose the Church," he explained, "they simply pass it by." Eugene Lyman, as liberalism entered its doldrums of the 1930s, reiterated a standard Social Gospel theme: it was, he said, "an outstanding fact in regard to modern life," that "great areas of it have almost universally been held to be withdrawn from the sphere of Christian ethics." And such sentiments, the last in particular, often implied a sense of what the reference-group analysts would now call relative deprivation—a feeling that the clergy were losing their position of moral-intellectual leadership to other, less qualified, groups.[9]

Complaints of this kind must, however, be seen in relation to several

[8] Hofstadter, *Paranoid Style*, 86–88; Joseph Gusfield, *Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement* (Urbana, 1963), 166–88; Gene Wise, "Political 'Reality' in Recent American Scholarship: Progressives versus Symbolists," *American Quarterly*, 19 (1967): 303–28; Geertz, "Ideology as a Cultural System," *passim*. I have also been aided greatly at this point by R. Eugene Rice, whose doctoral dissertation, "Religion, Ideology, and Change: A Study of the Traditionalistic Populism of William Jennings Bryan 1896–1925" (Harvard University, 1970) deals with Bryan in both class-political and culture-political terms. In the latter connection, Rice argues that "just as economic structures are subject to differentiation and strain, so cultural systems—patterns of meaning, values, and beliefs—are liable to change. Cultural politics . . . is a response to the strains resulting from such changes" (p. 233).

[9] Greer, *The Preacher and His Place: The Lyman Beecher Lectures on Preaching* (New York, 1895), 44; Rall, *A Working Faith* (New York, 1914), 198; Lyman, "Theology and the New Order," *Religion in Life*, 3 (1934): 227. For clerical feelings of displacement in their most common form, see Algernon Sidney Crapsey, *Religion and Politics* (New York, 1905) 278–81; and his *Last of the Heretics* (New York, 1924), 247–50. Those who expressed a more direct resentment against businessmen are ably represented by George Lorimer; see pp. 397–98 below. On reference groups and relative deprivation, see Robert K. Merton and Alice S. Kitt, "Contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behavior," in Robert K. Merton and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, eds., *Continuities in Social Research* (Glencoe, 1950), 40–105.

other types of evidence. Robert T. Handy attempted in 1953 to sketch one necessary context—that of the enormous success and abounding hopefulness of late nineteenth-century Protestantism. Responding to interpretations that had seemed to depict Protestant ventures of that era as rearguard actions, Handy pointed to the many signs of initiative and self-confidence in the churches. During a time when the American population was tripling, the number of Protestant church members had increased sixfold, and the wealth of the churches had grown more rapidly than the wealth of the American people. The mounting wealth, Handy acknowledged, may have been a mixed blessing, as was the increased size and complexity of religious organizations. But evangelism, missionary efforts, unification movements, and social reform all showed, he argued, an immense vitality that went well beyond any mere reveling in material strength.

Other historians, if they had tried to explain the anomaly of clerical optimism amidst an alleged collapse, had explained it with imputations of naiveté or complacency or Nero-like indifference; but Handy in effect solved the same contradiction by doubting whether the clergy had either felt defensive or had reason to feel that way. He argued that writers on the religion of the later nineteenth century had been making use of a misleading biological analogy in whose terms Protestantism appears as a static entity responding more or less, and usually less, adequately to outside stimuli. Such writers, he asserted, had promoted "a vastly oversimplified view of what the American churches were," and had seriously underrated organized religion's "inner drive and dynamic."[10]

A great deal depends, of course, upon one's valuation of the vast enterprises and intellectual adventures with which the churches undeniably were busying themselves. Some of the activities Handy took to be proofs of vitality—missionary expansion, for example—may strike others as proofs of irrelevance or worse. But one must at least discuss decline in the context of a progressive optimism that if not unanimous or so fatuous as it was later imagined to have been was nonetheless pervasive among religious leaders.

One must also, for the sake of perspective, inquire about loss of clerical influence in other eras of American religious history. "The claim that the Church is losing her hold on the people at large," as a religious writer understated the case in 1893, "is not new."[11] That claim is, indeed, very nearly perpetual. In times of religious and moral vitality, religion is in decline from the point of view of those who deplore the loss of comforting older forms. In especially prosperous and church-going times critics are likely to descry moral collapse or weakness behind the façade of institutional success. Among the apparently miraculous attributes of American religion, in fact, has been its capacity, well known to modern readers of *Time* and the several opinion polls, for appearing to be on the rise and in decline simultaneously.

[10] Handy, "The Protestant Quest for a Christian America," *Church History*, 22 (1953): 8–20.
[11] David Kinley, "The Relation of the Church to Social Reform," *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 50 (1893): 378.

Complainants in the later nineteenth century often spoke as though ministers had never felt displaced before; and historians, who tend to be negligent about cross-period comparisons as well as cross-cultural ones, have been ready to take them at their word. Yet Clifford Shipton and Perry Miller have documented a similar sense of clerical decline for the latter years of the seventeenth century; Edmund Morgan for the mid-eighteenth century; Conrad Wright and Daniel Calhoun for the late eighteenth century; John Bodo for the early National era; Barbara Cross for the age of Bushnell; and so on. The list could easily be extended.[12]

A further caveat must be entered if we are focusing upon the actions specifically of those who became reformers. Even if one became convinced of an extraordinary general loss in ministerial status, he would somehow need to deal with the fact that the consciousness and perhaps the reality of such loss was, if anything, greater among religious conservatives than among liberals. If status fears were operative, they appear to have moved men toward the safe havens of fundamentalism, revivalism, dogmatism, and social conservatism at least as often as toward liberal solutions. Stewart G. Cole's unequivocal assignment of status motives to the fundamentalists is open to the same questions I am raising about their assignment to liberals; but Cole's evidence, and that of later students of revivalism and fundamentalism, at least confirms that conservatives were prone to voice this sort of anxiety. That feelings of resentment against a new and intrusive industrial class were especially acute within populistic forms of fundamentalism goes almost, if not quite, without saying.[13]

A survey in 1904 collected the opinions of college and seminary presidents, businessmen, ministers, and students about what was called "The Decline of the Ministry." Not all respondents agreed about the severity of this phenomenon or even about its reality. Among those who did see slippage, however, no relationship appears to have existed between the sense of ministerial declension and the religious liberalism or conservatism of a given respondent.[14]

[12] Shipton, "The New England Clergy of the 'Glacial Age,'" *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, 32 (1933): 24–54; Miller, *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953); Morgan, "The American Revolution Considered as an Intellectual Movement," in Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. and Morton White, eds., *Paths of American Thought* (Boston, 1963), 11–33; Wright, *The Beginnings of Unitarianism in America* (Beacon Press ed.; Boston, 1966), 248–51; Calhoun, *Professional Lives in America: Structure and Aspiration 1750–1850* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), 88–117; Bodo, *The Protestant Clergy and Public Issues, 1812–1848* (Princeton, 1954), 9; Cross, *Horace Bushnell: Minister to a Changing America* (Chicago, 1958), 119.

[13] Cole, *The History of Fundamentalism* (New York, 1931), 52–53; William G. McLoughlin, *Billy Sunday was His Real Name* (Chicago, 1955), 189–93; Norman F. Furniss, *The Fundamentalist Controversy, 1918–1931*. (Archon Books ed.; Hamden, 1963), 17–18, 29–30; Willard H. Smith, "William Jennings Bryan and the Social Gospel," *Journal of American History*, 53 (1966): 41–60.

[14] Everett T. Tomlinson, "The Decline of the Ministry," *World's Work*, 9 (1904): 5635–40. Tomlinson does not divulge the size of his sample, but from internal evidence one can guess that it totaled 150 respondents. See also Willis J. Beecher, "Making Religion Popular," *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 68 (1911): 48–60. Beecher's remedy for the church's loss of influence is opposite to that of the liberals.

A final complication resides in the fact that liberals were likely to be the very men for whom the loss in influence of a clerical order or of a doctrinal system was reason for hope rather than for despair or anxiety. A. S. Crapsey, the noted heretic, regarded the decline of the clergy as a settled fact. He also, however, explained that this was a fact "not because the world is growing less religious, but because it is more religious than it was sixty years ago."[15]

The record of clerical complaints about the decline of religion is therefore equivocal, at best, in its indications about the springs of reform ideology and action. And so is the more objective record documented by such revisionists as Handy. But specifically ministerial status is not, of course, the whole story. The minister's sense of displacement could theoretically have arisen out of his membership in any of a number of groups whose relative influence was waning; and unless he was given to Henry Adams' kind of public introspection, the minister was not likely to talk about the declining advantages of membership in these other elites. It is relevant to ask, then, to what extent the leaders of religious liberalism either felt or ought to have felt displaced and offended by the new men of wealth. Were they in any marked degree associated with those regions, social classes, and ethnic and occupational groups whose prestige had supposedly been diminished or threatened?[16]

The comparative biographical data upon which one must draw for help with these questions may be open to variant interpretations. The appendix to this article therefore details the data, the criteria used in selection of subjects, and the measures taken to correct for possible biases in biographical sources. What we found, first of all, was a similarity between liberals and conservatives in economic background, a similarity particularly in those respects in which the ministry differed most sharply from the American population as a whole.

That liberal reformers in some ways resemble the immediate opposition is no longer a shocking idea; for many historians it has become axiomatic. One would expect to find the Protestant leadership, on both sides, more urban in origins, more professional in family background, less working class than the American population.[17] But the comparative figures for liberals and conservatives turned out, in these respects, to be quite strikingly alike.

[15] Crapsey, *Religion and Politics*, 281.

[16] In Professor Hofstadter's redaction of definitions offered earlier by Lord Bryce and others, the victims of social displacement after the Civil War were "the old gentry, the merchants of long standing, the small manufacturers, the established professional men, the civic leaders of an earlier era, . . . the old-family, college-educated class that had deep ancestral roots in local communities and often owned family businesses, that had traditions of political leadership, belonged to the patriotic societies and the best clubs, staffed the governing boards of philanthropic and cultural institutions, and led the movements for civic betterment." *Age of Reform*, 137.

[17] The available statistics for various American occupational groups, and for the population at large, are not always readily comparable; but from several sources that use the census standard—places over 2,500—to distinguish urban from rural, one gathers that native Americans raised in the 1820s could be called 7 per cent urban in origins; that those raised in the 1880s were 28 per cent urban by the same standard; that business leaders prominent in the 1870s were 50 per cent urban in background, those of 1901–10, 59 per cent urban. Application of the same

The percentage in each group, for example, who were sons of ministers was almost identical; the percentage who were sons of industrial workers was almost identically minimal. If socioeconomic origins could be thought to correlate strongly with positions on theological and social liberalism, the men in these groups ought to have come out with nearly identical opinions.

Such differences as we did find in this portion of the data seemed not to be friendly to a linkage between status decline and the reform stance. The conservatives, on the whole, were more associable with those regions, social classes, and ethnic and occupational groups whose prestige had allegedly been threatened. It was the conservatives, not the liberals, who enjoyed the stronger affiliations to long-standing wealth and influence.

Both groups were overwhelmingly Anglo-Saxon in family origins and predominantly native-born. But there were fewer immigrants among the conservatives; and the latter were more often from the older northeastern region and those rural and small-town settings whose declining relevance is supposed to have provoked a reforming spirit. Conservatives were three times as likely as liberals were to come from the South, were singularly drawn from planters' families (thirteen per cent) and came much more frequently (fourteen per cent) from situations of considerable, nearly always older, wealth.

When one singles out and examines those theological liberals who were most active in the Social Gospel,[18] the resulting picture perhaps rehabilitates economic class as one component of explanation; but it is notably unfavorable to interpretations that would stress professional or privileged-class defensiveness. Among the Social Gospel clergy, as distinguished from its lay philanthropic supporters,[19] poor and lower-class origins were rather more common than they were among liberals as a whole; while a clearly

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standard to the thirty-three leading liberal churchmen produces a figure of 58 per cent for the group. U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States* (Washington, 1960), 14; Frances W. Gregory and Irene Neu, "The American Industrial Elite in the 1870's," in William Miller, ed., *Men in Business* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), 201. A forthcoming analysis by P. M. G. Harris of Howard University of the biographies in the *Dictionary of American Biography* adopts a definition of rural congenial with the one chiefly used in the present study and also used at one point by Gregory and Neu. According to Harris, 27 per cent of all ministerial leaders born from 1825 to 1857 came from farms or clearly rural surroundings. (Harris' figure for business leaders of the same generation is 24 per cent; that of Gregory and Neu for businessmen prominent in the 1870s is 25 per cent.) In the present study 23 per cent of the entire group of liberals (156), and 35 per cent of the conservatives came from farms or clearly rural surroundings. Two-to-three per cent of the ministerial leaders in the present study were the sons of industrial workers. This contrasts with a figure for the general population that can be estimated, roughly but conservatively, at 20 per cent to 35 per cent (proportion of industrial workers to total gainfully employed) over the decades in which these men were reared. See *Historical Statistics*, 72; and U. S. census reports for 1840 through 1880.

[18] Varying degrees of Social Gospel sympathy and involvement can usefully be distinguished (see appendix, p. 411), but for the purposes of the inquiry undertaken in this part of the essay it seemed appropriate to select, from the group of 156 liberals, those who were better known—not just somewhat or even equally known—for Social Gospel advocacy than for their theological liberalism. Thirty-nine of the men, or 25 per cent, were in that category (see appendix, pp. 408–09, column F).

[19] A revealing and I think important discrepancy between clergy and laymen turned up when

wealthy or prestigious family background among the Social Gospel clergy was rare. Further, if resentment against the men of new industrial wealth is any sort of index, status anxiety appears to rank a poor second or third among the motives for clerical adherence to the Social Gospel. By and large, the Social Gospelers whose origins lay among the older elites were also the ones who expressed the least resentment against the men of new wealth and influence. The more vitriolic attacks on the new wealth and its baneful effects came from the men of humble origin. Some concrete examples may be helpful.

William Adams Brown, professor at Union Seminary and patrician reformer par excellence, exhibited in exaggerated but basically accurate form the discorrelation between membership in the older elites and resentment, either explicit or implied, against the newer ones. Brown, who lived from 1865 to 1943, was an almost perfect example of the Mugwumpery historians have used as a model. He was descended on his mother's side from a line of prominent Presbyterian clergymen and seminary presidents and on his father's from those Brown Brothers whose famous merchant-banking firm was still the family business. Brown and his father, making the political move essential for Mugwumps, deserted the Republicans in favor of Grover Cleveland and free trade; and Brown continued thereafter to favor the Democrats except when the higher call of civic reform dictated an indifference to party labels.[20]

One of the Bluest of Yale men, Brown considered himself indebted to William Graham Sumner, despite divergent views on social reform, more than to anyone else except his German theological mentor, Adolf von Harnack. The patrician identifies himself on page after page of a long and rather pompous autobiography. We find Brown the marriage counselor advising young men only half facetiously to "teach your wife to love golf as well as you do, and all will be well." Brown the world traveler rejoices in the 1930s that "whatever one may think of Mussolini's foreign policy," Italy has been rid of beggars. And Brown the genial memoirist relives fifty years of vacations in a summer colony—replete with Gilmans, Peabodys, Eliots, and Rocke-

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we sought to check our findings against a second Social Gospel sample not subject to the limitations under which the first had been selected. In order to provide such a supplementary test group we undertook a side-investigation of all Social Gospelers of this period, over and above those already considered, who are mentioned prominently in the standard histories by Henry May, C. H. Hopkins, and James Dombrowski, and for whom socioeconomic data could be found. The resulting group of fifty-three, unlike the thirty-nine previously considered, included laymen as well as clergy, women as well as men, religiously grounded reformers of any denomination or no denomination, and at least a few persons not noted for theological liberalism. At first blush the new sample seemed to contradict the finding that Social Gospel leaders were men of humbler origins than other religious liberals. Though 25 per cent came either out of poverty or out of very modest circumstances, a strikingly high proportion, 20 per cent, came from wealthy families. It turned out, however, that all but one of this wealthy minority were laymen. I suggest that these well-born lay supporters and publicists of the Social Gospel have given the movement a patrician cast that has little to do with its clerical makeup.

[20] William Adams Brown, *A Teacher and His Times: A Story of Two Worlds* (New York, 1940), 65, 157.

fellers—that may well have served as one model for George Apley's excruciatingly genteel Pequod Island.[21]

Against this thoroughly patrician backdrop Brown's long career as theological liberal and social activist stands out in rather bold relief. True to the approved script, the second-generation Mugwump plunges into city campaigns against vice and corruption; he fights Tammany; he joins with Charles Stelzle in founding the Labor Temple and then in repeatedly defending the right of radicalism to a hearing there; he supervises the work of the American Parish in East Harlem and supports its executive director, Norman Thomas, both before and after Thomas' alliance with the Socialist party.[22]

Any explanation of such reform activism as a function of status resentment or of a sense of clerical demise would have to be argued a priori in a case like Brown's because too much of the evidence simply runs the other way. Neither the banking Browns nor the ministerial Adamses appear to have felt overshadowed by the new and superior wealth of the Vanderbilts and Morgans. Brown's father prided himself, in the era of Vanderbilt, upon his acquaintance with both railroading and railroad magnates. "Trusted and respected," as the son recalled, by men of far greater wealth, the elder Brown was called upon to advise Morgan and the other Lords of Creation in their effort to avert the panic of 1907. The son, for his part, in his pleas for civic and social reform was at least as ready to criticize Fifth Avenue aristocrats as he was to castigate new industrialists.[23]

All this might perhaps be attributed in Brown's case to a peculiarly Presbyterian refusal to admit that he and his kind had been displaced and that they jolly well ought to be feeling status anxiety. But the same pattern prevails among other Social Gospel pastors or executives who came from aristocratic and long-influential families. Bishop Henry C. Potter's ancestors had wielded influence in church and state at least since the knighting of one of them by Elizabeth I; Frank Mason North's family had settled in Massachusetts in 1670 and had been doing well in the interim; David Hummell Greer was the son of a successful wholesale merchant and was "brought up

[21] *Ibid.*, 63, 69–71, 142, 141, 144–45. On Brown's Mt. Desert Island, ladies sit beneath the trees reading Dante to younger ladies; Mrs. Gilman tells her "inimitable darkey stories, drawn from her experiences as the [Johns Hopkins] president's wife in Baltimore"; and Dora Gilman pens lines "familiar to every member of this early group: 'We thank the goodness and the grace / That brought us to this lovely place, / And now with all our hearts we pray / That other folks may stay away.' " *Ibid.*, 146–47.

[22] *Ibid.*, 113–18, 120–25. The extent and wholeheartedness of Brown's support for Thomas is a matter of some disagreement. But as Thomas' biographer acknowledges, Adams was clearly the young pastor's chief backer until Thomas announced support of Morris Hillquit in the mayoralty campaign of 1917; and Brown always firmly believed that he had acted, after that announcement, to prevent rather than to encourage Thomas' resignation from the parish. Harry Fleischman, *Norman Thomas: A Biography* (New York, 1964), 63–64.

[23] Brown, *Teacher and His Times*, 27, 167; Brown, *Christianity and Industry* (New York, 1919), 38. The status theories, even in an early form, recognized that cordial relations often existed between the men of older and of newer influence, but they explained that the cordiality, like its opposite, arose out of status motives. See Hofstadter, *Age of Reform*, 137–38.

in comfortable circumstances"; the American pedigree of Frederic D. Huntington ran back to 1633. Yet the relations between such reformers and the men of new wealth were generally more than cordial. Among the four patricians just mentioned, only Huntington showed an animus against the newly emergent capitalism that was at all comparable to the resentment displayed by George Herron, George C. Lorimer, and others of obscure or very modest family background.[24]

George Lorimer, a Social Gospeler of markedly unpatrician origins, illustrates the tendency of antiplutocratic feelings to be lodged just where, back before the status theories, one expected to find them: among men of modest origins. Minister at the Baptist Tremont Temple in Boston, Lorimer had few rivals as a castigator of the post-Civil War plutocracy and a critic of its influence in American society. He also came from a family background that in nineteenth-century terms was a mixture of the humble and the disreputable. As a partially orphaned Scottish lad, he had been brought up in the household of a theatrical manager. At the age of seventeen—though the *Baptist Encyclopaedia* later averted its gaze from this ugly fact—Lorimer had actually embarked on an acting career. Emigrating to the United States shortly thereafter, he had become a convert in Kentucky and had served parishes in that state and at Albany, New York, before coming to Boston.[25]

Lorimer, whose own advocacy of reform dated from the early and difficult period of the 1860s, nonetheless expressed sympathy for liberal ministers who found it impossible, even at a later date, to speak out. "It requires something more than courage," he acknowledged,

> to receive meekly the haughty reprimands of the new rich, and to submit to being told by some tradesman, who in youth seldom went to school, and has read little save the headlines in the daily press . . . that the pulpit is necessarily incompetent to deal with social problems. If some sensitive souls shrink from the assaults of the vulgar . . . it is not, perhaps, altogether surprising.

[24] See George Hodges, *Henry Codman Potter* (New York, 1915); Creighton Lacy, *Frank Mason North* (Nashville, 1967); Harris Starr, "David Hummell Greer," in *DAB;* and Arria S. Huntington, *Memoir and Letters of Frederic Dan Huntington* (Boston, 1906), 2. Potter is known for having disputed Bishop Wilberforce's dictum that society could not be saved by dining with it. Hodges, *Henry Codman Potter,* 293. Clyde C. Griffen, in a meticulous study of Manhattan parishes over which Social Gospel activists presided, has shown that these ministers had the support of a few strategically located upper-class laymen and the tolerance, at least, of a much larger segment of their upper-class constituencies. "Rich Laymen and Early Social Christianity," *Church History,* 36 (1967): 45–65. James S. McLachlan, investigating the patrician reformers who battled for civil service and similar reforms between 1865 and 1884, was surprised to learn that "the majority of the reformers came from secure environments; they had experienced little or none of the violent social displacement that one would expect to find in the background of movements of reform and social dissent." This fact, he said, "goes far to explain the reformers' relatively mild and judicious approach to the ills of their society." "The Genteel Reformers: 1865–1884," (master's thesis, Columbia University, 1958), 20.

[25] Unsigned obituary of Lorimer in *Outlook,* Sept. 17, 1904, p. 157. The *Baptist Encyclopaedia's* version was that "for a brief period he had some business connection with a theatre, and occasionally performed some parts, but God had something higher and better for him." William Cathcart, ed., *Baptist Encyclopaedia* (Philadelphia, 1881), 718.

Lorimer depicted social institutions, especially press and pulpit, as shivering and cringing before combinations of capital. And though he denounced the "excessively affluent," his deepest animus seemed to lie against the aspirants to wealth, against "men of moderate means, imagining themselves to be millionaires in embryo, of moderate position, of moderate intelligence, and usually of less than moderate piety, whose affluence and abundance lie mainly in the direction of narrowness and bigotry." These are the men, he said, who "evoke the heavens wonderingly and indignantly to contemplate their pastor, who must be bordering on the inebriety of socialism . . . to intimate that the rich are not wiser, better, and nobler than other men."[26]

The case of Lorimer, like that of Brown, is extreme. Yet the correlation it presents, this time between relatively lowly origins and resentment against capitalism, is more the rule than the exception. Among the more denunciatory Social Gospelers were George Herron, who described his father as "a humble man" and the years of his youth as "years of poverty and sickness, toil and trial"; Washington Gladden, who lost his father, a schoolmaster, at age five and was raised by a farmer uncle; Douglas C. Macintosh, a Canadian farm lad who had had to earn his living for a number of years before entering college; and Edward Scribner Ames, who grew up under the shadow of "deep and unrelenting poverty."[27]

Social displacement, therefore, and consciousness thereof, seem neither peculiar to liberalism nor especially associated with those within the movement who "ought" to have felt it. What the comparative data suggest, however, is that a broader and richer conception of cultural strain—one that is able, for example, to comprehend loss of meaning as a factor of independent importance[28]—could indeed illuminate the study of groups of this kind.

[26] Lorimer, *Christianity and the Social State* (Philadelphia, 1898), vii–xi, 205, 41–47.

[27] Charles Beardsley, "Professor Herron," *Arena*, 15 (1896): 784–96; Dorn, *Washington Gladden*, 3–6; D. C. Macintosh, "Toward an Untraditional Orthodoxy," in Vergilius Ferm, ed., *Contemporary American Theology*, 1 (New York, 1932): 277–89; Edward Scribner Ames, *Beyond Theology: The Autobiography of Edward Scribner Ames* (Chicago, 1959), 6. A few vehement critics of the plutocracy came from somewhat more influential families. Besides Huntington, Walter Rauschenbusch and "the Socialist Bishop" Franklin S. Spalding could be so identified. Even these exceptions, however, are doubtful. Rauschenbusch's father, a professor in a small German Baptist seminary, was perhaps less than influential. Spalding's father had been unable to finance his son's college education. See Carl E. Schneider, "Americanization of Karl August Rauschenbusch, 1816–1899," *Church History*, 24 (1955): 3–14; and John Howard Melish, *Franklin Spencer Spalding* (New York, 1917), 12. One might at this point, calling upon the distinction between ascribed and acquired status, consider the presumably keener sensitivities of those whose position in society has had to be won. But class origin, which in such a hypothesis defines the difference between ministers who were especially sensitive and those who were not, remains crucial. The intraliberal distinctions on these points correspond with those that G. H. Smith found between liberalisms concerned respectively with more intellectual (civil libertarian) and more economic issues. Educational attainment was higher among liberals of the first type; economic standing was lower among those of the second type. Smith, "Liberalism and Level of Information," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 39 (1948): 65–81; and "The Relationship of 'Enlightenment' to Liberal-Conservative Opinions," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 28 (1948): 3–17.

[28] Mr. Hofstadter appears loath to take this step. In *Paranoid Style* he acknowledges the force of "values which are taken by the persons who share them to be ultimate moral goals, dis-

No group profile compiled chiefly from secondary materials should pretend to do more than propose lines of inquiry; certainly the biographical deficiencies that provoked the present investigations have not been fully remedied by them. But the indications from our study are that those who dig into the extensive collections of personal papers will find among the religious liberals distinctive patterns not of socioeconomic background, but of family influence and nurture, of religious conversion experience, of education, and of personality.

Of these four, the item most nearly quantifiable and least under suspicion of subjective distortion in biographies and autobiographies is the difference between liberals and conservatives in educational experience. Although this difference emerges most sharply at the more advanced educational levels, it appears, in at least two respects, at earlier stages. First of all, liberals were not only recruited more heavily than conservatives from professional families, but also came to a much greater extent from the families of educators. And secondly, differences of religious outlook often appear to have been generated or augmented in the undergraduate years.

The liberals' own memoirs, nearly all of which credit the mind-opening influence of particular college teachers, form part of the evidence for the second of these observations. Another part is suggested in the choices made by the prospective religious leaders regarding postcollege training. While both liberals and conservatives tended to move toward New England for their undergraduate education, a divergence appears at the next stage, the seminary. Conservatives returned to other sections of the country for theological education while liberals increased their concentration in New England, and in theologically advanced seminaries such as Union of New York, by about the same marked proportion. Sometimes, of course, the seminary had been chosen even before the young man left for college, and in such cases one must pay more attention to home nurture as a determinant. But the choice of vocation and the choice of theological institution usually remained with the student, at least to the extent of his being open to strong influence from college instructors.

The most common pattern of higher education among late nineteenth-century Protestant leaders, whether liberal or conservative, included both college and seminary training, but not graduate study beyond the professional degree. Conservatives, when they broke from this pattern, were likely to do so by omitting college and going directly into a seminary or Bible college. But the deviation among the liberals was in the opposite direction; it appears in the number who undertook graduate study beyond,

interestedly pursued." He then backs off from any implication of the actual autonomy of these value systems; but he does so, it seems to me, by backing into a contradiction: "Such persons believe that their prestige in the community, even indeed their self-esteem, depends on having these values honored in public" (p. 87). People may believe themselves disinterested and not be; they can scarcely believe their adherence to given values to be disinterested and at the same time believe that their own prestige depends upon having the values accepted.

or sometimes in place of, the professional theological degree. The incidence of advanced graduate study is especially high among the thirty-three first-rank leaders of the liberal movement (among whom the incidence of educator-fathers is also especially high). Fully two-thirds of these men pursued graduate work beyond the seminary, and more than half of them studied abroad. All in this group who studied overseas spent at least part of their time in Germany, with Berlin overwhelmingly the focal point of their interest.[29]

The second ingredient in this mix, religious conversion experience, while inherently difficult for these men or their biographers to report objectively, nonetheless presents a difference large enough to allay suspicions of serious distortion. The biographical and autobiographical accounts indicate that whereas nearly two-thirds of the conservatives underwent a sharply defined, usually dramatic, conversion experience, very few of the liberals underwent an experience of that kind, and barely a third of them experienced conversions even of a mixed intellectual-emotional sort.

This second factor leads directly into consideration of a third: the nurture of the home. It would be unsound to explain the once-born pattern in liberal biographies by suggesting that a dramatic experience was not expected in the homes and communities from which liberals came. Too many of them testify to having striven anxiously, often ignominiously, for a dramatic conversion that never occurred. Yet it does appear that preceding home nurture constituted a powerful influence both in the educational decisions discussed above and in the failure, whether casual or agonized, to "get religion" in the generally prescribed evangelical way. In explaining such items of personal history, the liberals themselves stressed the decisive influence of home environments that in most cases could be described as orthodox but nonrepressive. Their biographies with surprising regularity speak of the influence of a kind of person almost entirely missing from the conservative chronicles—of a parent or uncle or close family acquaintance who was somewhat heretical or freethinking by family standards but was clearly more admired in that circle than accepted in the community.[30]

Unless we are to suspect a general warping amounting almost to conspiracy in the composing of memoirs and biographies, there were real differences of style in the familial cultures from which liberals and conservatives, respectively, tended to come. The homes fondly remembered by the conservatives were characterized by loving and closely knit family rela-

[29] The great figures of Berlin, from the advent there of Isaac Dorner in 1862, were Dorner, Otto Pfleiderer, Wilhelm Dilthey, Julius Kaftan, and Adolf von Harnack. Other centers for the Americans were Halle (Friedrich A. G. Tholuck), Marburg (Harnack in the 1880s), Göttingen (Albrecht Ritschl), Leipzig (Karl F. A. Kahnis), and Jena (Rudolf Christoph Eucken).

[30] See the appendix, p. 410. For extended treatments of the pattern of upbringing discussed here, see Lyman Abbott, *Reminiscences* (Boston, 1915), chs. 1, 7, 8; Washington Gladden, *Recollections* (Boston, 1909), chs. 1, 2; Benjamin W. Bacon, *Theodore Thornton Munger: New England Minister* (New Haven, 1913), chs. 1–3; and William Jewett Tucker, *My Generation: An Autobiographical Interpretation* (Boston, 1919), ch. 2. In matters of home nurture, conversion experience, personality, and education, the generalizations made about liberals again apply equally well to those among them who engaged most actively in social reform.

tionships and by a firm if not stern piety for which the mother in a great many cases was given chief credit.[31] Among the liberals, however, the norm was, so to speak, the Bushnellian home with a resident Tom Paine. The child who was to become a liberal grew up, as Bushnell said children should, "knowing himself to be Christian"; and also knowing or sensing that, within broad limits, deviation would not mean rejection either of or by the parental generation.[32]

The fourth difference we noted, that of personality, should perhaps be seen as concomitant with differences in religious ideology rather than as causative of them. The available data, which were limited in this study mainly to biographers' descriptions, suggest that the liberals, though notably forceful and outspoken, were men of more equable temper and of more open, less acerbic personality than their confreres at either extreme—conservative or radical—of the religious spectrum.[33] That the liberals, with some notable exceptions, shunned controversy, minimized dogmatic distinctions, and preferred—if it came to that—keeping the peace over keeping the doctrinal faith, has usually been acknowledged by defenders and detractors alike.

If, as I am proposing, decisive influences toward religious reform are to be found in the pattern of socialization that has been discussed, then the

[31] The relative importance of the mother and the father in shaping religious views may be worth further attention, as the relationships with siblings and other family members surely will be. Without consultation of the parents' own letters, judgments as to which parent was dominant seemed possible in only about two dozen cases. That limited sample, however, indicated an almost unanimous tendency among the conservatives to name the mother as chief religious influence in the home. The majority of the liberals gave more or equal credit to the father.

[32] Horace Bushnell (1802–76), the Congregational theologian, advocated during the mid-nineteenth century a genial theory of Christian family life that saw the child as godly and growing in grace, not as utterly sinful and in need of dramatic conversion. Among the "vices" Bushnell deplored in the evangelical home nurture of his own day were sanctimoniousness, bigotry, fanaticism, censoriousness, and "over-bearing absolutism." He proposed that parents "make the subject of religion an open subject." The "only genuine teaching" was "that which interprets the truth to the child's feeling by living example." *Christian Nurture* (paperback ed.; New Haven, 1967), xv–xx.

[33] Our findings on this point, derived from an analysis of the characterizing adjectives or phrases used in *DAB* biographies, tend to confirm those of Thomas Symington in *Religious Liberals and Conservatives: A Comparison of Those Who are Liberal in Their Religious Thinking and Those Who are Conservative* (New York, 1935). We found that the traits most often ascribed to the liberals were, in order of frequency, geniality, energy, dignity, and humor. Those most frequently ascribed to conservatives were rigidity, readiness to engage in controversy, graciousness or generosity, energy, and dignity. A sample checking of the background of *DAB* biographers suggests that the *DAB* editors chose authors, on both sides, who were sympathetic to their subjects; but even if we allow, on balance, for some liberal leaning among biographers, the contrast in characterizations is striking. The term "rigid," for example, is used in seventeen conservative biographies, but in only one biography of a liberal. In this part of the study we also paid attention to indications about physical and mental health. The thirty-three leading liberals appear to have been notably better adjusted in both respects than a group of the most prominent free religionists and militant agnostics (twenty-three in number) with which we compared them. The incidence of physical or emotional difficulties in this group of radicals was quite high (50 per cent compared to the liberals' 25 per cent). But our sources did not divulge significant differences of physical and mental stability between liberals and conservatives. Symington, on the other hand, while he found no higher incidence among conservatives of serious maladjustment, accorded a considerable advantage to liberals in their "ways of facing life's problems and of dealing with other people." *Ibid.*, 40–51.

question arises as to what is meant, in this context, by "influence": whether the Bushnellian nurture, for example, is a matter of content or form, of inner belief or outer structure; whether we are speaking of message or just medium.

It would not be simply facile to take Bushnell as insisting, in *Christian Nurture,* that the medium is the message. Surely he meant to argue that the two are much harder to separate than traditional doctrinal and catechistical teaching had assumed. And in practice, the believing but determinedly tolerant home nurture of which he wrote involved both structure and substance, both outer and inner inducements to a future liberalism. In this essay, however, I have been concerned principally with the outer influences, so far as they can be pulled out for analysis. And among these the essential influence seems to have been that of a home whose teaching and style persuaded the child that change would not explode orthodoxy; that change is compatible with orthodoxy or even integral to it.[34]

Early nurture of this kind may not have been essential in the sense that all later decisions would grow from it. In our day the discussion of more advanced stages in the life cycle, as well as long-standing questions concerning heredity, preclude any great assertiveness about the singular import of childhood influences. Instead, the Bushnellian home can be taken as—one must use the overworked term—the paradigm for a whole pattern of socialization and for a particular approach to the maintenance and revision of religious values.[35]

A prime feature of the theory of Christian nurture for which Bushnell became chief spokesman was the latitude it allowed within the area of orthodox religious expression. The tolerance for credal ambiguity promoted in Bushnell's "Dissertation on Language" appeared also, not surprisingly, in his ideas on child-rearing. The kind of religious thinking involved was what the liberals of Andover Seminary later called "progressive orthodoxy," and what their more aggressive cobelligerent Charles A. Briggs labeled simply "Orthodoxy," in intentionally invidious contrast to a staid "Orthodoxism."[36] A great deal in the Bushnellian home—the noncataclysmic expectations about religious experience, the emphasis upon living a creed, the association of orthodoxy and change—conspired to prepare the child to ac-

[34] Symington, who queried literally scores of possible differences in background between liberals and conservatives of college and postcollege age, identified parental attitudes, experienced or anticipated, as involving "by far the most decisive and considerable statistical difference" between the two groups. *Ibid.,* 70–71.

[35] To the extent that psychology, following Erik Erikson, attaches increased importance to experiences later than those of childhood, the historian will perhaps be tempted to lay greater emphasis upon educational and other experiences of early manhood and somewhat less emphasis upon home nurture. H. Stuart Hughes discusses this and other open questions in psychology in "History and Psychoanalysis: The Explanation of Motive," in his *History as Art and as Science* (New York, 1964), 42–67. For a succinct—and frightening—enumeration from the psychologists' side of the variables to be considered, see Erik Erikson, "On the Nature of Psycho-Historical Evidence: In Search of Gandhi," *Daedalus,* 97 (1968): 695–730.

[36] Bushnell, "Dissertation on Language," in his *God in Christ* (Hartford, 1849), 9–97; Egbert C. Smyth *et al., Progressive Orthodoxy* (Boston, 1886); Charles A. Briggs, *Whither? A Theological Question for the Times* (New York, 1889).

cept neologies that the parental generation, and certainly Bushnell himself, had not accepted. When faced with intellectual and social imperatives that everyone, or certainly every prospective clergyman, had to face, they would be able to revise their faith and social theory with minimum rejection of the familial and personal past.

To stress this preparatory nurture is not to say that for all of these men the movement into religious liberalism was to be smooth and uneventful. Many of them experienced severe personal crises. It would be hard to exaggerate the agonies of a William Rainey Harper, struggling to bring himself to announce critical findings that implied Christ's fallibility (he announced them); or of Harry Emerson Fosdick, who fell into a religious sophomore slump that had an astonished college devotional group praying overtime for his recovery. Shailer Mathews, dean of the Chicago Divinity School in the 1920s, remembered the experience of the men of his generation as "bewilderment born of the surprise which follows the examination of . . . presuppositions which had never been questioned."[37]

The liberal's response to this collapse of meaning can perhaps be termed both defensive and in a rather special way self-interested. Fosdick is one of many liberals through whose autobiographical writings one can hear an entire generation of anxious young men cheering as the relief column of liberal theology, bagpipes skirling, marches to the rescue of the threatened Christian regiment. Shailer Mathews was frank to acknowledge the place of a relatively untheological Social Gospel in bringing candidates into the ministry and keeping them there. "Even though men could not believe in the formulas of orthodoxy," Mathews recalled in his ingenuous way, "they could believe in Jesus as a moral example. Social reform seemed much more practicable than the solution of religious doubts."[38]

A good many men, in other words, did seize upon liberal theology and the Social Gospel as fragments to be shored against the ruins of traditional faith; and this kind of liberal was quite likely to display the defensive anxiety George Santayana identified in his colleague William James. James had "come out into what should have been the sunlight, but the vast shadow of the temple stood between him and the sun. He was worried about what *ought* to be believed and the awful deprivations of disbelieving."[39] The typical autobiographical expressions—"my old universe had vanished," "my old sermons had become unpreachable"—come across as recollections of this Jamesian form of anxiety, as vivid memories of the loss or threatened loss of a coherent world view. Terms like "status" seem grossly inadequate—statistics aside—for dealing with young men so heavily preoccupied with questions of intellectual integrity and their souls' salvation, and at the same time notably or even irresponsibly unconcerned about class standing, the

[37] Fosdick, *The Living of These Days* (2d ed.; New York, 1967), 48–55; Mathews, *New Faith for Old: An Autobiography* (New York, 1936), 62–63.

[38] Fosdick, *Living of These Days*, 229–66; Mathews, "Theology as Group Belief," in Ferm, *Contemporary American Theology*, 2 (New York, 1933): 175.

[39] Santayana, *Character and Opinion in the United States* (Anchor ed.; Garden City, n.d.), 4.

status of the ministerial profession, or the prestige of the institutional church.[40]

But Santayana was also speaking of the liberal rather than the conservative or radical when he remarked that "we do not nowadays refute our predecessors; we pleasantly bid them good-bye."[41] Precisely that kind of near-insouciance is what one finds in the letters-home of that majority of young liberals whose conversion had been less intense. The future Bishop Spalding assured his mother he was "sorry we can't agree about the Bible." "I don't know why I came to think of it as I do," he added, "but without any violent change, without any doubts, I have . . . gradually passed over into a different way of looking at the whole subject." And even those who, unlike Spalding, suffered agonies of indecision were likely to be aided by the flexibility of elders who had been supposed to represent the old order. When Fosdick, in a well-known incident, summoned courage to announce his Darwinism at the family dinner table, his father's response was deflating, yet was probably very much a part of the formulation of an important liberal career: "Well," Fosdick *père* muttered, "I believed that before you were born."[42]

Evidences like these of the cultural locus of strain and of the sources of a liberal response to it are meant as suggesting (or endorsing) a way of doing biography,[43] not as providing a new magic formula for understanding the workings of reform. But even so, the dangers along the avenue of cultural interpretation deserve timely emphasis. Insofar as cultural and symbolic theories, as taken up by the historian, plead the hopelessness of extricating self-interest from the web of cultural commitments, they may seem to provide a new excuse for attempting completely value-free interpretation. By the same token, cultural explanations and the delineation of broad symbolic groups could, if applied avidly enough, so beg questions of motivation that the modern American historical guild would be back where it came in—back, that is, to a Beardean query about the real motives of those who grouped themselves as devotees of given cultural value systems. It is also

[40] The definitive commitment to liberalism usually came at the stage of graduate school or the first pastorate. There were exceptions: William Montgomery Brown, Episcopal bishop of Arkansas, had entered his later fifties when he read Darwin and Marx and found that "my old universe had completely vanished." But even Brown turns out to be an illuminating case in point. A poor orphan who had begun fourth-grade schooling at age twenty-one, he had by his own account become an Episcopalian—and a very conservative one—partly in search of status. His opting for conservative religion gained him "wealth, honor, and success." When, some years later, he embarked upon doctrinal and what would now be called black power heresies, it was scarcely possible to suppose he was acting out of a yearning for status. Brown, *My Heresy: The Autobiography of an Idea* (New York, 1926), 3–70. Geoffrey Blodgett offers an apposite distinction between old Mugwumps who may have fretted about status and young Mugwumps for whom this was less of an issue. *The Gentle Reformers: Massachusetts Democrats in the Cleveland Era* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), 19–20.

[41] Quoted in Winthrop S. Hudson, *The Great Tradition of the American Churches* (Harper Torchbooks ed.; New York, 1963), 157.

[42] Melish, *Franklin Spencer Spalding*, 72; Fosdick, *Living of These Days*, 49.

[43] Richard L. Rushman explores the effects of familial influences and relationships upon a religious leader in "Jonathan Edwards as Great Man: Identity, Conversion, and Leadership in the Great Awakening," *Soundings*, 52 (1969): 15–46. See also Erikson, "Psycho-Historical Evidence," *passim*.

true, I should think, that in the era of the Students for a Democratic Society, the historian's search for Oedipal explanations may become as intense as the search for status explanations grew to be in the era of Joseph McCarthy. In short, the temptations to glibness in any new preoccupation with familial styles and cultural loyalties would be as real as those in the earlier preoccupation with status.

The case for a cultural approach should nonetheless not be offered in an apologetic or minimalist way. The pitfalls can be avoided if we eschew the common tendency, born of overenthusiasm out of laziness, to let a supplementary insight begin presenting itself as the substitute for all earlier formulations—in this case as the replacement in all instances for explanations that stress class interest, status interest, psychological expression, or traditional human cussedness. And historians can perhaps be more alert, this time around, to the problem of variant or contradictory responses to a cultural situation that is being explored as an explanation for the rise of a given ideology or action.

The importance, at any rate, of studying cultural values, of seeing how men acquire them and form groups around them, is not being urged merely by certain historians and behavioral scientists. Parallel developments are evident in several fields, not least in the theology of the past decade. Theologians of the 1960s, as contrasted with those of the neo-orthodox era, became increasingly dubious about their ability to define boundaries between the sacred and the secular, between religion and culture, between church and world. They became increasingly wary of condemning or patronizing those on the secular side of such boundaries even when they thought it possible to draw lines. And in this, like a good many historians, they adopted a stance not so much of renewed agreement with an earlier liberalism as of doubt whether the liberals and their latter-day detractors had been discussing the right questions.[44]

Consensus history and Progressive history had debated the degree to which reformers as well as defenders of the status quo act from interested motives; cultural interpretation, without insisting on the purity of reformers or anyone else, holds that in many cases this is simply not the right question. Among theologians, the neo-orthodox and the liberals for a full generation had discussed the extent of liberalism's overadaptation to culture; secular theology, and much theology not going by that name, minimizes and undercuts that discussion. Both social science and theology—with important exceptions such as the scholarship of the New Left—would now seem to be arguing that the problem of generalizing about groups and about their reasons for acting as groups is even more complex than a preceding generation had supposed.

One temptation, of course, is to say that if that is the case, then let's for-

[44] See Langdon Gilkey, *Naming the Whirlwind: The Renewal of God-Language* (Indianapolis, 1969), 73–106, *passim;* and Daniel Callahan, ed., *The Secular City Debate* (New York, 1966).

get it. If motives are all that complex, the historian had better spend his talents on more tractable questions. The difficulty with such a response is that in this case, as in the case of other troublesome concepts such as representativeness, the historian who eschews overt judgments is quite likely to employ covert ones instead.

It seems preferable to continue to take responsibility for trying to describe the value systems on which reformers or others have acted. Beyond a certain point, to be sure, questions of motive may have to be turned over to the psychologist, or at least to the trained psychohistorian. But even within his more usual sphere of competence, the historian will be indispensable to the process of delimiting the area within which free-floating conjectures are to be deemed permissible.

In the case immediately before us, it has been up to the historians—not someone else—to determine, with respect to each group of reformers, how well status theory meets the test of controlled group biography. The historians of reform have not on the whole evaded this responsibility, nor that of projecting hypotheses that stand a chance of working better. Where the testing of such hypotheses has called for collaboration with psychologists and anthropologists and even theologians, some at least have looked upon that circumstance as offering dividends as well as costs.

The much discussed recuperation of American religious history, and with it the revived interest in religious liberalism,[45] will come to little unless church historians, too, show an unaccustomed readiness to pose new questions. The discussions of status theory, tiresome as these sometimes have seemed, have placed some of the most fertile questions—those concerning the shape, the sources, and the consequences of religion as ideology—directly on the agenda of religious history.

APPENDIX: *Summaries of Biographical Information**

Columns A through F in the chart below reflect, in approximately correct sequence, how one thing led to another in the development of this inquiry. We began, simply enough, by collecting information on the thirty-three

[45] Henry May's favorable prognosis in "The Recovery of American Religious History" (*AHR*, 70 [1964–65]: 79–92) is supported by William Clebsch in "A New Historiography of American Religion" (*Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 32 [1963]: 225–57) and by Edwin S. Gaustad in *American Religious History* (Washington, 1966). More skeptical appraisals include Jerald C. Brauer, "Changing Perspectives on Religion in America," Sidney E. Mead, "Reinterpretation in American Church History," and Martin E. Marty, "Reinterpreting American Religious History in Context," all in Jerald C. Brauer, ed., *Reinterpretation in American Church History* (Chicago, 1968), 1–28, 169–95, 195–218, respectively. The revival of critical appreciation of the older liberalism is perhaps best seen in Lloyd J. Averill, *American Theology in the Liberal Tradition* (Philadelphia, 1967).

* The studies of Protestant liberalism of which this project forms a part have been aided by grants from the American Philosophical Society, the American University, and the Charles Warren Center of Harvard University. A large part of the quantitative work was done by Lars Hoffmann, now of the State University of Iowa, and by other able graduate assistants at the American University and Harvard.

pre-eminent liberal leaders[1] of the years 1875–1915. But we then saw the need of comparing those data, on at least the more basic and accessible points, with information about less prominent liberals listed in the *Dictionary of American Biography*; next with information on second-rank liberals not in the *DAB*; and finally with data on *DAB* conservatives. When the research appeared to be bearing upon status and related theories, we began to ask further questions and run comparisons with other groups. As is indicated in the text and in column F, we pulled out those theological liberals who were most prominent in the Social Gospel and compared these with the total group. Other investigatory excursions, at specific critical points, are mentioned in the text of this article; they involved Unitarians, free religionists, and a further, differently selected, test group of Social Gospel leaders. We also looked into possible differences between earlier and later segments of this rather long "generation"; some results are indicated at the end of the appendix.

The groups on which we collected information were not, properly speaking, sample groups but rather represented an attempted assemblage of all Protestant religious leaders who fell within certain defined limits. These limits were as follows:

The definition of "religious leader," then as now, presents difficulties. Neither seminary attendance nor ordination can be an absolute test, and certainly the tenure of a parish ministry cannot be. Our first stipulation, then, was simply that the subject had to be professionally engaged primarily in religious work. The great majority of those included are perfectly clear cases; they are men who trained for the ministry and who engaged in pastoral, teaching, journalistic, or executive forms of ministry. But at the margins of our definition are a few whose inclusion or exclusion can be questioned. (Richard Ely is in the test group; John Bascom is not.)

A second requirement was that the Protestant leader had to have made some significant part of his contribution between 1875 and 1915. The idea here was to provide a group of men one of whose common features would be that they had been raised and for the most part educated before the widespread acceptance of liberal theology.

Thirdly, the subjects were drawn from those main line Protestant denominations that were facing roughly comparable challenges and discussing similar issues and whose members had in general grown up in preliberal families. Liberal/conservative cleavages can of course be found in all the religious organizations of the time, but the controversies in some, such as

[1] Lyman Abbott, Edward Scribner Ames, David Beach, Henry Ward Beecher, Borden Bowne, Charles A. Briggs, Phillips Brooks, William Adams Brown, John W. Buckham, Shirley Jackson Case, William Newton Clarke, George A. Coe, Frank H. Foster, George B. Foster, Washington Gladden, George A. Gordon, George Harris, George Herron, William DeWitt Hyde, Henry C. King, Albert C. Knudson, Eugene Lyman, D. C. Macintosh, A. C. McGiffert, Shailer Mathews, Theodore Munger, Walter Rauschenbusch, G. B. Smith, Egbert Smyth, Newman Smyth, Lewis F. Stearns, David Swing, William J. Tucker. A name that I now think should be added to this list is that of Alexander V. G. Allen.

COMPARATIVE BIOGRAPHICAL DATA FOR LIBERAL AND CONSERVATIVE PROTESTANT MINISTERS PROMINENT 1875–1915

Test or Control Group	(A) Leading Liberals (33)		(B) *DAB* Liberals (93)		(C) Non-*DAB* Liberals (30)		(D) All Liberals (156)		(E) Conservatives (100)		(F) Social Gospel Leaders (39)	
Regional Origin	New England	39%	New England	30%	New England	13%	New England	29%	New England	26%	New England	21%
	Mid-Atlantic	33	Mid-Atlantic	33	Mid-Atlantic	27	Mid-Atlantic	33	Mid-Atlantic	37	Mid-Atlantic	44
	Midwest	18	Midwest	25	Midwest	27	Midwest	24	Midwest	11	Midwest	28
	South	0	South	4	South	17	South	6	South	21	South	0
	Foreign	10	Foreign	8	Foreign	17	Foreign	10	Foreign	5	Foreign	7
Urban, Small Town, or Rural	Urban	19%	Urban	22%	Urban	29%	Urban	22%	Urban	18%	Urban	29%
	Small Town	50	Small Town	57	Small Town	50	Small Town	54	Small Town	47	Small Town	53
	Rural	31	Rural	22	Rural	21	Rural	23	Rural	35	Rural	18
			(75 reporting)		(19 reporting)		(94 reporting)		(67 reporting)		(29 reporting)	
Family Economic Standing	Poor	13%	Poor	17%	Poor	11%	Poor	16%	Poor	25%	Poor	21%
	Middle Income	81	Middle Income	74	Middle Income	73	Middle Income	73	Middle Income	50	Middle Income	76
	Wealthy	7	Wealthy	9	Wealthy	16	Wealthy	11	Wealthy	25	Wealthy	3
	(29 reporting)		(74 reporting)		(18 reporting)		(121 reporting)		(71 reporting)		(28 reporting)	
Father's Occupation	Professional	52%	Professional	53%	Professional	61%	Professional	53%	Professional	42%	Professional	57%
	Ministry	28%	Ministry	42%	Ministry	44%	Ministry	39%	Ministry	36%	Ministry	47%
	Education	24	Education	3	Education	0	Education	7	Education	1	Education	10
	Law	0	Law	6	Law	0	Law	3	Law	1	Law	0
	Medicine	0	Medicine	0	Medicine	11	Medicine	2	Medicine	0	Medicine	0
	Other	0	Other	3	Other	6	Other	2	Other	4	Other	0
	Business	24	Business	19	Business	17	Business	20	Business	25	Business	14
	Farming	21	Farming	18	Farming	22	Farming	19	Farming	17	Farming	21
	Industrial Workers	0	Industrial Workers	3	Industrial Workers	0	Industrial Workers	2	Industrial Workers	3	Industrial Workers	0
	Aristocrats	0	Aristocrats	4	Aristocrats	0	Aristocrats	2	Aristocrats	13	Aristocrats	0
	Other	3	Other	4	Other	0	Other	4	Other	0	Other	7
Education	Attended College	100%	Attended College	99%	Attended College	90%	Attended College	97%	Attended College	89%	Attended College	97%
	Attended Seminary or Equivalent	94	Attended Seminary or Equivalent	73	Attended Seminary or Equivalent	80	Attended Seminary or Equivalent	79	Attended Seminary or Equivalent	79	Attended Seminary or Equivalent	77
	Other Graduate Work	67	Other Graduate Work	35	Other Graduate Work	57	Other Graduate Work	46	Other Graduate Work	14	Other Graduate Work	33
Undergraduate Education, Regions	New England Colleges	52%	New England Colleges	38%	New England Colleges	34%	New England Colleges	37%	New England Colleges	38%	New England Colleges	36%
	Mid-Atlantic	9	Mid-Atlantic	20	Mid-Atlantic	19	Mid-Atlantic	21	Mid-Atlantic	35	Mid-Atlantic	14
	Upper New York	9	Upper New York	7	Upper New York	3	Upper New York	6	Upper New York	3	Upper New York	8
	Midwest	21	Midwest	28	Midwest	30	Midwest	29	Midwest	6	Midwest	33
	South	3	South	5	South	8	South	4	South	14	South	3
	West	0	West	0	West	3	West	1	West	0	West	0
	Foreign	6	Foreign	2	Foreign	3	Foreign	2	Foreign	5	Foreign	6
Seminary	New England	57%	New England	46%	New England	42%	New England	45%	New England	27%	New England	40%
	Mid-Atlantic	17	Mid-Atlantic	31	Mid-Atlantic	25	Mid-Atlantic	30	Mid-Atlantic	41	Mid-Atlantic	20

	Upper New York	10	Upper New York	4	Upper New York	8	Upper New York	5	Upper New York	6	Upper New York	7
	Midwest	10	Midwest	15	Midwest	17	Midwest	15	Midwest	9	Midwest	23
	South	3	South	4	South	0	South	5	South	11	South	3
	West	3	West	0	West	8	West	1	West	0	West	0
	Foreign	0	Foreign	0	Foreign	0	Foreign	0	Foreign	6	Foreign	7
Seminary Attended	Andover	20%	Andover	10%	Yale	17%	Yale	13%	Andover	13%	Andover	7%
	Union	17	Yale	10	Boston	13	Andover	10	General	8	Bexley Hall	7
	Yale	17	Boston	8	Union	13	Boston	9	Princeton	8	Boston	7
	Bangor	7	Union	8	General	4	General	5	Union	5	General	7
	Boston	7	General	7	Rochester	4	Rochester	5	Yale	5	Rochester	7
	Rochester	7	Bangor	4	Other	50	Bangor	4	Concordia	4	Union	7
	Newton	3	Episcopal-Theological School	4			Newton	3	Gettysburg	4	Yale	7
	Other	23	Hartford	4			Other	41	Newton	4	Other	53
			Newton	4					Rochester	4		
			Rochester	4					Other	47		
			Other	37								
Denomination	Congregational	55%	Congregational	32%	Congregational	20%	Congregational	34%	Congregational	12%	Congregational	18%
	Baptist	21	Baptist	12	Baptist	13	Baptist	14	Baptist	17	Baptist	16
	Methodist	9	Methodist	13	Methodist	27	Methodist	15	Methodist	15	Methodist	18
	Episcopal	6	Episcopal	30	Episcopal	33	Episcopal	26	Episcopal	16	Episcopal	37
	Presbyterian	6	Presbyterian	10	Presbyterian	4	Presbyterian	8	Presbyterian	21	Presbyterian	5
	Disciples	3	Disciples	1	Disciples	3	Disciples	2	Disciples	2	Disciples	0
	Lutheran	0	Lutheran	2	Lutheran	0	Lutheran	1	Lutheran	13	Lutheran	3
	German Reformed	0	German Reformed	0	German Reformed	0	German Reformed	0	German Reformed	3	German Reformed	0
	Dutch Reformed	0	Dutch Reformed	0	Dutch Reformed	0	Dutch Reformed	0	Dutch Reformed	2	Dutch Reformed	0
	Evangelical	0	Evangelical	0	Evangelical	0	Evangelical	0	Evangelical	0	Evangelical	3
Primary Occupation	Academicians	76%	Academicians	38%	Academicians	50%	Academicians	49%	Academicians	47%	Academicians	23%
	Professors	55%	Professors	30%	Professors	43%	Professors	38%	Professors	29%	Professors	21%
	Administrators	21	Administrators	8	Administrators	7	Administrators	11	Administrators	18	Administrators	3
	Pastors	21	Pastors	25	Pastors	17	Pastors	22	Pastors	23	Pastors	38
	Ecclesiastical Government	0	Ecclesiastical Government	11	Ecclesiastical Government	17	Ecclesiastical Government	10	Ecclesiastical Government	18	Ecclesiastical Goverment	21
	Journalists	3	Journalists	9	Journalists	13	Journalists	8	Journalists	9	Journalists	5
	Executives of Reform Organizations	0	Executives of Reform Organizations	5	Executives of Reform Organizations	3	Executives of Reform Organizations	4	Executives of Reform Organizations	0	Executives of Reform Organizations	13
	Other	0	Other	12	Other	0	Other	7	Other	3	Other	0
Location of Parish or Work	New England	39%	New England	28%	New England	44%	New England	33%	New England	18%	New England	26%
	Mid-Atlantic	27	Mid-Atlantic	38	Mid-Atlantic	26	Mid-Atlantic	33	Mid-Atlantic	42	Mid-Atlantic	41
	Midwest	30	Midwest	28	Midwest	19	Midwest	26	Midwest	13	Midwest	28
	South	0	South	3	South	11	South	4	South	21	South	0
	West	4	West	3	West	0	West	3	West	6	West	5
Nature of Parish or Surroundings	Urban	68%	Urban	71%	Urban	48%	Urban	67%	Urban	57%	Urban	82%
	Small Town	32	Small Town	29	Small Town	52	Small Town	33	Small Town	35	Small Town	18
	Rural	0	Rural	0	Rural	0	Rural	0	Rural	8	Rural	0

Unitarianism, had advanced beyond the issues of the so-called New Theology, and in others, such as Mormonism, were so individual as to demand separate consideration.

A final qualification for inclusion was explicit commitment for or against that movement in Protestantism known initially as the New Theology and later as Protestant Liberalism. This principle of selection by no means meant that we were dealing only with men of strongly polemical temper; but it did mean that we excused ourselves from evaluating some 150 Protestant leaders of this era (we omitted that many from the *DAB* alone) who so managed to remain at the eye of the storm that their biographers have rated them as neutral. It would be intriguing to investigate the social sources of theological nonalignment, but we did not undertake that in the present study.

The *Dictionary of American Biography*, our major source for the larger test groups, appeared between 1928 and 1936, its supplements in 1944 and 1958. We were wary about possible biases toward liberalism, perhaps more in editorial policy than in biographies, in the original volumes and about biases toward neo-orthodoxy in the later ones. Many of the authors, judging from their own biographies, were in transit; really pinning them down, while certainly an interesting project, would have to be a separate one. Fortunately, most of the basic twelve questions relate to matters, such as education or family economic status, not especially susceptible to subjective treatment. We nonetheless kept the three groups of liberals (columns A, B, and C) separated in order that comparisons could be made between those ninety-three liberal biographies that are drawn solely from the *DAB* and those sixty-three that are not.

Percentage figures within each of the summaries in the chart have been rounded to the nearest whole number; totals therefore are frequently just over or just shy of 100 per cent. In those cases where samples are not either complete or virtually complete, the number reporting has been indicated.

A number of further questions were put to the biographies of the thirty-three front-rank liberal leaders. The resulting test groups in some cases are small, either because the answers cannot be found in published biographical materials or because only part of the group flourished at the time of the event in question.

(1) Conversion experience: (30 reporting) 7 per cent had a sudden and emotional conversion; 27 per cent, some emotional elements prominent in decision; 67 per cent, no identifiable conversion experience.

(2) Primary influence toward religious liberalism: (33 reporting) 9 per cent, clearly liberal family background; 15 per cent, sharp reaction against childhood faith; 24 per cent, gradual change through studies; 52 per cent, liberal elements in orthodox but nonrepressive background.

(3) Relation to Social Gospel: (33 reporting) 9 per cent, more important as social than as theological liberals; 15 per cent, equally important as social liberals; 39 per cent, secondarily Social Gospel leaders; 36 per cent, opposed or silent.

(4) Party adherent?: (13 reporting) 46 per cent, No; 31 per cent, Yes; 23 per cent, moderate party loyalty.

(5) Voting pattern: (13 reporting) 23 per cent, Republican; 46 per cent, Progressive Republican; 15 per cent, Democratic; 15 per cent, Socialist.

(6) Position on slavery: (all 8 who were age twenty or older in 1860 reporting) 63 per cent, abolitionist; 37 per cent, Free-Soil or moderate.

(7) Position on Reconstruction: (6 of the 12 who were age twenty by 1865 reporting) 33 per cent, radical reconstructionist; 67 per cent, moderate.

(8) Position on Negro rights: (11 reporting) 46 per cent took advanced positions; 46 per cent, moderate; 8 per cent, conservative.

(9) Attitude toward labor movement: (26 reporting) 58 per cent, highly sympathetic; 31 per cent, moderate; 13 per cent, unsympathetic or opposed.

(10) Attitude toward business: (27 reporting) 48 per cent, highly critical; 37 per cent, sympathetic but critical; 15 per cent, uncritically favorable.

(11) Attitude toward imperialism: (15 reporting) 33 per cent were sometime apologists for imperialism; 67 per cent, anti-imperialist.

(12) Position on American participation in World War I: (18 of the 25 living in 1917 reporting) 39 per cent, strong supporters; 50 per cent, reluctant followers of the Wilsonian position; 11 per cent, opponents.

When the same group of thirty-three was divided into those born before 1855 and those born 1855 or after, rather predictable differences appeared between the generations. The younger men were more Western and Midwestern in origins and in the location of their lifetime work. They were more urban, more highly educated, less Congregationalist and more Baptist, and more centered professionally in educational institutions. The younger men were more committed to the Social Gospel. A political shift appears in the direction of the Democratic and Socialist parties, and attitudes toward labor and business show a leftward movement. Willingness to support American participation in World War I correlates positively with advanced age. The only issue on which the older part of this group appears the more liberal is that of Negro rights. The older generation is weighted with men like Beecher and Brooks who were Black Republicans in immediate post-Civil War years; the younger contains a number of men who, though not reactionary, shared too much of the Progressive racism and condescension to be called advanced even in the 1890s.

Zosimus, The First Historian of Rome's Fall

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The organizers of a symposium held a few years ago were not wrong to call the fall of the Roman Empire "Gibbon's problem."[1] Anyone with the slightest interest in Rome's fall is acquainted with at least the title of Gibbon's monumental *History* and instinctively associates Gibbon with the period he studied. Some come close to believing that Gibbon exhausted the subject.[2] No one, however, pretends that he originated it; his greatness lies in the scale and comprehensiveness of his treatment and in the style of his expression. The stream of intellectual development leading to his work has been traced back to the Italian humanists, to Petrarch and the *Decades historiarum* of Flavio Biondo.[3] But such an exercise only uncovers Gibbon's antecedents. The question asked here is, rather, who was first to write the history of the Roman Empire in the way Gibbon did, that is, as a completed tale of decline and disintegration? Though not unanswered, this question has attracted little attention.

The historian who fills this role is a Byzantine of disputed date, the retired treasury advocate Zosimus, author of a *New* or *Recent History* whose detailed portions extend from the third century A.D. to the year 410. As Ranke said: "Zosimus is certainly the first author who represented the history of a great epoch from such a standpoint that the active and dominant themes are follies and crimes; he repudiates Christianity and the dissipation of the resources of the state, together with the cause for this [dissipation of resources], namely the connection [of the Empire] with the barbarians. . . ."[4] Zosimus deserves our attention for being the first to do what Gibbon later did with unparalleled distinction. He was not simply a pessimist, writing in tones of dark foreboding in the manner of Sallust, Tacitus, and Ammianus; nor did he intend, like Orosius, to produce a catalogue of disasters and

1 Lynn White, Jr., ed., *The Transformation of the Roman World: Gibbon's Problem after Two Centuries* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1966).

2 Compare C. T. Wood, review of *Memoirs of My Life*, by Edward Gibbon, *Edward Gibbon the Historian*, by J. W. Swain, and *Transformation*, ed. White, in *History and Theory*, 7 (1968): 145–46.

3 Christopher Dawson, "Edward Gibbon," *British Academy, Proceedings*, 20 (1934): 162–74; Arnaldo Momigliano, "Gibbon's Contribution to Historical Method," in *Studies in Historiography* (New York, 1966), 40–55; T. E. Mommsen, "Petrarch's Conception of the 'Dark Ages,'" *Speculum*, 17 (1942): 226–42.

4 Leopold von Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, vol. 4, pt. 2 (Leipzig, 1883), 265–66.

miseries. His purpose was unique and original. From a perspective that we might take to be *in medias res,* Zosimus deliberately related the history of the Roman Empire as a tale of decline and fall: "For just as Polybius narrated how the Romans acquired their sovereignty within a brief period of time, so I am going to tell how they lost it through their own blind folly within no long period of time" (1. 57. 1).[5] Though he lived in a state that called itself the Roman Empire, Zosimus in his own mind already stood where Poggio, Gibbon, and we ourselves stand: in the age following the fall of the world empire of Rome.[6]

Gibbon would not have been flattered to be placed in his company. Zosimus is hardly a historian of the first rank. Gibbon called him "a Greek rhetorician" whom the modern historian is "reduced to cherish" after the admirable narrative of Ammianus Marcellinus comes to an end. From footnote to footnote, he qualifies Zosimus as a servile Greek, unworthy of esteem and trust, neither a soldier nor a politician, prejudiced, partial, malicious, ignorant (three times), credulous, indecently bigoted, poor in judgment, a disingenuous liar, almost incredible in his crude simplicity.[7] His documentary value stems only from our lacking an alternative; after his account stops, one simply has to do without a comparable narrative source, with the result that "we must take our leave of [Zosimus] with some regret."[8] The authoritative editor, Ludwig Mendelssohn, expressed the same judgment in less colorful but more circumstantial terms:

> The more familiar one becomes with Zosimus, the more one learns to distrust him. He confuses times, he is ignorant of places, he joins together disconnected subjects and dissociates connected ones; while he goes on at length with fables and miracles, he either omits or glosses over the main subject; he relates the same story twice in a slightly different way. In sum, one passage or the other [of the *Recent History*] may serve to illustrate every vice that dishonors the historian.[9]

Such verdicts are unlikely to be reversed. Zosimus is not to be compared with Gibbon as a practitioner of the historian's craft.[10]

[5] Zosimus is quoted from the translation of J. J. Buchanan and H. T. Davis, *Zosimus: Historia Nova. The Decline of Rome* (hereafter Buchanan-Davis) (San Antonio, 1967), 34. The Latin version of Zosimus' title, as it appears in the heading of the *Recent History,* is *comes et exadvocatus fisci.*

[6] For Poggio, see Dawson, "Edward Gibbon," 164; Edward Gibbon, *Autobiography,* ed. D. A. Saunders (New York, 1961), 154.

[7] Edward Gibbon, *A History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* ed. J. B. Bury (London, 1896–1900), 3: 33 n.92, 116 n.100, 98 n.71, 264 n.73; 2: 238 n.85, 199 n.199; 3: 137 n.12, 168 n.83; 2: 289, 507 n.79, 511 n.91; 3: 109 n.92, 321 n.101, 207 n.71, 129 n.132; 2: 310 n.69; 3: 237 n.58.

[8] *Ibid.,* 3: 321 n.101.

[9] *Zosimi Historia nova,* ed. Ludwig Mendelssohn (Leipzig, 1887), xlviii. The inferiority of Zosimus by comparison with other narrators of the same events is the continual theme of C. Höfler, "Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der alten Geschichte, VII: Kritische Bemerkungen über Zosimos und den Grad seiner Glaubwurdigkeit," *Akademie der Wissenschaften (zu Wien), Sitzungsberichte,* Philol.-hist. Klasse, 95 (1879): 521–65.

[10] On the other hand, historians of Greek literature speak kindly of him as a stylist: G. J. Vossius, *De historicis Graecis libri IV* (ed. altera; Leiden, 1651), 261; Rudolf Nicolai, *Grieschische*

Nevertheless it is appropriate to link the indecently bigoted Greek rhetorician with the English giant of late Roman studies, for Zosimus inaugurated the genre of Roman history that Gibbon made illustrious. Like Gibbon and any number of lesser practitioners of the genre, he presupposed that the events openly tell the tale of decline and fall. There is no mystery. One need only look at certain facts, for they are such self-evident violations of religious, political, and economic wisdom that they explain the ensuing collapse. As was seen and illustrated by the eighteenth-century commentator John-Frederick Reitemeier, Zosimus wrote an *histoire raisonnée* whose interpretation closely resembles that of modern authors.[11] By compiling his various statements, as Reitemeier did with great skill, one may assemble a comprehensive list of causes for Rome's fall that is just as good or bad as the list offered by any other historian. When measured by this standard, the inaugurator of the genre stands remarkably level with its greatest practitioner.

Once the history of the Roman Empire is written as a story of decline, the range of variation becomes quite narrow. It is extraordinary to discover how closely the derided Zosimus agrees with his unwitting modern emulators over the "causes" of decline. To be sure, we do not find Walbank's thesis that "the real cause" consisted in "the premises upon which classical civilization arose," or Toynbee's thesis that there was no recovery from the Peloponnesian War, or Beloch's thesis that decline began with the Roman conquest of Greece.[12] Avoiding such extravagance, Zosimus stands at the vital center; decline for him begins almost where it would begin for Gibbon: at the passage from the free commonwealth of Rome to the rule of an emperor.[13] The

Literaturgeschichte, vol. 3 (2d ed.; Magdeburg, 1878), 39; Alfred and Maurice Croiset, *Histoire de la littérature grecque* (Paris, 1899), 5: 1016; F. A. Wright, *History of Later Greek Literature* (London, 1932), 380; Albin Leski, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* (2d ed.; Bern-Munich, 1963), 908; Salvatore Impellizzeri, *La letteratura bizantina da Costantino agli iconoclasti* (Bari, 1965), 151.

[11] "Disquisitio in Zosimo, eiusque fidem," in *Zosimi Historiae,* ed. J. F. Reitemeier (Leipzig, 1784), xxi–xxviii; reprinted in Immanuel Bekker, ed., *Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae* (Bonn, 1837), xxviii–xxxiii.

[12] F. W. Walbank, *The Decline of the Roman Empire in the West* (New York, 1953), 69. The theory derives from the ideas of Max Weber. A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History,* vol. 4 (London, 1939), 56–62. Zosimus 1. 3 comes close to voicing this view. Compare J. F. Leddy, "Toynbee and the History of Rome," *The Phoenix,* 11 (1957): 139–52. Julius Beloch, "Der Verfall der antiken Kultur," *Historische Zeitschrift,* 84 (1900): 1–38.

[13] Zosimus 1. 5. 2–4. Gibbon's only venture in this direction is a brief allusion: "The victorious legions, who, in distant wars, acquired the vices of strangers and mercenaries, first oppressed the freedom of the republic . . ." (Gibbon, *Decline,* 4: 161–62). This follows upon the comment that "we should rather be surprised that [the Roman Empire] had subsisted so long." But, in old age, Gibbon had second thoughts about where his narrative should have begun; he regretted not having begun earlier. (See Bury's introduction, 1: xxxv). Of course, part of Gibbon's originality by comparison with earlier authors was his admiration of the imperial period; see, for example, the account of his dinner-table debate with a champion of the Republic. Gibbon, *Autobiography,* 178–79. Em. Condurachi ("Les idées politiques de Zosime," *Revista clasica,* 13–14 [1940–41]: 119, 125) singles out the "republicanism" of Zosimus as especially worthy of attention. But it is by no means unique. Compare Sidonius *Carm.* 7. 100–04 ("Panegyric of Avitus"), in which Rome's *regnum* is mentioned as having been torn to shreds ever since all sovereignty passed into the hands of the *princeps.* Along the same lines, see 440 *NTheod* 7. 3, and Salvian *De gubernatione Dei* 1. 11, where the old Romans are

rest is just as familiar; Zosimus supplies material to suit all modern interpretive preferences. Fanciers of economic causes encounter the spoliation of great fortunes and the imposition by Constantine and Theodosius of new and vexatious tributes on every class, together with unfair and merciless collection.[14] Those tending toward administrative causes are offered the proliferation of praetorian prefects, generals, and their subordinates.[15] Military causes are represented by the relaxation of discipline, cantonment in cities, and the exclusion of pagans from the ranks.[16] The ferocity of Constantine toward his family, the licentious self-indulgence of Theodosius, and the nullity of Arcadius and Honorius constitute suitable personal failings.[17] Partisans of external causes will specially note Zosimus' references to the barbarians, whom imperial indulgence allowed to flood the army and to espy the languishing corpse of the empire they were supposed to defend.[18] Finally, there are religious causes in the form of Christian monks whose greed impoverished everyone in the name of poverty and, most of all, the abandonment of the ancient divinities and rites that had protected the Roman state.[19] Reitemeier discerned such a close correspondence between Zosimus and the moderns that he called on the ancient witness to correct his emulators. Zosimus, he pointed out, did not criticize Constantine for dissolving the praetorian guard; nor did he confirm "what is commonly believed [at present] . . . namely that the precepts of Christian religion had the effect of debilitating the martial spirit."[20] Fourteen centuries of time, five centuries of research, have hardly altered the pattern of decline offered by Zosimus; only the mix is somewhat different, the data somewhat more ac-

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presented as examples of men preferring public to private advantage. Berthold Rubin (*Das Zeitalter Justinians* [Berlin, 1960], 1: 165) is surprised that in 537 *Novel.* 62, *praefatio,* Justinian recalls "without misgivings" the Republican greatness of the Senate.

[14] Zosimus 2. 38; 4. 28–29, 32. 2–3, 40. 7–8, 59. 2–3; 5. 1, 12. The more important modern economic interpretations are discussed by Santo Mazzarino, *The End of the Ancient World,* tr. George Holmes (New York, 1966), 136–59.

[15] Zosimus 2. 32–33; 4. 27. Compare G. R. Monks, "The Administration of the Privy Purse: An Inquiry into Official Corruption and the Fall of the Roman Empire," *Speculum,* 32 (1957): 748–79.

[16] Zosimus 2. 33–34; 4. 23. 1–2, 27. 2–3; 5. 46. 3–4. Compare Ramsay MacMullen, *Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963).

[17] Zosimus 2. 29, 39; 4. 28, 33, 43. 2, 44. 1, 50; 5. 1. 1–3, 24. Compare Jakob Burckhardt, *The Age of Constantine the Great,* tr. Moses Hadas (London, 1949), 260–333, *passim,* on Constantine, and André Piganiol, *L'Empire chrétien* (Paris, 1947), 208–21, 248–53, on Theodosius. The personal element was stressed in the widely circulated works of Victor Duruy (*Histoire romaine* [Paris, 1848; 21st ed., Paris, 1909]; *Histoire des Romains* [new ed.; Paris, 1877–85]). Duruy is quoted and energetically refuted by Ferdinand Lot, *La fin du monde antique et le début du moyen âge* (rev. ed.; Paris, 1951), 197–98.

[18] Zosimus 4. 26, 30, 31, 34. 1–5, 39. 4–5, 40, 56; compare the conclusions of Piganiol, *L'Empire chrétien;* A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602* (Oxford, 1964), 1027–31; and J. J. Saunders, "The Debate on the Fall of Rome," *History,* 48 (1963): 14–17.

[19] Zosimus 5. 23. 4–5; 2. 7, 29; 4. 18, 33. 4, 37. 3, 59; 5. 5. 8–5. 6. 2. For a summation of the modern form of the argument, see A. Momigliano, "Introduction. Christianity and the Decline of the Roman Empire," in *Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century* (Oxford, 1963), 6–16.

[20] "Disquisitio in Zosimo," xxiii–xxiv.

curate. The one noteworthy addition is a negative portrayal of the Roman third century, something that Zosimus could not quite see.[21]

The fundamental cause invoked by Zosimus—the abandonment of the ancient gods—is what draws him closest to almost every later author who has practiced his genre of Roman imperial history. Was Zosimus personally a devotee of the pagan gods? The Church historian Evagrius thought so, and so has everyone else. Probably he was, but his paganism had much in common with dourly austere Christianity.[22] His opinions proceeded not from emotional attachment to the gods but from principle: piety; reverence for ancient, hallowed things; a conservatism that is blind to its inconsistencies, like that of a modern atheist who reveres the age when everyone attended church. Austere philosophic paganism, "the religion of culture," was a common trait among fourth-century defenders of the old gods; but they still had some taste and feeling for temples, rituals, festivals, and what went with them. These emotional ties are what made paganism still seem a dangerous menace to such a bishop as St. Augustine, who daily combatted the ingrained habits of his flock.[23] Zosimus was beyond all this. He did not miss the ancient gods.

[21] Compare W. E. Kaegi, Jr., *Byzantium and the Decline of Rome* (Princeton, 1968), 108–10. There is no trace in Zosimus' first book of the contrast—stressed by modern historians—between the periods before and after the accession of Commodus (180) or the death of Severus Alexander (235). For a categorical statement of this contrast in a popular work, see Denys Hay, *The Medieval Centuries* (London, 1964), 4: "In fact the Romans of the third century deluded themselves. The outward structure of their society was to some extent preserved, its inward spirit was already dead." World War I may have led modern historians to take a particularly negative view of the third century. See Guglielmo Ferrero, *The Ruin of Ancient Civilization and the Triumph of Christianity*, tr. E. Whitehead (New York, 1921). In Max Cary's widely used *History of Rome* (London, 1935) and Michael Rostovtzeff's *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1926), the "end of Rome" appears to take place in the third century. For a current discussion, see Joseph Vogt, *The Decline of Rome*, tr. Janet Sondheimer (London, 1967), 11–86; but compare Michael Grant, *The Climax of Rome* (London, 1968), where an original attempt is made to revise the traditional negative interpretation.

[22] Evagrius qualified Zosimus as "this follower of foul Hellenism" (*Historia ecclesiastica* 3. 40, tr. anon., in *A History of the Church by Theodoret of Cyrus and Evagrius* [London, 1854], 379). Averil Cameron, "Christianity and Tradition in the Historiography of the Late Empire," *Classical Quarterly*, n.s. 14 (1964): 316–28, "The 'Scepticism' of Procopius," *Historia*, 15 (1966): 466–82, and *Agathias* (Oxford, 1970), 89–111. Mrs. Cameron warns of the extent to which literary convention, forcing secular historians to treat Christianity remotely if at all, has led to misinterpretation of the religious beliefs of certain authors. Two apparent inadvertences, which sound odd in a professed pagan, are indicative that Zosimus breathed the atmosphere of a thoroughly Christian world (Zosimus 5. 18. 7 and 19. 5). It would be most unsuitable to regard these lines as Christian interpolations. Moreover, Zosimus' attitude toward the mime would have done honor to a bishop; see Augustine *De civit. dei* 1. 30–32, 2. 8, 4. 26, and below, nn. 53–55. Zosimus expressed no other interest in pagan rituals than that they should have been eternally performed. But the conclusion of Evagrius can scarcely be doubted. The special reverence of Zosimus for Athens (4. 18, 5. 5. 8–5. 6. 2) suggests a relationship between him and the intransigent Neoplatonism taught in that city; see Cameron, *Agathias*, 102.

[23] Joseph Bidez (*La Vie de l'empereur Julien* [Paris, 1930], 69) writes that Neoplatonism "croyait réhabiliter le passé: en réalité, cherchant à le moderniser, elle contribuait à l'abolir . . . En fait, cette philosophie antichrétienne fut plus pareille à la foi nouvelle qu'elle attaquait, qu'à la religiosité ancienne qu'elle défendait." For "the religion of culture," see H.-I. Marrou, "Synesius of Cyrene and Alexandrinian Neoplatonism," in *Conflict*, 143. But fourth-century paganism was not only this; see Bidez, *La Vie*, 57–62, 67–89; Herbert Bloch, "The Pagan Revival in the West at the End of the Fourth Century," in *Conflict*, 202–06 (on Roman aristocrats); Marrou, "Synesius," 143–45; and P. R. Foerster and Carl Münscher, "Libanios," in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, vol. 12 (Stuttgart, 1925), cols. 2535–37. On Augustine and paganism,

Instead, he castigated the innovation that consisted in abandoning the gods. Their abandonment summed up to him the multitude of innovations—from the establishment of the Empire by Augustus to Theodosius' creation of five *magistri militum*—that were responsible for bringing about the desolation he saw about him. Far from being a pagan votary, Zosimus invoked the worship of the gods chiefly as a symbol of the secret of empire. Empire, like religion, is a ritual with unchanging forms; religious repetition of the ritual assures eternity to the performers or, tautologically, to the performance. Faithlessly, the Romans departed from ritual; they innovated, and disaster ensued. This is the message of Zosimus.[24] It is also the message of any number of modern historians whose explanations of Rome's fall have stressed how the Romans, in this instance and that, departed from older, wiser, better ways of doing things—metaphorically, from the worship of the ancient gods.[25]

Zosimus is gaining in prominence. He occupies a place of honor in Santo Mazzarino's historiographical study, *The End of the Ancient World,* which emphasizes the contribution made by his *Recent History* to the modern elaboration of the problem of Rome's fall; its praise of Julian and disparagement of Constantine inspired Johannes Löwenclav, in his *Apology for Zosimus,* to raise the possibility that the first Christian emperor might be represented otherwise than in a laudatory way.[26] Another recent event in Zosimus studies has been the translation of the *Recent History* into English—for the third time, to be sure, but with greater guarantees than before of technical competence.[27] Zosimus also holds the center of the stage in a monograph on *Byzantium and the Decline of Rome,* in which he is regarded as representing the climax in the historical apologetics of paganism against Christianity.[28]

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see F. van der Meer, *Augustine the Bishop,* tr. Brian Battershaw and G. R. Lamb (London, 1961), 29–75.

[24] See Zosimus 2. 7. 1: "As long as the above was performed precisely . . . the Romans kept their Empire . . . but, the rites having been neglected . . . the Empire gradually ebbed . . ." (Buchanan-Davis, 53). In Zosimus 4. 36, Gratian's refusal of the high priesthood is given as cause for his disastrous end. See also 4. 59. 3: "as other things which had been handed down from ancestral times lay neglected, the Empire of the Romans was gradually diminished . . ." (Buchanan-Davis, 192).

[25] Typical parallels are the good constitution of the Principate contrasted to the bad Dominate, the good laissez-faire economics of the early Empire contrasted to the bad *dirigisme* of the later Empire. For a recent example, see Ramsay MacMullen (*Enemies of the Roman Order* [Cambridge, Mass., 1966], viii–ix): "In the end, the dichotomy on which this book rests breaks down. There was little 'Roman' left in the Roman empire. Rather, the 'un-Roman' elements had come to the fore. . . ." Zosimus also rested his history on a dichotomy.

[26] Mazzarino, *End of the Ancient World,* 63–65, 92–99. Mazzarino is more interested in Löwenclav than in Zosimus, whom he calls an obstinate defender of "old forgotten things" and "not a really great historian" (p. 65).

[27] Buchanan and Davis were unaware of the 1814 translation; even that of 1684 is mentioned only on the dust jacket. An improved translation of Zosimus with a thorough commentary, as yet unpublished, has been prepared by Ronald T. Ridley of the University of Melbourne, Australia; an extensive article by Mr. Ridley on "Zosimus the Historian," based on his commentary, is forthcoming in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift.* I am much obliged to Mr. Ridley for allowing me to consult his translation and for informing me of his work.

[28] Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Decline of Rome,* 99–145. Other recent work on Zosimus includes D. C. Scavone, "Zosimus and His Historical Models," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies,* 11 (1970): 57–67, and the study by Alan Cameron cited below, n.38.

Welcome as these publications are, they hardly make up for the decades in which Zosimus has been neglected. He is scarcely known except to the experts and seldom mentioned by them except in technical discussions of fourth-century history.[29] To substitute "Zosimus' problem" for "Gibbon's" would evoke blank stares. He presents us with the odd case of an author about whom research today is backward by comparison with its state at the beginning of the century. The value and interest of Zosimus for the history of his time and for the general problem of Rome's fall deserve to be more adequately grasped.

We know nothing more of Zosimus than the official rank he bears in the title of the *Recent History* and the pagan sympathies he displays in its pages. The work itself, which descends from a unique manuscript,[30] was apparently interrupted by his death. Book 6 ends abruptly after a few pages, carrying the story only to the eve of the sack of Rome by Alaric, although the author repeatedly says he will continue to his own time. The premature break might have been deliberate; the end point is a significant moment for a sensitive man to drop his pen, too overcome by what he is about to relate to continue. But Zosimus does not tell us this, and his final book shows the rough edges that one associates with a first, unpolished draft. The hypothesis that he died while writing is highly probable.[31] It was once thought that Christian scribes or editors had tampered with his text, but the presence of many passages potentially offensive to Christians disproves such an idea.[32] That

[29] It is noteworthy that Zosimus goes wholly unnoticed in Franz Dölger, "Rom in der Gedankenwelt der Byzantiner," in *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* (Ettal, 1953), 70–115. The article was first published in 1937.

[30] For lists of MSS and editions, see Mendelssohn, *Zosimi Historia nova,* xix–xxvii; Guyla Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica,* vol. 1 (2d ed.; Berlin, 1958), 577; and J. J. M. Decroix, "Zosime," in *Biographie universelle,* vol. 55 (Paris, 1828), 470–73. Decroix gives editions only. Is there a Slavic translation of Zosimus? So one would think from reading the listing of the *codices slavici* in Bernard de Montfaucon's repertory of the Coislin collection, now in Paris (*Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum* [Paris, 1739], 2: 1042). Since a translation into Old Slavonic would probably derive from another Greek exemplar than that of the Vatican, with its lacunae, the existence of such a text is an exciting possibility. It seems, however, that Montfaucon made a mistake. The codex he lists has the same contents as the Greek MS now classified as Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Coislin 150 (see Robert Devreesse, *Le Fonds Coislin* [Paris, 1945], 136–37, vol. 2 of *Catalogue des mss. grecs*); no corresponding text exists among the Paris Slavonic MSS (letter of June 18, 1969, from Marcel Thomas, in response to my inquiry).

[31] Ernst Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire,* vol. 2 (Paris, 1949), 707; Mendelssohn (*Zosimi Historia nova,* 288 n. to line 21, vii–viii) stresses the careless assembling of the book and argues that it must have been written in a short time. Reitemeier (*Zosimi Historiae,* xxi) entertains the idea that the balance of book 6 was lost in transmission. That the *History* as known to Evagrius and Photius ended where ours does makes this highly unlikely.

[32] Photius *Bibliotheca,* cod. 98 (ed. René Henry, vol. 2 [Paris, 1960]), 65–66. Those who endorse a Christian revision include Henry, 66 n.2; Condurachi, "Idées politiques," 118 (citing Croiset, *Littérature grecque*); and Emilienne Demougeot, *De l'unité à la division de l'Empire romain* (Paris, 1951), 575. The error of Photius was to suppose that "new" in the title meant "new edition"; he was drawing a parallel with the *History* of Eunapius, on which see W. R. Chalmers ("The *nea ekdosis* of Eunapius' Histories," *Classical Quarterly,* n.s. 3 [1953]: 165–70), who argues that Eunapius personally issued a second edition and that no Christians expurgated his work.

the *History* escaped being the victim of Christian bigotry is less surprising than that the troubled circumstances of its composition allowed it to survive at all. Obviously, Zosimus had friends and an audience, who cared enough for him and what he wrote to publish his *Nachlass* in spite of the imperfect state in which he left it. That in itself is not uninteresting.

Zosimus depended closely on literary sources. The outstanding illustration is his treatment of Stilicho. While his first pages are fiercely hostile, the account of Stilicho's execution is followed by a thoroughly favorable judgment upon the man.[33] The explanation for the discrepancy is that Zosimus came to the end of the *History* of Eunapius and turned to that of Olympiodorus without doing anything to efface the glaring contrast in their respective views of Stilicho.[34] In assessing Zosimus, Photius went so far as to say that he did not write a history so much as a transcription of Eunapius, from whom he differed only in concision. Photius had the advantage we lack of knowing Eunapius in full, and, although his opinion is not scientific *Quellenforschung*, it attests to the impression made by the *Recent History* upon a reader of Eunapius: Photius felt he had seen it all already.[35] His appraisal should be a continuous warning against our ascribing particular views to Zosimus unless we have specific reasons to suppose they are his own. On the other hand, Zosimus is more assertive than Photius allows. He frequently steps out from behind his sources to draw attention to some deplorable thing or another, such as the closing of the temples in Oriens and Egypt: "What befell the Roman Empire as a result from that time until this will be shown subsequently, item by item, in my narrative of events" (4. 38. 1).[36] In such passages, we know whom we are dealing with. But even this is only a beginning to an analysis that must be painstakingly conducted by someone qualified to do so; Zosimus should be carefully disentangled from his sources.[37]

[33] The result is that Pierre Courcelle (*Histoire littéraire des grandes invasions germaniques* [Paris, 1948], 30 n.1 [on p. 217]) calls Zosimus a great admirer of Stilicho, whereas Wilhelm Christ, Wilhelm Schmid, and Otto Stählin (*Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* [Munich, 1924], 1038) assert that Zosimus hated him. Kaegi (*Byzantium and the Decline of Rome*, 119, 122, 127–28) also disregards the problem of sources.

[34] Stein, *Bas-Empire*, 2: 707, explains the contradiction and calls it the most flagrant weakness of the *Recent History*, an "unforgivable piece of negligence," unless one recalls that the work remained a draft rather than a finished edition.

[35] Photius *Bibliotheca*, cod. 98. Mendelssohn (*Zosimi Historia nova*, xiv)—followed by Buchanan-Davis, ix–x—deprecated the comment of Photius and stressed the use of other sources in addition to Eunapius. But B. Rappaport ("Hat Zosimus 1, c. 1–46 die Chronik des Dexippus benutzt," *Klio: Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*, 1 [1901]: 427–42) and W. R. Chalmers ("Eunapius, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Zosimus on Julian's Persian Expedition," *Classical Quarterly*, n.s. 10 [1960]: 155–56) suggest that Mendelssohn was hypercritical.

[36] Buchanan-Davis, 170. For a demonstration of more subtle originality in Zosimus vis-à-vis Olympiodorus, see Guilhem de Sainte-Croix, "Observations sur Zosime," *Académie des Inscriptions, Histoire*, 49 (1808): 497. The paper was delivered in 1792.

[37] J. Rosenstein, "Kritische Untersuchungen über das Verhältniss zwischen Olympiodor, Zosimus und Sozomenos," *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, 1 (1862): 165–204; F. Graebner, "Eine Zosimosquelle," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 14 [1905]: 87–159 (so excessively subtle that he denies Zosimus' use of Eunapius); W. Haedicke, "Olympiodorus von Theben," in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, vol. 18, pt. 1 (Stuttgart, 1939), cols. 201–07; E. A. Thompson, "Olympiodorus of Thebes," *Classical Quarterly*, 38 (1944): 43–52; A. F. Norman, "Magnus in Ammianus, Eunapius, and Zosimus: New Evidence," *ibid.*, n.s. 7 (1957): 129–33; and L. Dillemann, "Ammien

When was the *Recent History* written? The casual researcher will get just about the right answer if he consults the repertory of Moravcsik or Stein's *Histoire du Bas-Empire.*[38] If he looks almost anywhere else, he will be misinformed. The new English translation offers the vague termini 450–503.[39] A special study of Zosimus suggests "toward the middle of the fifth century," and so does a repertory of Byzantine historians (1956).[40] The broader consensus is that Zosimus belongs to the second half of the fifth century. This approximation, which errs by a generation, is widely repeated and seems to meet with general approval.[41]

The confusion is of long standing. Gibbon assigned Zosimus to the generation following Ammianus, that is, to the reign of Theodosius II (408–50). Wittingly or not, he repeated the error of Evagrius (ca. 590), who supposed that Zosimus wrote immediately after the last events he recorded.[42] Evagrius could not know better, but Gibbon could, since Valesius and Tillemont, with whose works he was familiar, had already established that Zosimus lived long after 410.[43] The problem was complicated by the question, first raised by Valesius, whether the historian should be identified with one of the Zosimi listed in the *Souda,* s.v. "Zosimus of Gaza or Ascalon," the first of whom was put to death in 489, while the second lived under the emperor Anastasius (491–518).[44] Mendelssohn came close to a solution, which

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Marcellin et les pays de l'Euphrate et du Tigre," *Syria,* 38 (1961): 87–158. See also studies cited above, n.34, and in Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica,* 1: 578–79.

[38] Gyula Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica,* 1: 577 (a different date was given in the 1st ed.; Budapest, 1942); Stein, *Bas-Empire,* 2: 707, 708 n.1. See also Piganiol, *L'Empire chrétien,* vii. My study went to press before I had seen Alan Cameron, "The Date of Zosimus' New History," *Philologus,* 113 (1969): 106–10. I endorse Cameron's results except as noted below in nn.49 and 53.

[39] Buchanan-Davis, viii–ix, following Mendelssohn, for whose view see also p. 421 below.

[40] Condurachi, "Idées politiques," 116 (citing Evagrius, as below, n.42); M. E. Colonna, *Gli storici bizantini dal IV al XV secolo,* vol. 1: *Storici profani* (Naples, [1956]), 142; and Glanville Downey, "The Perspective of the Early Church Historians," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies,* 6 (1965): 68. Harold Mattingly, in *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford, 1949), 968, dates the *Recent History* to the reign of Theodosius II (408–50), as do Napthali Lewis and Meyer Reinhold, *Roman Civilization. Sourcebook,* vol. 2: *The Empire* (New York, 1955), 475 n.116. The *History* was written in the late fourth or early fifth century, according to Léon Feugère, "Zosime," *Le Correspondant,* 36 (1855): 922–23; and Rubin, *Zeitalter Justinians,* 27, turns Zosimus into a contemporary of Theodosius I.

[41] Demougeot, *De l'unité à la division,* 575, states flatly "entre 450 et 480," citing no authority, but perhaps from Thomas Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders,* vol. 1 (2d ed.; Oxford, 1892), 234; the same by Gilbert Dagron, "L'empire romain d'Orient au IV^e^ siècle et les traditions politiques de l'hellénisme," *Travaux et mémoires,* 3 (1968): 76 n.244. Most other authors follow the termini 450–502 laid down by Mendelssohn.

[42] Evagrius 3. 41, in *History of the Church,* 380–81. Gibbon (*Decline and Fall,* ed. Bury, 3: 207 n.71) says that Zosimus "reviles . . . even the father of his sovereign," i.e., Arcadius, who died in 408. Bury, 2: 538, corrects Gibbon's dating in line with Mendelssohn.

[43] Henri de Valois (Valesius), *Theodoreti, ep. Cyri, et Evagrii scholastici Historia ecclesiastica* (Amsterdam ed., 1695), "Annotationes," 96–97 (to p. 372 of the text); Le Nain de Tillemont, *Histoire des empereurs,* vol. 6 (Paris, 1738), 594–96. Tillemont improved on de Valois, whose reasoning was sharply criticized by Reitemeier, *Zosimi Historiae,* xvi–xvii.

[44] Mendelssohn, *Zosimi Historia nova,* xi–xii, inaccurately reproduced by Buchanan-Davis, viii. Colonna, *Storici bizantini,* 142, still considers the identification with Zosimus of Gaza very likely. Stein, *Bas-Empire,* 2: 708 n.1, endorsed Mendelssohn. Since our Zosimus lived later than Zeno, he cannot be Zosimus of Gaza (Tillemont did not altogether trust the report of his execution); the surviving work of Zosimus of Ascalon bears no resemblance to that of the historian.

he saw as hinging upon two things: first, the passage in which Zosimus reports that Constantine imposed three unjust taxes, namely the *follis senatorius,* the praetorship, and the *auri lustralis collatio,* and mentions them as though they were no longer in existence (2. 38); secondly, the use of Zosimus by Eustatius of Epiphania, a historian of the early sixth century. Mendelssohn's understanding that the *History* of Eustatius was published in 502 made him shrink from the conclusion that Zosimus wrote only after the last of the three taxes was abolished. He contented himself with the rather broad termini 450 (abolition of the *follis* and the praetorship) and 502 (publication of Eustatius' *History*).[45] But this could hardly be mistaken for a final statement.

The solution was supplied shortly afterward by Rühl and Mommsen, who showed that the *terminus ante quem* of 502 did not apply. The *History* of Eustatius comes to an end in 502 but was not published in that year; its publication probably occurred in the reign of Justin I, that is, after 518. The plain implication of Zosimus 2. 38, which Mendelssohn had thought it impossible to accept, may then become the principal base line for dating the *Recent History.* Anastasius abolished the *auri lustralis collatio* in 498; Zosimus presupposes its abolition and, as Mommsen remarked, he does not allude to the event as though it were the latest news. As a result, the writing of the *History* almost certainly took place in the early sixth century, between 498 and 518.[46]

The limits may be narrowed further. Another contemporary touch in Zosimus suggests a relation with the disappointing Persian War of Anastasius (502–07). Like the earlier historians Eutropius, Ammianus, and Eunapius (the last of whom is almost certainly the direct source),[47] Zosimus paused at the peace of Jovian (363) to make some general observations:

> When I had reached this point in the history it occurred to me to revert to former times and to ascertain whether the Romans had ever consented to delivering over to the other side any acquisition of theirs, or, generally speaking, had permitted the other side to hold anything whatever of theirs, once it had come under their sovereignty. [Various incidents are related.] . . . [N]ot even then did [Valerian] grant the Persians freedom to appropriate these regions, for the loss of which the Emperor Julian's death alone sufficed. And, indeed, until this day the Roman Emperors have been unable to recover any of them, but have gradually lost even more peoples besides, some becoming autonomous, others

[45] Ludwig Mendelssohn ("De Zosimi aetate disputatio," *Rheinisches Museum,* 42 [1887]: 525–30) reprints the corresponding section (pp. v–xii) of the introduction to his edition.

[46] Franz Rühl, "Wan schrieb Zosimos?," *Rheinisches Museum,* 46 (1891): 146–47; Theodor Mommsen, "Zosimus," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* 12 (1903): 533 (unaware of Rühl's article). As Stein points out, the exact date of the abolition of the *collatio lustralis* was only established in 1904. *Bas-Empire,* 2: 708, n.1.

[47] Eutropius, *Breviarium* 10. 17. 1–2; Ammianus 25. 9. 9–11. The corresponding part of Eunapius is lost; on the latter as Zosimus' source, see Norman, "Magnus . . . New Evidence," and Chalmers, "Julian's Persian Expedition." It is curious that discussions on interdependence among the historians of Julian's Persian War never extend to this point. For a different view of the event, see Augustine, *De civit. dei* 5. 21, 29, and especially 4. 29, with its polemic against the pro-Julian, anti-Christian interpretation.

surrendering to barbarians, while yet others [were] reduced to utter desolation. As our history progresses these matters will be pointed out in due course (3. 32. 1).[48]

Eunapius launched Zosimus into this gloomy (and inaccurate) meditation, but Zosimus himself brought it to a close with the characteristic promise to carry the story down to his own days. His assessment of contemporary conditions in the East may well have been colored by current events. The war that broke out with Persia in 502, after two generations of peace, began with a series of disasters, notably the loss of the city of Amida. The effects were intensified by the natural calamities—locusts, crop failure, famine, and pestilence—that had preceded its outbreak. In spite of costly preparations, the generals of Anastasius accomplished little more in the next years than to prevent a further deterioration of the situation.[49] It would not be surprising if Zosimus wrote in the midst of war, which recalled the peace of Jovian to other historians than himself.[50]

The contemporary touches in Zosimus' *History* are a valuable resource. In May 502 Anastasius abolished representations of the mine, regarded as a depraved spectacle.[51] The subject does not go unnoticed in the *Recent History,* for Zosimus identified paganism, that is, the traditional culture, with the utmost puritanism. The first step toward disaster for Rome, he tells us, was the passage from Republic to Empire. The reasons given for this judgment are chiefly that a single man, even if zealous, cannot look after everything, so that affairs are bound to deteriorate: "Indeed, that these results are the case experience of events has clearly shown in itself. These events began in Octavian's reign, when the pantomimes' dance was introduced for the first time . . . as well as other things which have been responsible for much mischief right up to the present" (1. 6. 1).[52] To us, the illustration is sur-

[48] Buchanan-Davis, 130–32.

[49] Joshua the Stylite *Chronicle* (ed. and tr. William Wright [Cambridge, 1882]), an admirable piece of history, is virtually a monograph on this war. Stein, *Bas-Empire,* 2: 92–101. Since Byzantine affairs took a turn for the better in 504 and the peace treaty was satisfactory, the war looks minor from a distance. But contemporaneously it caused profound discouragement. Compare P. J. Alexander, *The Oracle of Baalbek* (Washington, 1967), 111, and below, n.80. Admittedly, the passage quoted does not prove a chronological relation between the war and the writing of the *Recent History;* it allows only a conjecture. On the other hand, I disagree with Cameron, "Date of Zosimus' New History," 108, who infers from this passage that Zosimus wrote before the war. Zosimus' remarks seem entirely compatible with the conclusion that he wrote during the early, disastrous phase of the war, that is, up to 504.

[50] Joshua chs. 7–8 (ed. Wright), 7; John Lydus *De magistratibus populi Romani* 3. 52–53.

[51] Joshua ch. 46 (ed. Wright), 35–36. Also, *ibid.,* chs. 27, 30, 33, pp. 16, 20–21, 23, in which Joshua somberly notes the introduction at Edessa in 496 of a pagan festival with mimes. It is particularly interesting that in this matter, the pagan Zosimus shares the opinion of his Christian contemporary.

[52] Buchanan-Davis, 5. Rather than being referred to a theoretical "republicanism" (see above, n.13), Zosimus' radical doubts about the capacity of one man to fill so large an office as the emperorship should be set in the context of contemporary doubts about the administrative capacities of individual men. For example, the key measure in Justinian's reorganization of Egypt in 538–39 (*Edict.* 13) consisted in stripping the Augustal prefect of his authority over the whole Egyptian diocese and confining him to a narrower competence, "For the mind of one man cannot be equal to so many cares. . . ." Additional evidence of the same kind is available and deserves to be collected.

prising, not to say laughable; but Zosimus brings home the point by twice associating Theodosius I, his chief villain, with "dancers totally depraved" (4. 33. 4, 50. 1) and ascribing Stilicho's inactivity to absorption with "ludicrous mimes" (5. 7. 2).[53] The mime was a live issue in this reign, and Zosimus felt bound to comment upon it. Its suppression came too late; the mischief had been done.

Zosimus is particularly striking in the ways he anticipates the treatise "On the Magistrates of the Roman State" by John Lydus, a much younger contemporary, whose literary activity falls late in the reign of Justinian.[54] Zosimus libels the first Christian emperor with the allegation that Constantine opened the way to the barbarians by withdrawing the troops from the frontiers and garrisoning them in cities (2. 34); Lydus, no pagan, tells a similar story in much more circumstantial terms.[55] The occasional glosses supplied by Zosimus to clarify the attributions or origins of various officials put us in mind of what Lydus would spin out at much greater length.[56] Like Zosimus, Lydus also thought that he could discern here and there where the mistakes had been made, when the rot had set in. A case in point was the abandonment of Latin. An oracle "delivered by Romulus" apparently said "that Fortune would desert the Romans when they forgot their native speech," and the prophecy was fulfilled when Cyrus of Egypt, who knew nothing but poetry, was elevated to the praetorian prefecture (439–41): "Thereupon he dared transgress the ancient practice and issue his decrees in the Greek language, and along with the Roman language the empire lost its fortune also."[57]

A whole book of Lydus' treatise is devoted to lamenting the gradual disintegration of the once mighty office of praetorian prefect, which Justinian, "our generous emperor, did not suffer to be completely snuffed out."[58] A half century earlier, similar thoughts had been in Zosimus' mind. In relating the administrative innovations of Constantine, he dwells at length upon the emperor's transformation of the collegiate praetorian prefecture into four

[53] *Ibid.*, 165–66, 183–84, 199. See also Priscus Frag. 20 (Ardaburius under Marcian); Lydus *De magistr.* 3. 53 (Areobindus in the Persian war of Anastasius); and Zosimus 5. 16. 5 (Leo) and 5. 25. 3 (Arbazacius). For a fuller discussion, see Cameron, "Date of Zosimus New History," 108–10. I disagree with Cameron's conclusion that Zosimus must "surely" have written prior to the ban of 502. It was not part of Zosimus' plan to celebrate the wise laws of his age; even the abolition of the *lustralis collatio* is only implied, not stated.

[54] Stein, "Remarques sur la chronologie de la carrière de Lydus et de son activité littéraire," in *Bas-Empire*, 2: 838–40. Lydus entered the prefecture in 511, but wrote in the 550s. I have not seen T. F. Carney's translation of the *De Magistratibus* (Sidney, Australia, 1965); a book on Lydus by Professor Carney, including this translation, is in press.

[55] Lydus *De magistr.* 2. 10, 3. 31, 33, 40. One of the striking traits of the treatise is that this story is repeated four times in almost identical words.

[56] Zosimus 2. 25, 43, 3. 29 *(magister officiorum)*, 2. 39. 2 *(nobilissimi)*, 2. 40. 2 *(patricius)*, 5. 2. 2 *(comes Orientis)*, 5. 32. 6 *(quaestor palatii)*. The literary convention calling for such glosses is discussed in Cameron, *Agathias*, 76–79.

[57] Lydus *De magistr.* 3. 32, quoted in P. N. Ure, *Justinian and His Age* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1951), 119. On Cyrus as poet, see Alan Cameron, "Wandering Poets: A Literary Movement in Byzantine Egypt," *Historia*, 14 (1965): 473–74, 497–98; on Cyrus as an enormously popular prefect, see Alexander, *Oracle of Baalbek*, 80–81, and Rubin, *Zeitalter Justinians*, 32.

[58] Lydus *De magistr.* 3. 1.

regional prefectures and his institution of *magistri* as supreme generals, taking over the prefect's military attributions. He goes on:

> In this way did he detract from the prefects' authority, thereby doing harm to the affairs of both peace and war, as I shall immediately explain. For while the prefects had exacted the revenues everywhere through their agents and paid for their military expenses out of these; and while they had had the soldiery under control, submitting to punishment for whatever seemed to them to be an offense; naturally the soldiers, realizing that he who supplied their provisions was also he who punished delinquents, would not dare do anything contrary to duty, out of fear partly that their rations would be cut off, and partly that they would be punished forthwith. But at the present time, with one man as paymaster and another as arbiter of discipline, the soldiers act as they please in all respects, and to boot the greater part of the provisions falls to the gain of the general and his agents (2. 33. 3).[59]

Regardless of whether Zosimus correctly reported the administrative reorganization of Constantine, the passage reflects the preoccupation of sixth-century Byzantium with understanding the relations between past measures and present problems. A parallel to his thinking appears in a Novel of Justinian instituting a new official, the praetor of Thrace (535):

> We know that two men have their sees at the Long Wall and are both called vicars, the one commanding the military cohorts (for there are many in that place), the other supervising civil affairs; each one, moreover, bears a vicariate, the one of the most glorious prefects, the other of the very brave *magistri militum*. Neither, indeed, do they ever agree among themselves; but the fisc supplies a salary to each one and gives them the other rewards, while their one continual and unending business is to quarrel with each other eternally.[60]

In other words, the division of civil and military powers, exemplified here by the vicar of the prefect and that of the *magistri* in Thrace, was a source of sterile bickering. Justinian abolished the two offices and replaced them with a single official with combined functions, as he also did elsewhere.[61] What bearing such reforms had upon Zosimus is sufficiently clear. The sort of administrative problems remedied by Justinian were already being discussed in the time of Anastasius, and seen then, at least by one historian, as resulting from the errors of Constantine.

There is more than pedantic concern with accuracy in insisting that Zosimus be assigned his correct date, for the value of the *Recent History* is scarcely exhausted when it has been mined for information on the third and fourth centuries. The subject matter of his narrative and its terminal date, along with the tendency to think of Zosimus as a pagan die-hard, reminiscent of Libanius and Symmachus, have all contributed to obscuring the great distance

[59] Buchanan-Davis, 75–76.

[60] *Novel.* 26, *praefatio,* Rudolf Schoell and Wilhelm Kroll, eds., *Corpus iuris civilis* (6th ed.; Berlin, 1954), 3: 203; compare Jones, *Later Roman Empire,* 280; and Stein, *Bas-Empire,* 2: 466. Stein is struck by the presence of humor in this law.

[61] Notably the laws of 535–36, *Novel.* 24–31; see Stein, *Bas-Empire,* 2: 463–75; and Jones, *Later Roman Empire,* 278–83.

between him and the age about which he wrote. How alien he was to his subject matter is touchingly illustrated by the following passage: "Indeed Constantine, wishing to contrive something really painful for the men of conspicuous wealth, would name each to the office of praetor and, using this honor as a blind, would dun each of a great weight of silver" (2. 38. 3).[62] Throughout classical antiquity, and well after Constantine, men of wealth had willingly shouldered the expensive burdens of the state, regarding their public generosity as just compensation for their unequal share of the riches of the community. The honor of a magistracy went hand in hand with its heavy cost. A whole structure of law had grown up to institutionalize these practices and surround them with necessary safeguards.[63] As late as 401 Symmachus would disburse two thousand pounds of gold to celebrate his son's praetorship and pester all sorts of people about the animals needed to make his games memorable, without its occurring to him that the burden was an unjust tax on his wealth.[64] A continuous line led back from Symmachus to Marcus Crassus and his remark that a truly rich man should be able to maintain an army out of his private resources, and further still to the *choregoi* and gymnasiarchs of ancient Athens.[65] All this was hidden from Zosimus.

[62] Buchanan-Davis, 79. The same style of history appears in certain Novels of Justinian, for example, 536 *Novel.* 38, *praefatio,* on the origins of municipal *curiae:* "Those who formerly established our state decided, in imitation of the royal city, to gather noble men in each city and to give a senate to each one, by which both public instruments might be drafted and everything might be done in a legal and orderly fashion." Similarly, in 537 *Novel.* 62, *praefatio,* the current role of the Senate is anachronistically projected into the whole imperial past.

[63] For a sketch of the system, see E. M. Steyerman, "Programmes politiques à l'époque de la crise du III[e] siècle," *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale,* 4 (1957–58): 313. On voluntary contributions as preferable to direct taxes, see A. M. Andreades, *A History of Greek Public Finance,* vol. 1, tr. C. N. Brown (Cambridge, Mass., 1933), 129–33. A. H. M. Jones (*The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* [Oxford, 1940], 166–69, 174–76, 179–80) is instructive but deprecates the practice. On legal regulation, see F. F. Abbott and A. C. Johnson, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire* (Princeton, 1926), 94–97; and Jones, *Greek City,* 179–91.

[64] Symmachus' total expenses are given in Olympiodorus Frag. 44; his correspondence on the subject is surveyed by J. A. McGeachy, *Quintus Aurelius Symmachus and the Senatorial Aristocracy of the West* (Chicago, 1942), 101ff. Other contemporary examples of approval for these practices are Claudian *Paneg. Probino et Olybrio CC.* 42–54 and *De cons. Stilich.* 3. 223–25. The problem of the praetorship as seen by Symmachus, by the government (384 *CTh* 15. 9. 1), and by the *Scriptores historiae Augustae* (*Aurel.* 15. 4–6; *Carus* 20. 3–21. 1), was not imperial greed but the mutual rivalry that led to ever costlier displays; compare Ronald Syme, *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta* (Oxford, 1968), 194–95. The antecedent of Zosimus' attitude should perhaps be sought in such measures as 452 *CJ* 12. 3. 2, which decrees that consuls are to stop showering money upon the crowds and instead contribute a lump sum to the maintenance of the aqueducts. Compare 537 *Novel.* 105, *praefatio.* An indication of the same trend is that, since the early fifth century (for example, 407 *CTh* 6. 26. 13, 416 *CTh* 6. 24. 8–9, and others), elevations to the Senate as a reward for meritorious service had included immunity from *senatoriae functiones,* such as the praetorship and the *follis.*

[65] Plutarch *V. Crassi* 2. 7 (Crassus had a state army in mind, not a private retinue). For Roman practices under the Republic, see Matthias Gelzer, *The Roman Nobility,* tr. Robin Seager (Oxford, 1969), 18–27, 110–23. Gelzer sets the public obligations of the rich within the broader context of profit as well as expense. On Greece, see Andreades, *Public Finance,* 130–33, 291–94, 322–26, *passim;* W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* (London, 1911), 55–58, 99–100; Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf and Benedictus Niese, *Staat und Gesellschaft der Griechen und Römer* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1910), 109–111, 126. One of the curiosities in modern treatments of the subject has been the tendency to regard taxes with equanimity while strongly disapproving of the system of Greek "liturgies" and Roman *munera,* as though they could be qualitatively distinguished. See Willy Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung im römischen Kaiserreiche* (Leipzig, 1900),

Continuity had snapped: in the new age, public charges were simply taxes, in principle iniquitous, and rulers were supposed to live of their own.[66]

Zosimus had good sources about the third and fourth centuries, but he experienced that past only through his books, as though it were distant and hazy, which of course it was. We would not be surprised to encounter in his pages the sort of ridiculous anecdote about the Emperor Honorius that we later find in Procopius.[67] The same remoteness has already been observed in Zosimus' paganism. There is no regret for the deities themselves, only blame for the innovative act of abandoning their cult. The atmosphere is already reminiscent of the age of Justinian, and that is where the analogues to Zosimus are to be sought. Not his least value is as witness to his own age, which, while not that of Justinian, fell in the decades immediately preceding Justinian's accession.

At a distance of more than a millennium from the events, Gibbon sat on the steps of the Ara Coeli, gazing upon the ruins of Rome, and wondered how the fall had come about. By contrast, Zosimus sat in Constantinople, amidst the most physically visible achievement of the later Roman Empire, the city of Constantine, whose ascent as a seat of power, a fortress, and an emporium had been uninterrupted since its foundation. Yet Zosimus in his mind saw just what Gibbon saw, an empire fallen, lost not only in part or in the West, but departed, a thing of the past.[68] Even if Zosimus had borne witness only to this, his personal attitude to the world about him, he would have done enough to merit the gratitude of historians of Rome's fall.

How does a world empire fall? Or rather, how does a historian measure its passing? Zosimus thought he knew. One reviews the events and finds the follies and crimes that led to disaster. Justinian also thought he knew: his

430; Ernst Kornemann, "Das Problem des Untergangs der antiken Welt," *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart,* 12 (1922): 242–46; and Abbott and Johnson, *Municipal Administration,* 114–15. Steyerman, "Programmes politiques," offers an excellent corrective.

[66] See Evagrius 4. 30, on Justinian and his ambitious building program: this would have been a good work if only the emperor had carried it out with his own money. There remains to explain how, within a century, tradition could be so completely forgotten. For an important clue, see the outburst in 441 *NValent.* 10. 1. 3: "An forte contumeliosum putandum est inventum contra rationem nomen munerum sordidorum . . . per quae ad splendorem defensionis publicae pervenitur, prava appelatione censentur? . . . sine quibus nihil necessarii operis effici potest?"

[67] Procopius *B. Vandal.* 3. 2. 25–26. Even more startling is *ibid.* 3. 4. 29, where Aetius is said to have been murdered prior to Attila's devastation of "Europe." Compare the absurd definitions of Roman technical terms by Zosimus' contemporary, Hesychius of Miletus Frag. 2 (the *indictio* as a feast instituted by Augustus to celebrate the battle of Actium) and Frag. 3 (the Kalends, Nones, and Ides derive from the names of three rich men who, during a siege in the time of Antoninus, fed the people of Rome for fifteen, seven, and eight days respectively).

[68] Zosimus never says this in so many words, and his various statements on the decline of the Empire are not so categorical as to exclude the interpretation that he merely thought the Empire to be suffering grave misfortunes. Nevertheless, the implication of fallen empire follows directly from the Polybian frame of reference (Zosimus 1. 57. 1). To be sure, Rome existed before it became an empire, and so does New Rome exist after the Empire falls; but just as Polybius charted the acquisition of the imperial dimension, so does Zosimus chart its loss. The presupposition that the Empire or imperial dimension has disappeared is just as strong in Zosimus as in Gibbon, though not so self-evident to us.

predecessors had lost the empire "by their indolence."[69] The "causes" for the fall of the empire had begun to be assembled. Doing so was an emphatic way to assert the accessibility of historical process to the powers of educated human reason. A recent author has observed that "in an age when the weight of 'divine judgment' already began to burden consciences, [Zosimus] affirmed the natural, human character of history, envisaged as an evolutionary process governed by objective laws."[70] Empire ended because of the mistakes of human agents; ordinary common sense, drawing occasionally upon its knowledge of "objective laws," could survey the events and grasp what errors had been made, thus establishing the rationality of what had happened. Whether this precisely describes the mentality of Zosimus is doubtful. He had a sense of the supernatural quality of empire and of the supernatural dimension of its loss; to him, although not to Justinian, the process of degradation was irreversible. Perhaps that is why he allowed his narrative of events to be as careless as it is. From the fifteenth century on, men with greater faith than Zosimus in the rationality of history would resume the task of probing the events in search of the soft spots, the follies, crimes, indolence that occasioned the fall of Rome's empire. The work has gone on uninterruptedly since then.

Has study of the events proved a fruitful method for measuring the passing of the Empire? After experience as lengthy as ours, the answer must surely be negative. The events are better known now than they were to Zosimus, but, as suggested before, their arrangement into a widely acceptable *histoire raisonnée* of the fall of Rome shows little improvement over the first essay in the genre. When the last massive attempt to improve upon Zosimus or Gibbon —namely, that of Otto Seeck—was published, it was dismissed by Matthias Gelzer with the remark that, while "its technical utility is beyond question," the "narrative and conception" are utterly tendentious.[71] By the 1920s, the events and institutions of the later Empire had made their point against the historians who professed to represent them as errors, follies, iniquities, and causes of decline and fall. Although the tradition of Zosimus and Gibbon has continued to be perpetuated in many derivative works, the scholars most intimately involved with the later Roman Empire have turned to writing of their subject in positive terms, no longer supposing that persons, institutions, and events are simply patches in an inexorable pattern; it was realized that doing justice to the events required abandoning the supposition that they

[69] 536 *Novel.* 30. 11.

[70] Zoe Petre, "La pensée historique de Zosime," *Studi clasice*, 7 (1965): 271. She is alluding to what Mazzarino calls "The judgments of God as an historical category" (*End of the Ancient World*, ch. 4), as conceived by Augustine and others (she does not mention Eusebius). Of course, Zosimus cannot be contrasted to Augustine in this respect except by minimizing the importance he attaches to the abandonment of the ancient gods, a trait that Petre attempts to attribute chiefly to the influence of Eunapius (pp. 264–67).

[71] Matthias Gelzer, "Altertumswissenschaft und Spätantike," *Historische Zeitschrift*, 135 (1927): 173–74 and n.1. This is altogether a remarkable article in pointing the way toward reassessment of late antiquity.

"led to" decline and fall.[72] The events are neutral or equivocal. Historians may draw upon them with equal success, and inconclusiveness, to support or to refute a pattern of decline.

The ambiguity of words being what it is, the end of an empire eludes one's grasp in a way that the bankruptcy and dissolution of a business enterprise do not. No superior court or financial newspaper assists at the termination of an empire's affairs; only the historian observes, and he is obliged to weigh ostensible change against unmistakable continuity. "The essence of empire is control," and a developed empire extends control in such a variety of directions that it presents the many-headed image of a hydra.[73] Changing patterns of artistic, literary, and religious taste; alterations in the institutions and personnel of government; the withdrawal of troops from a few provinces; the repeated sack of a city: none of these and the like add up in themselves to the end of empire. Since the life of a society is continuous at the level of events, since there have always been survivors, one may hardly fix the end of anything on a scale of happenings. From the perspective of a distant future, when events long past have a decisiveness proportional to their remoteness, nothing is so easy to proclaim as the end of an empire that, obviously, is no longer present. Rome's fall is an absolute certainty to the layman. The situation is altogether more difficult for the historian of the later Empire, who, somehow, in full awareness of discrete phenomena, has to pronounce on when, specifically, Rome's empire may be said to have ended. To him, the end of empire is a matter of time and accumulated changes, none of which is in itself terminal. Pressed to give a definite reply, the historian of today may say that the Roman Empire ended in 476 in the West and that it never ended in the East, short of 1453; but both answers are equally disputable and unsatisfactory, and so are the other definite answers.[74] Events have a continuous flow; it is not in them that so broad a question as the end of empire can possibly be found.

Yet empire does end, and it continues to be legitimate to ask how its end may be established and measured. Rather than in the events, an answer might be sought at the level that has just been mentioned: that of the layman to whom Rome's fall is most certain because the Empire surely does not exist

[72] Notably in the major works of synthesis, Stein's *Bas-Empire* (German ed. of vol. 1; Vienna, 1928); Piganiol, *L'Empire chrétien;* and Jones, *Later Roman Empire.* A personal "conversion" to this point of view is documented by H. I. Marrou's *Retractatio* (Paris, 1949), a supplement to his *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique* (Paris, 1938). From a different standpoint and indicating work that remains to be done is Fritz Schultz, *Principles of Roman Law,* tr. Marguerite Wolf (Oxford, 1936), 136–39, and *History of Roman Legal Science* (Oxford, 1946), 265–66.

[73] The quoted phrase appears, in different contexts, in A. P. Thornton, "Colonialism," *International Journal,* 17 (1961–62): 338, "Decolonisation," *ibid.,* 19 (1963–64): 22, and *Doctrines of Imperialism* (New York, 1965), 36. I am grateful to Professor Thornton for the third reference.

[74] K. F. Strohecker, "Um die Grenze zwischen Antike und abendländischen Mittelalter," *Saeculum,* 1 (1950): 433–65. See also Johannes Straub, "Die christliche Geschichtsapologetik in der Krisis des römischer Reiches," *Historia,* 1 (1950): 52–55 (with reference to Burckhardt); Léon Levillain, review of *Menschen die Geschichte machten,* P. R. Rohden and George Ostrogorsky, eds., *Le Moyen Âge,* 42 (1932): 154 (commenting on the then raging controversy inspired by the theses of Dopsch and Pirenne); and, on the East, Paul Lemerle, "La notion de décadence, à propos de l'empire byzantin," in *Classicisme et déclin culturel dans l'histoire de l'Islam,* ed. Robert Brunschvig and G. E. von Grunebaum (Paris, 1957), 263–72.

today. That awareness of empire lost, which is in the nature of a meditation upon the past and a sense of the observer's present, is the real source for the problem of Roman decadence. Accordingly, the passing of empire should be sought and measured in the minds of those whose notion of the events is perhaps indistinct but whose sense of their significance is clear as a conclusion that does not strictly depend on the evidence on which it is based. So considered, the end of empire—elusive and ambiguous as it is at the level of events—becomes a concrete datum of intellectual history. It happens or may be said to have happened when thoughtful men believe that it has and express this thought in terms that may be recognized as something other than momentary discouragement in the face of a local reverse.

This brings us back to Zosimus. For if the end of empire is measured by what people thought, then his affirmation that the Roman Empire had fallen acquires an importance that it has never been supposed to have. On the contrary, one of the major theses in recent historical writing about the later Empire is that the categories of decline and fall are alien to the eastern part of the Empire. Since at least the days of Ernst Stein, it has been maintained that *spätrömisch* is equivalent in the East to *frühbyzantinisch;* one flows into the other not only without breach of continuity but even as though the later situation were the desired, projected outcome of the earlier, as one might say that Constantine leads to Justinian.[75] Certain incidents of fifth-century history are marked as particularly crucial in bringing about this result, notably the anti-German movements at Constantinople under Arcadius (400–01) and Leo (471). The latter movement especially, which culminated in the destruction of the *magister militum* Aspar and his family, has been interpreted as saving the East from the fate suffered by Italy at the hands of the *magister militum* Odoacer, for Leo's successor Zeno and his Isaurians, although a fine lot of thieves, at least came from within the Empire.[76] In this perspective, the prudent, economical, and civilian reign of Zeno's successor Anastasius, who effected the "financial rehabilitation of the empire," takes on the warm colors of ancient values preserved from degradation.[77] Saved and consolidated in this way after decades of barbarian menace, Byzantium launched

[75] On Stein's periodization, see J.-R. Palanque, preface to Stein, *Bas-Empire,* 2: xi–xii, referring to an article of 1925; along the same lines, see George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State,* tr. Joan Hussey (Oxford, 1956), 26; for a strong and influential statement, see Norman Baynes, "The Decline of the Roman Power in Western Europe: Some Modern Explanations," *Journal of Roman Studies,* 33 (1943): 29–35. See also below, n.78.

[76] E. W. Brooks, "The Emperor Zenon and the Isaurians," *English Historical Review,* 8 (1893): 208–38; J. B. Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to the Death of Justinian* (London, 1923), 1: 126–35, 316–21, 389–402, 433. Bury wrote that the ascendancy of the Isaurians "had served the purpose of averting the far more serious peril of a German ascendancy, which might have brought upon the East the fate of Italy" (p. 433). Since the "fate" of Italy was the benevolent rule of Odoacer and Theodoric, one wonders why Germans were a "far more serious peril." Ostrogorsky (*Byzantine State,* 50–51, 56–58, 63) stresses the solution of Byzantium's "racial problems" as the condition for expansionism under Justinian.

[77] The quoted phrase is from Jones, *Later Roman Empire,* 235. See also Bury, 1: 429–52; Ostrogorsky, *Byzantine State,* 59–62; and Alexander, *Oracle of Baalbek,* 95–97. Alexander defends Anastasius against a very unflattering contemporary assessment of his financial policy (pp. 27–28). Modern approval of Anastasius is usually tempered by consideration of his not-so-wise religious policies.

into the adventures and achievements of the age of Justinian, which provide Byzantium with its greatest claim to being the lineal descendant of Rome's empire. This brief outline overdramatically sums up the current doctrine regarding the East. The idea that the Empire ended is relegated to the West alone.[78]

On the plane of ideas, Zosimus makes a shambles of such doctrine. To him, the reign of Anastasius was "the unhappy state that currently oppresses us" (2. 7. 2),[79] and he was by no means alone in thinking so. The moment seemed so far from encouraging that a Christian author was moved to write an apocalyptic prophecy, and Joshua the Stylite reported how he and his fellow Edessenes were within an inch of supposing, in 502, that the end of the world had come.[80] It need hardly be pointed out that these authors were not preoccupied with Western affairs or expressing dismay at the deposition of Romulus Augustulus. Zosimus' long chapters on the West stem from his sources, especially Olympiodorus, rather than from personal concern.[81] When adverting to a "devastated state of affairs," Zosimus had in mind the one he lived amidst, with its "excessively great city" populated by "an unnecessarily large throng gathering from all parts of the world," where "dwellings [are permitted] to be chockablock, so that the city's inhabitants . . . are pressed for space and proceed at risk owing to the plethora of men and animals" (2. 34–35)—not an empire but an island of survivors, piled up one on top of the other, in a sea of barbarism.[82] When St. Ambrose said, "We are in a declining age," and when St. Jerome said, "The Roman world is falling," they were alluding to the current misfortunes of a still subsisting empire; Ammianus, for all his brooding pessimism, had faith enough in the Empire to ridicule those "men ignorant of ancient records" (*antiquitatum ignari*) who reacted to every passing calamity as if it were the end of time.[83] At a

[78] See above, n.75. Montesquieu is apparently the originator of this thesis; see Saunders, "Debate," 4. It is the premise of Bury, 1: 308–309, as well as of Friedrich Vittinghof, "Der Übergang von der 'Antike' zum 'Mittelalter' und die Problematik des modernen Revolutionsbegriffes," *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, 9 (1958): 457–74. See also Marrou, *Retractatio*, 701 and n.2. Marrou suggests that the real problem for historians of "the fall" is to establish the differences between the *partes imperii* that account for their contrasting fates. Interestingly enough, this has not proved a fruitful line of investigation.

[79] Buchanan-Davis, 54. "State" should be understood in the sense of "condition."

[80] Alexander, *Oracle of Baalbek*, and "Medieval Apocalypses as Historical Sources," *AHR*, 73 (1968): 999–1008. In the latter article, he indicates that, in addition to the work he edited, two more apocalypses were written at this time. See also Joshua ch. 49 (ed. Wright), 38. Another significant indicator of the contemporary mental climate is the surge of dualist (Marcionite and Manichaean) beliefs documented by Jacques Jarry, "Hérésies et factions à Constantinople du v[e] au vii[e] siècle," *Syria*, 37 (1960): 364–70.

[81] Compare the view of Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Decline of Rome*, 113–14, 141–42, who refers Zosimus' pessimism to the West and overlooks that he makes exception for Constantinople only, not for the East in general.

[82] Buchanan-Davis, 77. Elsewhere in the chapter *strateia*, the equivalent of *militia*, is erroneously translated as "military service." The idea is "government service" of many kinds; compare, for example, Lydus *De Magistr.* 3. 28. In the same passage Zosimus disparages building in Constantinople on plots reclaimed from the sea, much as does Procopius *Anecd.* 8.

[83] Ambrose *Expos. in Lucam* 10. 10, quoted by Piganiol, *L'Empire chrétien*, 169; Jerome *Epist.* 60. 16; Ammianus 31. 5. 11: "Falluntur malorum recentium stupore confixi." It is an interesting contrast between one age and another that Procopius does not hesitate to advertise the calamities of Justinian's reign as unequaled in world history (*Anecd.* 6. 19, 8. 30, 36–37).

century's distance from them, Zosimus regarded himself as inhabiting a successor state, in relation to which the Empire was a thing of the past. If we read the *Recent History* correctly, Anastasius was cast as the Eastern equivalent of Theodoric, Clovis, Thrasamund, and the other barbarian kings of the West.

What gives weight to the utterances of Zosimus is that those following him were hardly alien to his point of view. We have already encountered John Lydus suggesting that fortune abandoned the Empire once a praetorian prefect stopped using Latin. He deserves to be heard from again, as he juxtaposes gratitude toward the reigning emperor with melancholy consideration of the disasters falling upon his special world, the secretariat of the praetorian prefecture:

> But time, being by nature destructive, has entirely stifled or to so great an extent altered the majority of the perquisites of the office-staff attending upon the prefect that what remains survives only as a faint trace of what was formerly admired. Although the [prefectoral] magistracy is secure in its own power, the office-staff is near the point of falling into total collapse, beset as it is at one time by upheavals from without and, at another, by negligence within—if God and this utterly noble emperor were not supporting it.[84]

Lydus' abstract terminology allows us, here as elsewhere, to envision the fate of the prefect's office as a microcosm of the fate of the Empire; the degradation of the *officium* mirrors that of the state—a state, as he tells us, heading rapidly toward utter ruin.[85] The idea he expresses is also found in the Novels of Justinian and in Procopius, and all three are almost identical to Zosimus, at least in their premises.[86] They affirm that their present is different from the old Empire and by far inferior to it; this is a statement of belief, for they have little sense of that old Empire or grasp of what it was. In the *Secret History* Procopius repeatedly accuses Justinian of causing the Empire to fall.[87] The allegation is of course absurd, since Anastasius and his predecessors may hardly be regarded as presiding over a golden age of felicity and power; probably no such implication is intended. Procopius counted on his

[84] Lydus *De magistr.* 3. 39. I am much indebted to my colleague, Professor Bernard Barman, for this translation. The very different rendering of Kaegi (*Byzantium and the Decline of Rome,* 212–13) illustrates the abstract terminology of the treatise. In Lydus' usage, the words Kaegi translates as "Empire" and "order" mean, respectively, "the magistrate (i.e., praetorian prefect)" and "the office-staff."

[85] *Ibid.* 3. 76; see also 2. 5, 3. 43, 46, 54, 56. I find it difficult to accept the label of *naive Jasager* that Rubin, *Zeitalter Justinians,* 168–71, pins upon Lydus. Lydus often approves and sounds consistently naive—Stein, *Bas-Empire,* 2: 734, taxes him with "senile clumsiness and negligence" —but there are discernible undercurrents. It is suggestive that, though he wrote in the later 550s and specifically described a Syrian campaign of Chosroes (540), he chose to end the treatise, on a note of high but obviously disappointed hope, with the advent of Phocas to the prefecture (532)—a prefecture that lasted less than a year (compare the praise of Phocas by Procopius *Anecd.* 21. 6). Can one entertain the possibility that Lydus was crafty and ironical rather than naive? The account of his own career, together with what Procopius says of men like him (*Anecd.* 24. 30–33), suggests that he too had reason to hate the regime.

[86] Lydus on the destructive effects of time echoes 535 *Novel.* 7. 2; 538 *Novel.* 69. 4. 1; 539 *Novel.* 84, *praefatio.* For the other thematic parallels, see nn. 87–88.

[87] *Anecd.* 6. 1, 25; 7. 1; 9. 1; 13. 39; 14. 19; 15. 17. Throughout the book Procopius appears to assume that all was well with the Empire until Justinian came along.

audience to agree that the present world was one of fallen empire; provided this premise were accepted—and Procopius hardly doubted that it would be—the audience would also be glad to be told who was responsible, what was the cause, for the currently lamentable state of affairs.

Perhaps Justinian himself is the best proof of all that Zosimus had voiced what was commonly believed. Justinian shared the premise of fallen empire. His allegation was that laziness was the cause—a charge that also occurs in Zosimus and, emphatically, in Lydus.[88] That humbled condition of the Empire was why the situation had to be retrieved. True religion, manifested by the repression of heterodoxy and unbelievers; the application of incessant personal labor by day and by night; collecting "formerly confused" laws and revising them; the exploitation of diplomatic advantage by military means—these and other remedies would bring back lost greatness. Where Zosimus had pointed to past errors, Justinian could point, after a few years, to present achievements:

> For after the Parthian wars were abated with an eternal peace, after the Vandal people was put down, and Carthage, or rather all Lybia, was again joined to the Roman Empire, [Providence] also granted that the ancient laws, disfigured by age, should by our watchfulness attain new beauty and manageable size: something which no emperor before us had hoped [to do] or even considered at all possible for human skill [to accomplish].[89]

Although the achievements were real enough, it remained to be seen whether the industry of one emperor could offset the indolence of his predecessors. For was empire really a matter of events, lost by foolishness or negligence, and gained by wise actions? Trusting to God and his favor, Justinian came close to affirming that it was. With God's help, the Empire was necessarily destined now to a greatness exceeding that of the old Romans. Such had been the Christian theory of progress elaborated by Eusebius and expressed by the other Church historians.[90] Elevated to the plane of action, it was also Justinian's reply—the Christian reply, as he believed—to the conclusion that Zosi-

[88] 536 *Novel.* 30. 11 and 539 *Novel.* 80. 10; Zosimus 4. 50. 2 (about Theodosius I, perhaps from Eunapius Frag. 49); and Lydus *De magistr.* 2. 15, 3. 55 (former emperors), 2. 11 (sons of Theodosius I). In the passage of Lydus quoted at n.84, negligence or sloth (*rathumia,* the operative word in all these passages) and disasters are mentioned as perhaps a standard pattern of internal and external causation. Zosimus features the element of negligence, but using another word, in 1. 23. 1, 26, 28. 3, 73; 2. 49. 1; and 4. 28. On the legal aspect of Justinian and the Roman past, see K. H. Schindler, *Justinians Haltung zur Klassik* (Cologne-Graz, 1966), 6–11.

[89] 533 Const. *Tanta, praefatio,* in *Digesta* (Theodor Mommsen and Paul Krueger, eds. *Corpus iuris civilis,* vol. 1 [12th ed.; Berlin, 1911]), 13. In 535 *Novel.* 1, *praefatio,* the subjection of the Tzani is similarly celebrated as an unprecedented divine gift to the Roman state. See also 534 *CJ* 1. 27. 1. 5–6, celebrating the reconquest of Africa as an act of divine favor, a boon that was never merited by his predecessors, who not only were not allowed to liberate Africa but even saw Rome itself sacked by the Vandals.

[90] Its development is traced in T. E. Mommsen, "St. Augustine and the Christian Idea of Progress," *Journal of the History of Ideas,* 12 (1951): 356–63; and Michel Meslin, "Nationalisme, état et religions à la fin du IV^e^ siècle," *Archives de sociologie des religions,* 18 (1964): 3–20. For the successors of Eusebius, see Downey, "Early Church Historians," 57–70; and Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Decline of Rome,* 176–206. See also R. A. Markus, "The Roman Empire in Early Christian Historiography," *Downside Review,* 81 (1963): 340–54.

mus had drawn from the abandonment of the ancient gods. Long ago, in the West, St. Augustine had known better.

St. Augustine has an obvious place in this discussion, for he epitomizes how, in the western part of the Empire, a single disastrous event was so transmuted on the plane of ideas as to bring about a fundamental change in outlook. The fourth-century West had been as open as the East to acceptance of the Christian theory of progress. As late as 403 the poet Prudentius had stressed that the Christianized Empire enjoyed greater temporal felicity than had pagan Rome.[91] When the Visigoths sacked Rome seven years later, Christians were severely shaken in their faith, since they instinctively shared the premise of paganism that right worship ensured earthly prosperity.[92] How could such a calamity befall a Christian Empire?

In restoring calm to troubled souls, Augustine did not limit himself to the conventional answer that the Romans were sinful and in need of exemplary correction. He directly challenged the premise on which the anguish of the faithful was based and broke through the facile disguise of a pagan outlook in Christian dress. What Christ had brought was not success but salvation:

> They had hitherto wished to see the eternity of their city and Empire secured by the protection of the true God; they had wished to enjoy the old security in the *Pax Romana* and now had to realize that God lets his sun shine on the good and the wicked, and allows rain to fall on the just and the unjust . . . [They had to recall] that the righteous had much to suffer, that after [Adam's sin] no eternal realm of peace could again arise, that all states are fated to fall.[93]

Assisted by the shattering impact of the event of 410, Augustine was able to bring home to his audience that the eternal salvation given by God was wholly different from the temporal salvation offered by the state and other human institutions. Enjoining Christians to cut loose from the inveterate materialism of pagan religion, he divorced their future from any particular political structure. Whether the Empire fell or not remained a matter of deep concern to the Christian as sentient human being; Augustine had no desire to see its passing. Nevertheless the Christian as believer was freed from dependence upon the Empire. He could be at peace with any successor that offered him the liberty to practice his religion.[94]

[91] *Contra Symm.* 1. 538–48. For further analysis of Prudentius along the same lines as Mommsen, see Manfred Fuhrmann, "Die Romidee der Spätantike," *Historische Zeitschrift,* 207 (1968): 556–59.

[92] In addition to the works cited in nn.90, 91, and 93, see Straub, "Geschichtsapologetik," 52–81; Courcelle, *Histoire littéraire,* 19–55; Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1967), 287–329; F. G. Maier, *Augustin und das antike Rom* (Stuttgart, 1965); Friedrich Vittinghof, "Zum geschichtlichen Selbstverständnis der Spätantike," *Historische Zeitschrift,* 98 (1964): 529–74; and Paolo Brezzi, "Romani e barbari nel giudizo degli scrittori cristiani dei secoli IV–VI," *Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto medioevo, Settimane di studi,* 9 (1962): 565–93. This is a fraction of the constantly growing bibliography.

[93] Johannes Straub, "Augustins Sorge um die *regeneratio imperii,*" *Historisches Jahrbuch,* 73 (1954): 49.

[94] *De civit. dei* 5. 17: "quid interest sub cuius imperio vivat homo periturus, si illi qui imperant ad impia et iniqua non cogant" (and, in general, *ibid.,* bks. 4–5). Straub ("Augustins

It seems hardly coincidental that, from then on, quite regardless of the continuity of emperors to 476, we encounter personalities in the West expressing ideas that are altogether relevant to a post-imperial world: the pagan Rutilius Namatianus transfiguring the Roman past into a pure *mission civilisatrice;* Salvian setting Romans and barbarians on a plane of moral equality; Leo the Great assimilating the glory of Rome to that of Saints Peter and Paul; Sidonius Apollinaris exemplifying a perhaps unconscious Augustinianism by remarking, "[Euric] imagines that [his] success . . . comes from the genuine orthodoxy of his religion, where it would be truer to say that he achieves it by earthly good fortune."[95] By the time Theodoric the Ostrogoth was in possession of Italy, Cassiodorus would express the essence of the Roman way of life in the secular term *civilitas,* a quality of law-abidingness accessible to barbarians and Romans alike that, superficially at least, had nothing to do with power and domination.[96]

As events contemporary to ourselves suggest, a polity need not be the worse for losing its empire or another the more fortunate for retaining the one it has. The fifth-century West was no doubt overrun by barbarians, but it also witnessed one of the wonders of history, the abandonment of a traditional outlook and the acceptance of a genuinely novel conception of man and God and their mutual relations. On the day-to-day level, the usual struggle for security, wealth, and power went on, and these mundane affairs had something to do with the Roman Empire. But the misanthropic illusion of empire —that a specific slice of humanity and its bag of tricks was endowed by Providence with eternity—had been shed long before 476. Westerners learned to live in a world where men were in principle helpless and certain power resided only with God, who exercised it in accordance with his hidden designs. Although men of letters were sufficiently numerous, no author presumed to relate the decline and fall of the Empire.[97] The movement of ideas

Sorge," 40–60) stresses Augustine's continuing concern for the Empire, though at a subordinate level of importance. Gerhard Ladner (*The Idea of Reform: Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers* [Cambridge, Mass., 1959]) allows one to see these ideological developments in a setting encompassing more themes than merely the Christian idea of progress.

[95] Rutilius *De reditu suo* 47–164, esp. 55–66, with which compare Claudian *De consul. Stil.* 3. 136–49. Salvian *De gubernatione dei* 4. 12–14, 17; 5. 2–5, 10–11; 6. 2, 6–9; Emilienne Demougeot ("L'idéalisation de Rome face aux barbares," *Revue des études anciennes,* 70 [1968]: 401–02) interprets Salvian as saying that the barbarians were not equal to the Romans of old, but sin had so corrupted the Romans of his time as to allow the Germans to triumph over them. Leo I *Sermo* 82, and more extensively, Czesław Bartnik, "L'Interprétation théologique de la crise de l'Empire romain par Léon le Grand," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique,* 63 (1968): 745–84, esp. 760. Sidonius *Epist.* 7. 6. 6 (tr. W. B. Anderson [London, 1965]), 319.

[96] On *civilitas,* see Wilhelm Ensslin, *Theodorich der Grosse* (Munich, 1947), 223–26; and Fuhrmann, "Die Romidee," 547–48 n.51. Equally significant is Cassiodorus' usage of the word *imperium,* notably in *Variae* 2. 12 (ed. Mommsen), p. 52 l. 27, and 3. 51, p. 105 l. 12. Heinz Löwe ("Von Theodorich dem Grosse zu Karl dem Grosse," *Deutsches Archiv,* 9 [1952]: 353–79) gives an illuminating portrayal of the loosening of emotional ties to Rome in the fifth- and sixth-century West.

[97] The lost *Historia Romana* of the later Symmachus (father-in-law of Boethius) may have been an exception to this; at least it appears to have originated the idea that the year 476 marked the end of the Empire in the West. See M. A. Wes, *Das Ende des Kaisertum im Westen*

had stripped that particular question of the absorbing interest with which it was formerly, and might still have been, endowed by the course of events.

By applying the old schema of *translatio imperii* to the phenomena of intellectual history, one might say that the ideological burden of empire migrated to Constantinople in company with its "felicity." Along with an intensified sense of being privileged by Providence, there came the nagging question whether control over earthly affairs was growing or diminishing and the eschatological anxiety that accompanied all current successes and setbacks. The disaster that allowed the West to shake itself loose from the belief that Providence was necessarily committed to the Empire had an opposite effect upon the East. Strengthened rather than jeopardized by storms and turmoil experienced chiefly by the western provinces, the Christian theory of progress became more comfortably seated in the general consciousness. The Huns might grind the Balkans underfoot, but the laws of Theodosius II still mouthed traditional hypocrisies and even amplified them:

> Thus does it profit barbarian peoples to surrender to the empire of our divine authority, thus will our victories seem fruitful to the obedient. . . .
>
> In the most felicitous times of our empire. . . .
>
> We indeed always take counsel for individual and collective matters with that majesty of forethought by which the Roman state [*res Romana*] gradually advances to empire over the whole terrestrial globe. . . .
>
> When account is taken as much for the security of the provincials and the felicity of our empire. . . .
>
> Since we strive with the greatest attention and all our strength that the cities subject to our rule remain in perpetual felicity. . . .
>
> In proportion with the greatness of the benefits by which, by unique benevolence toward ourselves, the Supreme Majesty has increased the empire of the Romans. . . .[98]

Moreover, the lawyers who wrote Church history in the footsteps of Eusebius drew the lesson suggested by the security of the new Rome: ". . . an emperor through diligent performance of good works and recourse to prayer might successfully intercede with God for divine favor and protection against all enemies, internal and external."[99] A doctrine sanctioned by Christian opinion as well as the imperial court turned the felicity, the breadth, and the eternity of the Empire into matters of faith divorced from fact. Joshua the

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des römischen Reiches (The Hague, 1967). But this was a defense of the Roman past, rather than an inquiry into Rome's fall. Compare Arnaldo Momigliano, *Studies in Historiography,* 185–86.

[98] The passages are drawn from the preambles of the following laws: 439 *NTh* 16, *NTh* 17. 1, 440 *NTh* 7. 3, 441 *NTh* 5. 3, 443 *NTh* 23, 444 *NTh* 7. 2. A chronicle of contemporary events may be drawn from E. A. Thompson, *The History of Attila and the Huns* (Oxford, 1948), 77–94: October 439, Carthage falls to the Vandals; 440, great fears of Vandal raids, an expedition against them, and a raid by Persians into Armenia; 440–41, serious troubles with the Huns; 443, major Hunnic raid followed by an ignominious peace, after which Theodosius returned from refuge in Asia.

[99] Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Decline of Rome,* 206; Downey, "Early Church Historians."

Stylite wrote a monograph about some recent calamities, but he could nevertheless say that "believing emperors have always reigned from that time [ca. 363] until the present day [ca. 507], and by the help of Heaven their power has been strengthened."[100] Current disasters fell upon sinners for their chastisement and correction; they had no bearing upon the Empire, whose present, with God's help, was as victorious and felicitous as its past.

The pretensions of the court and Church historians, who treated blind luck as the favor of Providence, aroused corresponding extremes of pessimism from the secular historians, who could hardly avoid contrasting the felicity of a receding past with the miseries of current events. Nostalgia for the ancient gods as such was not the motivating factor of this dissent; we find it in all the secular historians, of whom Zosimus alone disparages Christianity. The almost total loss of the extensive contemporary histories by Priscus, Malchus, and Candidus reduces the evidence prior to the sixth century to the merest fragments. Nevertheless, the famous dialogue reported by Priscus between himself and a Greek merchant prospering as a refugee in Attila's kingdom affords a rare glimpse into an Eastern Empire where the contrast between sanctified appearance and sordid reality weighed on the consciences of thinking men.[101]

Recent authors have severely judged Priscus for his part in this dialogue, which, in the words of E. A. Thompson, reveals him to be so "complacent and content with the *status quo*" as to cast "a sinister light on his ability to record with understanding the history of his age."[102] It has also been said that Priscus cannot have believed the merchant's fierce criticism of conditions in the Empire, for if he had he could easily have sought asylum among the Huns.[103] Such commentators overlook that, regardless of whether the encounter actually took place or not, the reported conversation flowed entirely from Priscus' pen and is not a transcript by a third party. The merchant's side of the dialogue, full of seriousness and conviction and without a trace of satire, is as much Priscus' work as his own reply, of whose artificiality he was no doubt as aware as we are.

Other works of the age mention the Roman subject who flees to freedom among the barbarians;[104] uniquely, Priscus introduces us directly to such a person—not even a renegade, but a formerly enslaved captive who has risen from nothing among the Huns—and makes him explain why life in a bar-

[100] Joshua ch. 8 (ed. Wright), 7. Compare Cosmas Indicopleustes, as quoted by Kaegi: "I declare confidently that although hostile barbarians may rise briefly against the Roman Empire to correct us for our sins, yet through the strength of him who maintains us the empire will remain undefeated . . ." (p. 212).

[101] Priscus Frag. 8; for translations, see Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, 1: 284–85; and C. D. Gordon, *The Age of Attila* (Ann Arbor, 1960), 85–89.

[102] Thompson, *Attila*, 186–87; see also Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ed. Bury, 3: 429. Bury's comment (*Later Roman Empire*, 1: 285 n.1) is astonishingly weak.

[103] Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Decline of Rome*, 209. For a better understanding of the passage, see Impellizzeri, *Letteratura bizantina*, 147–48.

[104] Ammianus 31. 6. 6; Salvian *De gub. dei* 5. 5, 7, 8; Zosimus 5. 42. 3 (slaves). Lydus *De magistr.* 3. 70, mentions provincials who prefer barbarians to the state's tax collectors.

barian land is preferable by far to the defenselessness, oppression, and chicanery of life in the Empire. The merchant's speech is at least as convincing as Salvian's impassioned explanation of why a Roman would take flight; Priscus worked hard at making it a circumstantial indictment. As for the historian's reply, its appeal to abstract theory and progressive jurisprudence was just as truthful as the indictment it was meant to counter. There was one side of reality; here, the other. They kept uncomfortable company. In the end, the merchant, shedding tears, was left to draw the moral of the dialogue: "The laws are beautiful and the polity of the Romans is excellent; but the rulers are not like-minded with the men of old, and are pulling down the state into ruin."[105] We are already close to Zosimus' allegory of the Empire as a horribly mutilated, moribund corpse whose eyes alone show life (4. 21. 2).[106] A few years later Malchus, writing of a military mutiny, had the participants cry out against "a faintheartedness that was utterly destroying all cities and all the strength of the Roman people, because everyone with power was cutting off whatever he wished."[107] The premise of Zosimus—that the Empire was at an end—was already in circulation. It only remained for him to spell it out.

Seconded by the Church historians, the Eastern emperors had shackled Providence to the ongoing fortunes of their state, setting the everyday injustices and failings of the administration under God's aegis together with the occasional success. What could an honest historian reply? Zosimus said, "The doctrine of the Christians could wash away any crime," just as it had cleansed Constantine of the guilt of murdering his son and wife (2. 29. 3).[108] In place of the promised progress, the clear-sighted observer saw only innovations, departures from the old, good ways of fighting wars and conducting government. If current events were a fair sample of imperial felicity with God's blessing, then the real Roman Empire, which ruled the world and gave it just laws, must be a thing of the past. Somewhere in the course of time it had perished, trodden under the feet of the lesser men of recent times. To expect its revival was as illusory as to ask pygmies to perform the tasks of full-grown men.[109] In this way, as a meditation upon the past and a judgment upon the present, the first history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire came into existence.

[105] Translation by Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders*, 2: 80. Hodgkin is also hard on Priscus for his answer (p. 79).

[106] Buchanan-Davis, 154: "The body of a man was seen lying on the road, like one who has been lashed from top to toe, altogether immobile save that his eyes were open and looked out upon those who approached him. . . . He was reckoned neither as alive (because his entire body was motionless) nor yet as wholly dead (because his sight appeared unimpaired) . . . . The portent bespoke the condition of the State, which would continue to suffer beatings and lashings, like a person breathing out his last, until it was completely destroyed by the wickedness of its magistrates and rulers. And indeed it will appear, as we survey events one by one, that this prediction was true." Zosimus set the incident in 378, as Valens went to meet the Visigoths. Was the passage inspired by Eunapius?

[107] Frag. 16, tr. by Bernard Barman, to whom I am much obliged.

[108] Buchanan-Davis, 71.

[109] Lydus *De magistr.* 3. 53 (about Arrian) clearly indicates the sense of himself and his contemporaries as a lesser breed.

The value of Zosimus is not exhausted when one has catalogued him as a representative of debased Greek literature, remarked upon his rarity as a reader of Polybius, absorbed his disparagement of Constantine and praise of Julian, mined his pages for details of third- and fourth-century history, or pigeonholed him among the apologists of paganism.[110] Zosimus speaks for a definable moment in the life of the Eastern Empire, and in doing so, he casts a light on his past, present, and future that we very much need to clarify our own ideas of Rome's fall.

To begin with, his work allows us to appreciate the futility of that genre of history of which it was the first representative. His collection of events represented as "causes" for the fall suffices to discredit any attempt to relate "the history of a great epoch" as a series of mistakes leading to a foreknown result. Zosimus, Gibbon, and all the others were wrong. Events, when treated seriatim, with due attention to the very limited consequences of each one, explain neither the growth nor the decline of empires—hence the remark that Rome's empire, like Britain's, was created in a fit of absence of mind, and the temptation, at the other end of the time spectrum, to suppose that Rome's fall is a myth.[111] Though certainly related to events and external realities, empire is a phenomenon of intellectual history. In investigating questions as abstract as the rise and fall of empires, the subject of inquiry should be what contemporaries thought, not only what they did.

That Zosimus regarded the Roman Empire as fallen is therefore the invaluable contribution of his *History*. Moreover, his outlook directly refutes the conclusion offered by the modern historians of the later Empire who have accredited the general proposition that the Empire fell in the West only while surviving integrally in the East. Their conclusion is based above all on an assessment of the events rather than of contemporary opinion. But should it be? Are even the events suitably interpreted when they are divorced from what contemporaries thought of them? That Anastasius defended the frontiers and piled up gold in the treasury may well be outweighed by the fact that, in his reign, a historian bade farewell to a vanished supremacy.

In the West as well as the East, what men thought bore something else than a direct relationship to the course of events. Within a few months after the disaster of 410 it became clear that the sack of Rome had been no more decisive than the defeat of Adrianople.[112] But where Ammianus had countered Adrianople with a reference to *antiquitatum ignari,* St. Augustine

[110] For the relations of Zosimus to Polybius, see Fritz Taeger, *Charisma* (Stuttgart, 1960), 2: 641.

[111] For imperialism by absent-mindedness, see Max Cary, *History of Rome* (2d ed.; London, 1954), 226. Cary is not, I am told, quite faithful to what Sir John Seeley meant about the British Empire. For Rome's fall as a myth, see R. M. Haywood, *The Myth of Rome's Fall* (New York, 1958). Haywood actually means the "myths," that is, erroneous opinions, about the subject. Nevertheless, impatience with the idea that Rome fell, in the sense that the phrase is a gross oversimplification for a phenomenon of uncertain length and great elusiveness, is an understandable reaction in the student of the period.

[112] Courcelle, *Histoire littéraire,* 80–89; Johannes Straub, "Die Wirkung der Niederlage bei Adrianopel," *Philologus,* 95 (1941): 255–86.

responded to the later disaster by distinguishing the Providence-guided course of history from the transitory course of empire. Rather than give comfort for Rome's future, the disasters of Rome's past (like that of its present) illustrated the merely temporal dimension of human institutions. The Christian participated in these institutions, but, regardless of what Eusebius, Prudentius, and even Orosius implied, the aspect of his life that mattered did not depend on mortal kingdoms (*peritura regna*).[113] After this, the question whether the Western Empire revived or passed away dwindled to the subordinate level of mundane concerns. The Christian could accommodate himself to either eventuality, for, whatever happened, the old Empire, exemplifying God's will in its acts, was a thing of the past.[114]

The course of events in the fifth-century East was neither outstandingly fortunate nor especially calamitous. It has never been proved that holding barbarians at bay was necessarily preferable to learning to live with them, or that Zeno was any more "Roman" than Odoacer, or that religious dissidence in Egypt and Syria was less divisive than the political fragmentation of the West.[115] What is clear is that the supposedly "surviving" East produced a historian of the fall of the Empire, whereas the "fallen" West, though not bereft of historians, produced none. In other words, there is a marked contrast in the manner in which the two *partes* interpreted the course of events. While Westerners observed the fate of the Empire with relative equanimity and were soon to write with praise of barbarian kings,[116] the Easterners continued to face the problem of reconciling the Christian theory of progress with occasional disasters, the headlong pace of legal change, everyday corruption, and ineradicable human weakness. Wedded to the ordinary failings of the government, the theory degenerated into a shallow rhetoric of success that the secular historians could not reconcile with the tradition of truthfulness that was their heritage.[117] The answer they gradually evolved was that the Roman Empire had fallen, that the present disclosed only "a faint trace of what was formerly admired."[118] Zosimus, the outstanding spokesman for this point of view, is hardly alone. From Malchus to Procopius the fall of the Empire was a common premise, the conceptual link between a glorius past and a present regarded as sordid.

That this point in intellectual history should have been reached on the

[113] Orosius, though writing after 410 and ostensibly inspired by Augustine, returned to a naive conception of imperial progress under the aegis of Christianity. Compare Brown, *Augustine*, 295–96. For some sensitive words about Orosius, see Demougeot, "Idéalisation," 401.

[114] In the wake of all that has recently been written about 410 and Augustine's response to the event (see above, nn. 90–94), general histories might do worse than recognize that the "end of Rome" in the West should, for all practical purposes, be dated from that time—a return to Biondo, after many detours.

[115] Kilian Lechner, "Byzanz und die Barbaren," *Saeculum*, 6 (1955): 292–306; Endre von Iványka, "Der Zerfall der antiken Kulturwelt als geistesgeschichtlicher Vorgang," *ibid.*, 3 (1952): 237–54. Iványka makes a comparison between East and West, with the former, for a change, seen as relatively poorer.

[116] Most notably, Cassiodorus, Gregory of Tours, and Isidore of Seville.

[117] On truthfulness, see Eunapius Frag. 28.

[118] Lydus *De magistr.* 3. 39, as above, n.84; compare 2. 5.

eve of the age of Justinian casts a particularly interesting light upon the great enterprises of that reign. In relation to the view of the past that Zosimus represents, Justinian appears to have made deliberate efforts, motivated by religious sentiment, to restore the credibility of the Eusebian conception of history. While in agreement with the secular historians about the recent condition of the Empire, Justinian nevertheless believed in the possibility of renewed greatness, with God's help, through the activity of a zealous, energetic emperor. He would complete what the Christian emperors had begun, repair what negligent emperors had allowed to become disfigured, and accomplish some tasks, such as the compilation of the Digest, that no earlier emperor had deemed possible. In these terms, the renewal of the Empire did not call for any sort of imperial vocation among the subjects;[119] it was simply a matter for the emperor, confident in the historical proof that God would waft the Empire to greater victories if he were properly worshipped. Little wonder, then, that the neo-imperialism of Justinian was without tomorrows. The idea that the greatness of a state was ensured by a pact between God and its ruler was as sterile as the belief of Zosimus that the Empire had been upheld by the flawless performance of certain ritual acts. Far from awakening a sense of imperial mission among the Byzantines, Justinian so thoroughly discredited energy in emperors that, eventually, Phocas would be preferable to Maurice, and Heraclius would spend the larger part of his reign as though paralyzed.[120]

The question finally deserves to be asked: Should we not abandon the current thesis that the two parts of the later Empire had contrasting fates, and instead endorse the conclusion of Zosimus and his contemporaries that, not long before them, the Empire, all of it, had indeed fallen? The events do not bear out this conclusion any more or less than they support another thesis, but the data of intellectual history offer a sufficiently concrete basis. In addition to the help this might bring to the perennially debatable matter of periodization, there is reason to suppose that the detailed study and interpretation of the period would also benefit from such a revision. The contrast between East and West, though not without basis, is in many respects misleading. Among other things, acceptance of this contrast overlooks the possibility that one polity may choose to "fall" to the same extent that another chooses to "survive"; it presupposes that life with barbarians is less desirable than a ceaseless, barbarizing struggle to keep them at bay; it cannot assess religious division in one sphere as at least comparable in its effects to political

[119] For example, 535 *Novel.* 8. 10. 2, a little sermon indicating that the subjects' role is to pay taxes promptly, the magistrates' to collect them, and the emperor's to spend the proceeds on great enterprises agreeable to God, such as the subjection of the Vandals, and even greater conquests to come: "Wherefore if you promptly obey the magistrates, they indeed render us an easy and expeditious account of the tributes, and we shall praise the magistrates for their zeal and approve you for your intentions, and on all sides a single harmonious concord will exist between the governors and the governed."

[120] Jones, *Later Roman Empire,* 313–17; P. Lemerle, "Quelques remarques sur le règne d'Héraclius," *Studi medievali,* 3d ser., 1 (1960): 347–61.

division in the other; it assumes an intellectual superiority of the East that is hardly proved; most of all, it obscures a parallelism in the economic, social, and institutional developments of East and West that has yet to be seriously brought forth from the evidence.[121]

The idea that Rome in the East prolonged its existence through the fifth century without breach in continuity may well have outlived its usefulness. Zosimus wrote on the Roman Empire just as Justinian would soon write on Roman law and John Lydus on the Roman magistrates; in doing so, they wrote about things they knew from books and other monuments, much as we grope in even a quite recent past for the "origins" of a contemporary world that bears the dimmest resemblance to its progenitor. Their object was not primarily to write about themselves; and yet, when their sources are set to one side, is not that post-Roman self-revelation their most precious contribution?

[121] See above, n.115. On socioeconomic developments, see D. S. Angelov, "Byzance et l'Europe occidentale," *Études historiques*, vol. 2: *à l'occasion du XIIè Congrès international des sciences historiques—Vienne* (Sofia, 1965), 47–61. Angelov, proceeding from Marxist premises, concludes, "Il s'agit d'une seule et même voie," and criticizes Western historians for insisting on a contrast. From different premises, H. J. Scheltema (*An den Wurzeln der mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft*, pt. 2: *Das oströmische Reich* [Oslo, 1958], 85–152) points in the same direction.

The Scientific Establishment and the Transmission of Quantum Mechanics to the United States, 1919-32

STANLEY COBEN

During the first half of the twentieth century large numbers of Americans achieved high eminence in almost every scientific field. No aspect of that development was more surprising—or fruitful—than the appearance in American universities late in the 1920s of dynamic centers for research and study in modern theoretical physics. This advance was tied inextricably to the transmission from European universities of quantum mechanics, the foundation of modern atomic and subatomic theory. After 1927, as physicists applied quantum mechanics to the study of the atomic nucleus, molecular particles, solids, liquids, gases, and the principles of chemical bonding, the generation of Americans trained during the 1920s and their students moved into the forefront of the world's physicists as theoretical innovators. The rapid communication of quantum mechanics to the United States strikingly indicates the importance of those factors that contributed to the general upgrading of American science. Research by other scholars suggests that similar factors may have encouraged advances in some of the social sciences also.[1]

Until the late nineteenth century American scientists in all but a few fields —geology, astronomy, and physiology were among the exceptions—had, compared to their European counterparts, neglected basic research and were particularly deficient in theoretical studies. Colleges and industry depended

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[1] On parallel developments in the social sciences, see Barry D. Karl, "The Power of Intellect and the Politics of Ideas," *Daedalus*, 99 (1968): 1002–35; *idem*, "Presidential Planning and Social Science Research: Mr. Hoover's Experts," *Perspectives in American History*, 3 (1969): 347–409; George W. Stocking, Jr., *Race, Culture, and Evolution, Essays in the History of Anthropology* (New York, 1960), 270–307. Stocking raises questions about the potentially unfortunate consequences of cooperation between the academic professions and institutional and governmental sources of funds, which cannot be explored within the limited framework of this article. His allusion to possible comparisons between the government's use of anthropologists as spies during World War I and the more recent Project Camelot (pp. 272–73) suggests parallels with the dilemma of atomic scientists during and after World War II.

largely upon European research for fundamental innovations. Historians attempting to explain these deficiencies cite several major causes: Americans placed a relatively low value on work that was not immediately useful or profitable; aristocratic patrons willing to support pure science did not exist in the United States after the early nineteenth century and the businessmen who might have assumed this role were ruthless in pursuit of quick profits; college professors may have been mildly esteemed as teachers but until late in the nineteenth century they commanded little respect as researchers and thinkers and were consequently heavily burdened with class work.[2] Josiah Willard Gibbs, the one American theoretical physicist who thought creatively about the important problems in his field during the late nineteenth century, was virtually ignored by his fellow countrymen and worked almost unknown even among students and most fellow faculty members at Yale. Nine years after his appointment as professor of mathematical physics at Yale and seven years after he started publishing his classic series of papers on thermodynamics, the college still did not pay him a salary. Not until he was on the verge of moving to Johns Hopkins in 1880 did Yale's administration reconsider his worth to the college and grant him $2,500 a year.[3]

Between the 1880s and the mid-1920s, however, conditions that would promote a vastly improved level of fundamental inquiry were created in the American physics profession, making possible the dramatic changes of the 1920s. The number of physics students and faculty within United States colleges and universities expanded dramatically, encouraging specialization. Pedagogical improvements in American higher education included the creation of these universities and an effort to staff them with well-trained scientists. Consequently, the general level of knowledge and intellectual leadership among experimental physicists at the finest universities gradually rose to a quality comparable with that of good European universities. Funds for postdoctoral research in physics became available on a large scale for the first time, and new theories and techniques—especially quantum mechanics—infused intellectual stimulation and attracted outside funds.

[2] Richard H. Shryock, "American Indifference to Basic Science during the Nineteenth Century," *Archives Internationales d'Histoires des Sciences,* no. 28 (1948–49): 3–18; I. B. Cohen, *Science and American Society in the First Century of the Republic* (Columbus, 1961); *idem,* "Some Reflections on Nineteenth Century Science in America," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences,* 45 (1959): 666–67. Edward Lurie seems to dissent from the conventional view of mid-nineteenth century U.S. science, but he does not suggest the existence of underappreciated American work in theoretical physics. "An Interpretation of Science in the Nineteenth Century: A Study in History and Historiography," *Journal of World History,* 8 (1965): 681–706. Another dissenter, Nathan Reingold, also acknowledges theoretical deficiencies in nineteenth-century America science, especially in physics. Reingold, ed., *Science in Nineteenth Century America, A Documentary History* (New York, 1964), 251–52, 315–17.

[3] Henry A. Rowland of Johns Hopkins, first president of the American Physical Society, wrote Gibbs in 1879: "Mathematical physics is so little cultivated in this country and the style of work is in general so superficial that we are proud to have at least one in the country who can uphold its honor in that direction." Quoted in Lynde Phelps Wheeler, *Josiah Willard Gibbs* (New Haven, 1951), 97; see also 87–93.

The number of graduate students and Ph.D.'s awarded in physics rose rapidly in the United States beginning in the 1880s, as they did in other scholarly fields. Most disciplines expanded especially quickly during the 1920s; total graduate students and degrees tripled between 1920 and 1930. The number of doctorates in physics awarded in the United States rose from 31 in 1920, and 37 in 1921, to 106 in 1930; a total of 729 were given during the decade, almost all by fifteen universities.[4] By the mid-1920s, then, graduate training in physics at major universities could no longer be left to two or three professors. Indeed, the best universities could now justify clusters of two, three, and even four specialists in crucial subfields like quantum mechanics—a long step toward eliminating the intellectual isolation that had handicapped American theoreticians. Students interested in the most esoteric specialties in atomic physics could find knowledgeable associates among their peers as well as among their teachers. Finally, the increased number of physicists meant that when new theories and techniques and postdoctoral research fellowships became available, an abundance of young scientists would be prepared to master the innovative ideas and methods during years of study and research made possible by the fellowships.

A group of leaders arose within the American physics profession between 1910 and 1920, able both to understand the new theories and to cooperate with foundations and the federal government in organizing and operating the fellowship programs. These influential scientists contributed little beyond experimental data to the conceptualization of quantum physics. By 1920, however, most of them were well aware of the ferment within theoretical physics in Europe and of its potential effect upon the entire profession. As a consequence, during the period before young theorists became available to introduce courses in quantum theory, some of the most eminent American experimental physicists—among them Robert A. Millikan at Chicago and the California Institute of Technology, Karl T. Compton at Princeton, Arthur H. Compton at Chicago, Harrison M. Randall at Michigan, and George W. Pierce at Harvard— attempted to teach the subject or important aspects of it themselves.[5]

[4] L. R. Harmon, "Physics Ph.D.'s . . . Whence . . . Whither . . . When?" *Physics Today*, 10 (1962): 21–28; Bernard Berelson, *Graduate Education in the United States* (New York, 1960), 26. For an over-all perspective on the twentieth-century expansion of science, see Gerald Holton, "Scientific Research and Scholarship: Notes toward the Design of Proper Scales," *Daedalus*, 91 (1962): 362–99; and Derek J. de Solla Price, *Little Science, Big Science* (New York, 1963).

[5] Pierce, whose research seminar had been entitled, "Radioactivity and Electromagnetic Waves," retitled it "Radiation and the Quantum Theory" in 1915. When Edward C. Kemble began teaching courses at Harvard in quantum theory in 1919, Pierce changed the title of his seminar to "Radiation and Applications of the Quantum Theory to Radiation." In 1929, when both Kemble and John C. Slater were teaching quantum theory, Pierce removed the term "quantum theory" from his course description altogether. Harvard University Catalogue, 1912–13, p. 380; 1915–16, p. 416; 1919–20, pp. 383, 385; 1929–30, p. 236; Princeton University Catalogue, 1919–20, p. 311. Millikan's notes for his lectures in quantum theory are preserved in box 1, "Lecture Notes," Robert A. Millikan Papers, California Institute of Technology; see especially "Atomic Structure," Summer 1915, and "Quantum Theories and Theories of Atomic Structure," Summer 1920. Millikan's lectures on this subject are discussed in an interview with Robert S.

Between 1910 and 1925, when the teaching of modern theory in the United States lagged well behind its formulation in Europe, the over-all professional training obtainable in American physics departments reached a high level. American experimental competence and achievements ranked high by any standards, as attested to by the work during this period of world-renowned scientists like Millikan, Pierce, the Comptons, Albert A. Michelson of Chicago, Joseph S. Ames and R. W. Wood of Johns Hopkins, Irving Langmuir of the General Electric Company, and Percy W. Bridgeman and Theodore Lyman of Harvard.[6] Furthermore, in some universities—Berkeley and Caltech, for example—members of the chemistry department kept fully abreast of developments in physical theory. In others—like the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Princeton, and Chicago—mathematicians of enormous ability stood ready to help prepare students for the rigorous mathematical demands of modern theory and in a few cases contributed to the solution of problems in quantum theory. Counterparts to the institutes of theoretical physics at Göttingen, Copenhagen, Leiden, Paris, Munich, Leipzig, and Berlin did not exist in the United States early in the 1920s. Scores of American graduate students, nevertheless, were being prepared to understand the most difficult articles in *Zeitschrift für Physik,* to take part in the most advanced theoretical seminars in European universities, and to attempt to solve for themselves the most abstruse theoretical problems.

In yet another respect leaders of the United States physics profession during the 1920s served the next generation of physicists well. They developed a system for the dissemination of favored ideas very similar to that which Barry D. Karl describes among social scientists of the same era.[7] Through influence upon important administrative as well as academic appointments, over publication by both publishings houses and journals, on the arrangement of professional programs and other avenues of publicity within their disciplines, and especially over the distribution of philanthropic

Mulliken, Feb. 1, 1964, p. 4, Archive for the History of Quantum Physics; and in an interview with Harrison M. Randall, Feb. 19, 1964, pp. 16–46, American Institute of Physics. Copies of the interview transcripts and supplementary manuscript material, including correspondence and lecture notes, collected for the Archive for the History of Quantum Physics (hereafter AHQP), are deposited in the American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia. Copies of almost all of the material are also located at the University of California, Berkeley, and the Institute for Theoretical Physics, Copenhagen. For a description of the project, see Thomas S. Kuhn, John L. Heilbron, Paul L. Forman, and Lini Allen, *Sources for History of Quantum Physics, An Inventory and Report* (Philadelphia, 1967). The other major collection of interviews and manuscripts pertinent to this topic is stored in the Center for the History and Philosophy of Physics, American Institute of Physics (hereafter AIP), New York City. Most of the Institute's interviews were conducted by Charles Weiner, director of the Center and head of the Institute's Project for the History of Recent Physics in the United States.

[6] Of this list of ten, five were awarded Nobel Prizes: Millikan, Michelson, Arthur Compton, Langmuir, and Bridgeman.

[7] Karl, "The Power of Intellect." Joseph Ben-David traces the present United States superiority in basic scientific research to origins in the differences between American and European university systems that became apparent early in the twentieth century. *Fundamental Research and the Universities* (Paris, 1968), especially pp. 29–44.

funds, these national politicians of the academic communities exercised a large measure of control over the intellectual direction taken by their professions. Most academic leaders of American physics realized by 1920 or shortly thereafter that their university departments would have to develop strong theoretical components, especially in quantum theory, if the experimental sections were to retain their vitality.

Political leadership in academic physics during this period almost invariably derived originally from a proven ability to generate ideas. Within the national discipline an aptitude for politics and public relations could seldom be translated into lasting influence unless accompanied by well-established intellectual powers. Consequently the leaders of American academic physics during the 1920s not only understood their profession's need for well-trained quantum theorists but were able to explain this necessity effectively to donors of funds, university officials, and members of their own departments. Thus they arranged first for the training of the young theorists and then for their rapid assimilation into the profession.

Among these leaders of American physics were the very experimentalists —Millikan, the Comptons, and Pierce—who had demonstrated their awareness of the new field's importance by attempting to teach quantum theory themselves. In addition, Lyman, Ames, Randall, Wood, John T. Tate of Minnesota, and Charles E. Mendenhall of Wisconsin used their influence to hasten the education and employment of a large group of quantum theorists. In dealing with foundations and university officials they consistently gave this task first priority. Typical of their attitude and their actions was Karl T. Compton's statement in 1925 written in support of a grant application submitted by Frank Hoyt, a young teacher of quantum theory at Chicago who wanted funds for study in Berlin: "There is no field in physics at the present time which is of such great importance and in which there is more to be done than the field which Dr. Hoyt has chosen. He is quite right in saying that in this country we have carried the experimental side to a high degree of achievement, but that the theoretical developments at the present time are coming largely from Germany."[8] Furthermore, while the American postdoctoral students completed their education at the European institutes, the political leaders of physics in the United States obtained permanent positions at their universities for over a dozen of the most accomplished young European theorists.

Basic changes in American philanthropy provided time for young scientists to master their field and to complete original research, thought, and

[8] Karl T. Compton to H. A. Moe of the Guggenheim Foundation, Dec. 18, 1925, Karl T. Compton Papers, Department of Physics, Princeton University. Hoyt received the grant. Earlier the National Research Council had supported Hoyt for a year at Copenhagen. The largest collection of such correspondence is in the National Research Council Manuscripts, National Academy of Sciences–National Research Council, Washington. This collection is supplemented by the K. Compton Papers, the Robert A. Millikan Papers, the George Ellery Hale Papers, California Institute of Technology, and the Oswald Veblen Papers, Library of Congress.

writing. Starting early in the twentieth century the original donors of foundation funds and the associates they chose to help disburse their money began to step aside in favor of professional foundation staffs and advisors from national academic associations.[9] This shift coincided with similar changes in large business organizations. The professional managers in both industry and philanthropy were more receptive than their predecessors had been to suggestions that funds be committed to projects without immediate practical applications. More specifically they, and top government officials as well, were convinced by the 1920s that long-term national welfare depended upon basic research of the kind best carried out in universities.

The experience of World War I hastened this change in attitude among philanthropic, industrial, and governmental officials, and also affected the academic leaders with whom they increasingly consulted. The scholar-politicians were brought together in various wartime government organizations and given an opportunity both to establish working relationships and to discover how much could be accomplished with sufficient application of money, organization, and cooperation between universities and donors of financial assistance. Apparatus and chemicals for gas warfare, instruments to detect submarines, and psychological techniques for mobilization flowed from research projects coordinated by academic scientists. On their part, the philanthropic, business, and government officials who observed the wartime scientific achievements became more willing to rely upon the judgments of academic leaders. They discovered during the war, moreover, that men with demonstrated ability as leaders within their scholarly disciplines had a good deal in common with professional managers in other sectors of the society.[10]

The Rockefeller fortune served as the crucial source of funds for physics research during the 1920s. From that accumulation came most of the money granted through the National Research Council, the International Education Board, and the General Education Board, three agencies that pioneered large-scale subsidization of basic research in physics.

The National Research Council (NRC), chartered by the federal government but controlled by the scientific associations through the American Association for the Advancement of Science, launched a program of post-doctoral fellowships in 1919 with a gift of $500,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation. Rockefeller officials had been considering the establishment of a research institute for the physical sciences analogous to the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. When presented with a choice, however,

[9] Merle Curti and Roderick Nash, *Philanthropy in the Shaping of American Higher Education* (New Brunswick, 1965), 212–37.

[10] Daniel J. Kevles, "George Ellery Hale, the First World War, and the Advancement of Science in America," *Isis*, 69 (1968): 427–37. A good deal of this cooperation can be followed in the letters of Robert A. Millikan to Hale, Hale Papers, microfilm roll 25.

they decided to postpone implementation of this idea in favor of supporting fellows chosen by the NRC.[11] Physicists obtained over one hundred of these fellowships during the 1920s; seventeen of them were for study solely in aspects of quantum theory, others for related work that was partly experimental. Most grants were renewed; support for three years was not unusual, and some received grants for four years. Although the funds were supposed to be used in American universities only, the NRC permitted most of the young quantum theorists it supported to study in Europe. The International Education Board awarded similar postdoctoral fellowships starting in 1923, and the Guggenheim Foundation began its program in 1925. These agencies used roughly the same selection process as the NRC, and they frequently supported scientists who had already received NRC funds.[12] As a result the young American physicists considered most promising by the profession's established leaders were removed from the drudgery customarily assigned to young instructors: supervising freshman laboratory experiments, lecturing to introductory physics classes, and grading papers. Instead they enjoyed years of research, reading, contemplation, and writing at universities that excelled in their specialties.

The immense contributions of the International Education Board and the General Education Board to the advancement of American physics during the 1920s originated in policies conceived by Wickliffe Rose, who served as president of both organizations from 1923 to 1928. Rose had ascended rapidly in the Rockefeller philanthropic empire after he moved to foundation administration in 1907 from his position as professor of philosophy at Peabody College in Tennessee. As director of the Rockefeller Foundation's International Health Board just before World War I, Rose had instituted policies similar in pattern to those that became familiar to physicists during the 1920s. First he helped to start schools to train public health officials at the universities best prepared for that work: Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Toronto, São Paulo, London, Prague, and Warsaw. Then an international system of fellowships brought carefully chosen students to these universities. Finally, a series of world-wide programs to control various

[11] "Plans for the Promotion of Research in Physics and Chemistry Prepared by the Research Fellowship Board of the National Research Council, May, 1920"; Millikan Papers, box 5; Arthur A. Noyes to Robert A. Millikan, May 7, 1920, *ibid.;* Abraham Flexner to Hale, Sept. 18, 1919, Hale Papers, microfilm roll 14; Raymond B. Fosdick, *The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation* (New York, 1952), 145–46.

[12] National Research Council, *National Research Fellows 1919–1938, Physical Sciences* (Washington, 1939), 13–22; "Report of the National Research Fellowship Board in Physics and Chemistry of the National Research Council, Washington, D. C., October 1, 1922"; undated report on NRC fellows, mid-1920s, Millikan Papers, box 5. For statistical information on all NRC grants to physicists to May 20, 1928, see "Analysis of Advanced Fellowships in Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry," undated copy enclosed with Neva E. Reynolds, assistant secretary, National Research Council, to Veblen, June 9, 1928, Veblen Papers, box 28. Of twenty theoretical physicists born during the decade 1895–1905 whose names appear on a list of the most prominent U.S. physicists prepared by the American Institute of Physics, all but two received NRC, International Education Board, or Guggenheim fellowships during the 1920s. Both exceptions—Eugene Wigner and George Uhlenbeck—were European-trained scientists who held research positions in European universities.

diseases made use of the public health organizations managed by the officials that the board had helped to train.

At some point in his prewar career as a public health administrator Rose decided that broad improvements in medicine depended upon the expansion of knowledge in the physical sciences, on which, in his opinion, the other sciences were based. During World War I Rose served as director of the Rockefeller Foundation's relief efforts in Europe. Like many other educated observers he emerged with deepened respect for organized scientific research. "This is an age of science," he recorded in his private notebook early in the 1920s. "All important fields of activity from the breeding of bees to the administration of an empire, call for an understanding of the spirit and the technique of modern science. The nations that do not cultivate the sciences cannot hold their own." If the physical sciences, especially, were stimulated to further accomplishments, Rose concluded, researchers in other fields, including the social sciences, would be encouraged to adopt the quantitative techniques and inductive reasoning that made that success possible.

Again Rose attempted to promote additional development in the world's major centers of learning with grants for specific purposes to selected institutions. A concurrent fellowship program sent the most promising young scientists to these institutes. This time the nation best prepared to take advantage of Rose's plan was the United States, which had the most young scientists ready for postdoctoral training and the universities eager to employ them. When his fellow trustees asked Rose to head the General Education Board, which was restricted by its charter to operations in the United States, he made his acceptance contingent upon the establishment of an international organization whose activities he could mesh with those he planned for the General Education Board. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. demonstrated his unbounded faith in Rose by creating the International Education Board and donating twenty-two million dollars to it for Rose's use over the next five years. After discussions with leading American scientists, Rose toured Europe for five months, visiting fifty European universities. In each institution he tried to gauge the ability and willingness of the finest scientists to train additional advanced students and the extent to which an injection of money would increase the flow of ideas or improve the training of scientists.

Soon after Rose returned to the United States funds began streaming into Europe's scientific institutes and into fellowship grants for young scientists, especially from Europe and the United States. The first large appropriation was for the expansion of Niels Bohr's Institute for Theoretical Physics at the University of Copenhagen. Other sizable grants went to expand mathematics and theoretical physics facilities at the universities of Göttingen and Paris. The University of Leiden received a smaller grant. It was agreed that these institutes would welcome not only qualified Inter-

national Education Board fellows but physicists sent by the NRC as well. At least as many European scientists studied in the United States under these programs as Americans studied in Europe, but most of the European visitors were experimentalists attracted by superior American equipment, while most of the Americans supported in Europe were theoreticians. All but one of the Americans returned to posts in the United States, but dozens of Europeans were induced to remain in America, including several fine young theoreticians like Fritz Zwicky and Otto La Porte, both of whom first came to the United States as International Education Board fellows.

In the United States Rose halted the General Education Board's contributions to university general endowment funds, which had reached sixty million dollars when he assumed the presidency. He inaugurated instead a program to subsidize the few strongest university science departments in the expectation that "the high standards of a strong institution will spread throughout a nation and will even cross oceans." Over the next seven years the board distributed about nineteen million dollars to a handful of carefully chosen science departments—almost half to Caltech, Princeton, and Chicago—in an effort, Rose declared, "to make the peaks higher." In each case the university was obliged at least to match the funds granted by the board. The full endowment, however, remained under control of the departments for creation of research chairs, fellowships, and additional faculty positions, particularly in new fields like quantum theory.[13] Thus the academic politicians—who directed the NRC, gave decisive advice to the foundations, and managed the departments enriched by Rose's policies—began to direct the flow of large amounts of money, mostly outside the jurisdiction of university administrators. Observing this process in the social sciences, Barry Karl has commented, "This takeover by the academics of the management of their own resources was the heart of the intellectual revolution which took place in the 1920's."[14]

The fourth precondition for the advancement of American theoretical physics was the formulation of quantum mechanics, which provided the essential mathematical tools for studying atomic and subatomic physics. Quantum theory remained in a disorganized state until mid-1925. That hodgepodge of hypotheses and theorems nevertheless solved many perplexing questions that had resisted explanation by classical theory. Wide agree-

[13] Rose's statement in his private notebook is quoted in Raymond B. Fosdick, *Adventure in Giving, The Story of the General Education Board* (New York, 1962), 229. On Rose and his accomplishments, see Fosdick, *Rockefeller Foundation*, 30–43, 135–43; George W. Gray, *Education on an International Scale, A History of the International Education Board 1923–1938* (New York, 1941), v–xiii, 3–15, 16–51; and Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller Jr., A Portrait* (New York, 1956), 369–73. Historians have granted Rose the anonymity he sought but since his death is no longer necessary. He is not mentioned in Curti and Nash, *Philanthropy in the Shaping of American Higher Education*. For the details of the board's change of policy, see *Annual Report of the General Education Board, 1924–1925* (New York, 1926), 6–8. Until the board's files are opened to scholars, the scramble of the universities after Rose's largess can best be followed in the papers of Millikan, Hale, Veblen, and K. Compton.

[14] Karl, "The Power of Intellect," 1007.

ment existed among eminent physicists in Europe and in the United States that quantum theory was, as G. W. Stewart of the University of Iowa asserted in December 1922, "the most attractive problem in physics." Addressing the American Association for the Advancement of Science as its vice president and chairman of its physics section, Stewart continued, "The quantum theory seemed a few years ago to be a curious as well as a remarkable element in Planck's theory of radiation, the oddity of the quantum reflecting merely the difficulties of the problem. Today, we regard a quantum theory more seriously. . . . But the attack upon the problem has but begun. The allurement remains."[15]

Beginning with Werner Heisenberg's suggestion of matrix mechanics in the summer of 1925, an elaborate and logically consistent theory was produced over approximately two years, with contributions from scores of scientists in Europe and the United States. Reviewing the effects of this intellectual accomplishment, historian-physicist Max Jammer writes, "Never has a physical theory given a key to the explanation and calculation of such a heterogeneous group of phenomena and reached such a perfect agreement with experience as has quantum mechanics."[16]

The new mechanics acted powerfully to reinforce the other circumstances advancing theoretical physics in America. The sudden solution of crucial difficulties within quantum theory and the obvious importance of these theoretical advances made it even easier for the leaders of the discipline to convince foundation and university officials that additional research grants and faculty appointments were needed. Young theorists, seeking these funds and appointments, enjoyed frequent success, adding to the "allurement" of this "most attractive problem."

The conditions that accelerated improvement in American theoretical physics—enlargement of student bodies and faculties, a high level of knowledge and leadership in the profession, subsidization of research by foundations, and the formulation of quantum mechanics—also encouraged the clustering of quantum theorists in a handful of major universities. Those faculties that already included the finest mathematicians and physicists received the bulk of the endowment funds distributed to science departments by the General Education Board. Furthermore, almost half the physicists who received NRC grants for postdoctoral study in quantum theory chose to use them at Caltech, and of the others, all who studied in the United States attended Harvard, Berkeley, Chicago, or Princeton.[17] These concentrations

[15] G. W. Stewart, "Certain Allurements in Physics," Address presented to Section B, Physics, American Association for the Advancement of Science, Boston, Dec. 1922; reprinted in *Science*, Jan. 5, 1923, pp. 1–6.

[16] Max Jammer, *The Conceptual Development of Quantum Mechanics* (New York, 1966), 365.

[17] Two of these physicists received financial assistance during additional study, in one case at Yale and in the other at the University of Wisconsin. As a whole, the physicists and chemists who received postdoctoral NRC grants tended to concentrate at these same institutions. A

of promising students made it even easier for the leading departments to collect groups of outstanding quantum theorists. Thus, centers for study and research in modern theoretical physics were created in the United States. One of the results was that by 1930 young American physicists no longer found it necessary to visit Europe for theoretical training.

In the early 1920s only Caltech among American universities even remotely resembled the European institutes where quantum theory was developed. This unique physics faculty was formed largely through the efforts of Robert Millikan, who himself had been cajoled away from the University of Chicago in 1921. With aid from a scientifically enlightened university administration, generous local businessmen, and his connections with leading physicists and government and foundation officials, Millikan transformed the small Pasadena engineering school into a modern scientific center.[18]

One of the first leaders of the American physics profession to comprehend the consequences for physics of quantum theory, Millikan immediately set out to build a modern theoretical faculty. First he persuaded Paul Epstein of Munich, a young theoretician of proven capability, to move from Leiden—where he was replacing the renowned physicist Paul Ehrenfest for the year—to Caltech in 1921. Epstein was the forerunner of an influential group of brilliant young European physicists who emigrated not as refugees but because of greater opportunities in the United States for young men whose ambitions were blocked in Europe by static academic hierarchies and by quotas limiting the addition of Jews to faculties. Among them were George Uhlenbeck and Samuel Goudsmit from Leiden and Otto La Porte from Munich, brought to Michigan in 1926; Gerhard Dieke, who moved from Leiden to Berkeley in 1925; Fritz Zwicky, who came to Caltech from Zurich in 1925; and John von Neumann and Eugene Wigner, hired by Princeton from Berlin in 1929.

During the early 1920s Epstein was the only academic physicist in the United States who consistently published significant papers on quantum theory. At first he shared the feeling of isolation felt by almost every quantum theorist in America until the late 1920s. In Moscow, where he had started his career, as well as in Munich and Leiden, he recalled, "you could rely on friends to point out things of interest you may have missed. But that was not possible here."[19] But Millikan soon arranged to have at least one

NRC report issued in the mid-1920s showed that 91 of 120 NRC fellows had used their grants at Berkeley, Caltech, Chicago, Harvard, and Princeton. Undated report, Millikan Papers, box 5. "Analysis of Advanced Fellowships" indicates that this situation continued through 1928.

[18] Robert A. Millikan, *The Autobiography of Robert A. Millikan* (New York, 1950), 212–31, 244–50; Helen Wright, *Explorer of the Universe, A Biography of George Ellery Hale* (New York, 1966), 333–51.

[19] Interview with Paul S. Epstein, May 25–26, 1962, pp. 1, 7, 11, AHQP. Epstein was chosen by Millikan after the leading American mathematical physicists were considered and rejected as inadequate. At that point Millikan declared, "I have been looking over the young European physicists for some time with this very thing in mind." Millikan to Hale, July 28, 1920, Hale Papers, microfilm roll 25.

leading European theorist visit Caltech every year to lecture and to participate in research. Albert Einstein from Berlin, Paul Ehrenfest from Leiden, Arnold Sommerfeld from Munich, C. G. Darwin from Cambridge, and Max Born from Göttingen served as visiting faculty during the years 1921 to 1926. They were drawn to Pasadena by Millikan's fame, charm, and persistence; by the thriving scientific institute itself; and by the large sums for salaries made available to Millikan by the General Education Board and other donors; but perhaps most of all by the giant telescopes and renowned astrophysicists at Caltech, great attractions to scientists seeking evidence that would prove that their theories were universally true.[20] Millikan also hired established theoreticians Richard C. Tolman, director of the army's Fixed Nitrogen Laboratory in Washington and a leading theorist among physical chemists, and Harry Bateman from Johns Hopkins, a mathematician who specialized in the problems of theoretical physics. Both Tolman and Bateman had studied the mathematical bases of modern physics in Germany a generation earlier. Tolman, who had taught at Berkeley and the University of Illinois before 1918, was the only academic representative of the physical sciences invited to deliver a paper at the American Physical Society's colloquium on quantum theory at the society's annual meeting in 1921.[21]

A group of exceptionally talented young theoretical physicists, most of them sponsored by the National Research Council or the International Education Board, quickly gravitated to Pasadena. Among them were Gerhard Dieke, Carl Eckart, J. Robert Oppenheimer, Linus Pauling, William V. Houston, Howard P. Robertson, and Fritz Zwicky, all of whom went on to illustrious scientific careers. George Uhlenbeck marveled that Carl Eckart should have written articles in 1926 suggesting plausible solutions to the major problem—the coexistence of wave and particle mechanics—facing those who sought a coherent quantum mechanics while studying in what Uhlenbeck termed "the wilds" of Pasadena. Eckart's interest in the problem, however, had been aroused by one of Born's lectures at Caltech, and the crucial mathematical suggestions came from Epstein, who overheard Eckart discussing his project with Zwicky. This quality of communication was common at Göttingen, Leiden, and Berlin, but probably could have occurred only at Caltech among American universities in the mid-1920s.[22]

Students at Harvard during the early 1920s learned quantum theory in a

[20] Bulletin of the California Institute of Technology, 1926, pp. 22–24; interview with Epstein, 1–25; interview with Linus Pauling, Mar. 27, 1964, pp. 16, 25, AHQP; Born to John H. Van Vleck, Nov. 25, Dec. 14, 1925, Jan. 13, 1926, John H. Van Vleck File, AHQP. Occasionally visitors acknowledged the attractiveness of Pasadena's balmy climate, not yet affected by the smog that subsequently afflicted that area of the Los Angeles basin. Correspondence between Millikan and these visiting physicists can be found in Millikan Papers, box 25.

[21] "Proceedings of the American Physical Society," *Physical Review*, 19 (1921): 374. Tolman spoke as representative of Section B, Physics, American Association for the Advancement of Science. The other symposium speakers were H. B. Phillips, M.I.T., for the American Mathematical Society, and Saul Dushman, General Electric, for the American Physical Society.

[22] Bulletin of the California Institute of Technology, 1926, p. 73; interview with George Uhlenbeck, Mar. 30, 1962, p. 2, AHQP; Jammer, *Conceptual Development of Quantum Mechanics*, 275.

more desultory fashion; nevertheless their training prepared several of them for further work at the European institutes. Edward C. Kemble, who received permission in 1916 to write the first doctoral dissertation at Harvard on a theoretical topic, began teaching quantum theory at Harvard in 1919. At least five other eminent Harvard experimental physicists imparted considerable knowledge of quantum physics to their graduate classes. Percy W. Bridgeman, George W. Pierce, Theodore Lyman, Frederick A. Saunders, and William Duane gave one graduate student, John C. Slater, the impression during the early 1920s that "practically everybody around [was] really working on atoms."[23] Slater, who was appointed to the Harvard faculty in 1924, claimed that the training available there was superior to that offered in the Institute for Theoretical Physics at Copenhagen, where he had taken part in what he considered an unsatisfactory collaboration with Niels Bohr and his chief assistant Hans Kramers during 1923–24. Harvard, Slater recalled, "was not on the outskirts looking in. Harvard was one of the places that really were doing modern physics."[24] Slater's contention, however, is contradicted to a large extent by other evidence, including the publications of the Harvard faculty and the testimony of his fellow students, especially John H. Van Vleck and J. Robert Oppenheimer, two of the great teachers of theoretical physics in their generation. Van Vleck, Slater's neighbor in Conant Hall, recalled little concern or even conversation at Harvard about the crisis in quantum theory. In the United States during that period Van Vleck claimed, "you always had a little of the feeling that you were one lap behind compared to what was going on in Europe."[25] Oppenheimer, who served as Bridgeman's laboratory assistant for two years and studied under Kemble and Slater, shifted to Cambridge University in 1925. There he immediately found himself in a considerably different atmosphere: listening to and taking part in conversations about the most recent hypotheses, carefully reading all the physics journals as soon as he could lay hands on them, and meeting a succession of visiting theoreticians from nearby Continental universities.

Urged by Ehrenfest and Born, Oppenheimer visited the theoretical institutes at Leiden and Göttingen. At Leiden, he recalled, "I decided to learn the trade of being a theoretical physicist. By that time I was fully aware that it was an unusual time, that great things were afoot." Asked whether a similar state of excitement had existed at Harvard, Oppenheimer replied, "This implies what for Harvard in '24 and '25 was not true; namely an awareness of the theoretical picture on a grand scale." At Göttingen the

[23] Interview with John C. Slater, Oct. 3, 1963, p. 11, AHQP. Kemble switched to a largely experimental topic and Van Vleck in 1922 became the first Harvard student to complete a theoretical dissertation.

[24] *Ibid.* For Slater's view of his collaboration with Bohr and Kramers, see Slater to Van Vleck, July 27, 1924, Van Vleck File.

[25] Interview with Slater, pp. 11–14; interview with John H. Van Vleck, Oct. 2, 1963, p. 29, and Oct. 4, 1963, p. 6, AHQP. Van Vleck participated in the interview with Slater and commented upon it then and when interviewed himself later.

contrast with Harvard was even more striking: "In the sense that had not been true in Cambridge and certainly not at Harvard, I was part of a little group of people who had some common interests and tastes and many common interests in physics. Gradually they gave me some sense and perhaps more gradually, some taste in physics." Oppenheimer, later known—apparently to his dismay—as father of the atomic bomb, asserted in 1963 that "perhaps the most exciting time in my life was when [Paul] Dirac arrived [at Göttingen] and gave me the proofs of his paper on the quantum theory of radiation."[26]

At Princeton, Göttingen-trained Edwin P. Adams taught the formal mathematics underlying quantum theory thoroughly enough to prepare students for the most difficult European seminars and to prepare Eckart for his remarkable work at Caltech. Until the mid-1920s, however, the Princeton catalogue stated that Adams' graduate seminars in statistical mechanics, including quantum theory, would be offered only when "sufficient demand" existed. Karl T. Compton's seminars on atomic structure, although oriented toward the training of experimentalists, stressed the hypotheses of Niels Bohr and other modern theorists. Nevertheless Eckart, who obtained his Ph.D. at Princeton before the NRC sent him to Caltech in 1925, found Pasadena more exciting. "It was much more international than at Princeton. There was a constant flow of visitors." Also, at Caltech more students and faculty members fully understood and discussed both the crisis in quantum theory and the proposed solutions.[27]

Outside Caltech, and possibly Harvard and Princeton, advanced training in quantum theory remained at a low level in the United States during the early 1920s compared to any of a dozen European institutes or to the best American universities in 1930. John T. Tate of the University of Minnesota, an experimental atomic physicist and editor of the *Physical Review,* was one of the earliest leaders of the profession to recognize the necessity of building a strong theoretical component within his department. First John Van Vleck and Gregory Breit from Harvard, then Edward U. Condon from Princeton were brought to Minnesota, but each departed quickly. Van Vleck remained longest—four years; Breit left after only one. Condon began pleading with friends to arrange for his return to Princeton three months after he arrived. The chief complaint of all three was intellectual isolation. Van Vleck remarked, "In Minnesota after Gregory Breit left there was nobody in any kind of professional capacity that I had to talk to about any of these problems that worried me. If I didn't understand a particular algebraic point, or a point that was not clear in a paper, I had to slug it out for myself."[28]

[26] Interview with J. Robert Oppenheimer, Nov. 18, 1963, pp. 1–21, and Nov. 20, 1963, pp. 1–6, AHQP. The quotations are from Nov. 18, pp. 12, 17, and Nov. 20, pp. 4, 6, in that order.

[27] Princeton University Catalogue, 1919–20, p. 311; interview with Carl Eckart, May 31, 1962, pp. 9–11, AHQP.

[28] Interview with Van Vleck, Oct. 2, 1963, pp. 6, 8–9, 14, 28–30 (Van Vleck's statement is from

Frank Hoyt, the lone theoretical physicist on Chicago's faculty from 1923 to 1928, heard little discussion there about the formulation of quantum mechanics in 1925–26. "I don't seem to have had a very great deal of contact with other theorists at that time. . . . I was a little bit isolated at Chicago." Gerhard Dieke, the first of Ehrenfest's Leiden pupils to be hired by an American university, wrote to Goudsmit in 1925 that at Berkeley "the only one who does know something about modern quantum theory is Raymond Birge." Meanwhile, Birge, who would play the major role in building Berkeley's physics department, was complaining to Kemble that "I am not much of a theoretical man." He found the new ideas in quantum theory terribly difficult. They were "one reason I have done no productive research for some time. I have been spending all my spare time reading up on just those things."[29]

I. I. Rabi, a graduate student at Cornell and Columbia between 1923 and 1927, considered the level of physics instruction at both institutions "incredibly low. . . . The essence of physics never came through to me. It seemed to be the sort of thing where you measured the resistance of copper to another decimal point." Quantum theory, he asserted, "just didn't exist either at Cornell or at Columbia so far as course work is concerned." When Rabi arrived in Germany in 1927 for two years of study, he discovered that the foremost American physics journal, the *Physical Review,* was so lightly regarded that the University of Göttingen waited until the end of the year and ordered all twelve monthly issues at once to save postage. Uhlenbeck verified the low esteem in which European theoreticians held contributions published in America. "When I was in Leiden up to 1927 the *Physical Review* was one of the funny journals just like the Japanese, which you looked at once in a while, but never really considered very much."[30]

By 1930 the situation had altered drastically. As Van Vleck declared, "In 1920–25, there were very few people [in the United States] who understood the theoretical quantum physics of the time. . . and then things changed very suddenly. [During the late 1920s] America came of age in physics, for although we did not start the orgy of quantum mechanics, our young theorists joined it promptly."[31]

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p. 14); Raymond T. Birge, "History of the Physics Department, University of California, Berkeley," vol. 8, p. 42, MS, AIP. Birge sponsored Condon's Ph.D. work at Berkeley; his account of his pupil's subsequent career, however, should be read with Condon's comments in Condon to Birge, Jan. 9, 1967, Raymond T. Birge Papers, AIP.

[29] Interview with Frank C. Hoyt, Apr. 28, 1964, pp. 15–16, AHQP; Dieke to Goudsmit, Sept. 26, 1925, Gerhard Dieke Papers, AIP; Birge to Kemble, Feb. 6, 1923, Edward C. Kemble File, AHQP.

[30] Interview with I. I. Rabi, Dec. 8, 1963, p. 29, AHQP; interview with Uhlenbeck, 20. Actually, quantum theory was treated at Cornell during Rabi's period of graduate study there in courses taught by Earl H. Kennard. The Register of Cornell University, 1921–22, p. 110; 1922–23, p. 110. For Rabi's ambiguous and amusing account of Kennard as a teacher, see interview with Rabi, 7.

[31] Van Vleck, *American Physics Comes of Age,* Albert A. Michelson Award Address, Case In-

American theoreticians could have developed their abilities considerably during the 1920s without leaving the country, assisted as they were by European journals, foundation fellowships, and the vastly expanded number of visits to the United States made by leading European theoretical physicists like Ehrenfest, Einstein, Born, Sommerfeld, and Paul Dirac. They would have missed, however, sustained contact with an almost indefinable spirit that demanded a steady high level of intellectual effort—mixing philosophical with mathematical scientific speculation, cooperative yet competitive—that permeated the great European institutes of theoretical physics. Association with scientists who thoroughly understood the bases of the new theories during their daily struggles to solve the immense problems of quantum theory evoked similar intellectual effort on the part of the American participants.[82]

The Americans entered an atmosphere of intense intellectual excitement and competition, similar in that respect to other eras when professionals have been aware that great discoveries were near at hand. Probably never before, however, had so many extraordinary scientists taken part in competition for precedence in one field. As Slater recalled, "Almost every idea occurred to several people simultaneously. No one had time to follow through a line of work without having someone else break in on his developments before they were finished."[83]

Van Vleck's experience in Copenhagen during the spring of 1926 provides a classic illustration of the fierce competition encountered by the young American theorists and their response to it. After working out an equation demonstrating that an important hypothesis of Dirac's could be verified using the new quantum mechanics, Van Vleck brought his paper to Niels Bohr and "found that Werner Heisenberg had sent in a paper doing just that thing. . . . I was rather discouraged. The next day or so I brought around a paper reckoning out the mean value of $1/r^4$ by this same Dirac method and found that [I.] Waller had just sent in a paper doing that." Next he sent a paper to *Nature* that was returned for condensation; but before he could complete the revision, "it was, I think [Lucy] Mensing who beat me to it." Undeterred, Van Vleck soon completed yet another article; this time Wolfgang Pauli published first. Earlier Van Vleck had passed through a period in which his papers were consistently duplicated or barely

stitute of Technology, Dec. 11, 1963 (Cleveland, n.d.), not paginated; quotation on [p. 7]. A copy can be found in AIP.

[82] On the European scientific institutes during this period and the role of philosophical speculation in the development of quantum physics, see Jammer, *Conceptual Development of Quantum Mechanics*, 166–80; Paul Forman, "The Environment and Practice of Atomic Physics in Weimar Germany" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1968); and Charles Weiner, "A New Site for the Seminar: The Refugees and American Physics in the 1930's," *Perspectives in American History*, 2 (1968): 190–233.

[83] Robert K. Merton has published a sizable literature on this subject; see especially his "Priorities in Scientific Discovery: A Chapter in the Sociology of Science," *American Sociological Review*, 20 (1957): 635–59. See also John C. Slater, "Quantum Physics in America Between the Wars," *Physics Today*, 21 (1968): 44.

preceded by either Bohr or Kramers. Slater, working in competition with Dirac, found himself in a similar dilemma: "Clearly we were running a race, and clearly he was a smart guy, and I decided I'd better shift to something else. . . . If I kept on without shifting I'd just find every paper I wrote was written by him first." Michigan's David M. Dennison completed his first important paper at Zurich, only to learn that Heisenberg had just announced identical conclusions in Copenhagen. Carl Eckart had the misfortune of publishing a superb article demonstrating the mathematical equivalence of matrix mechanics with Erwin Schrödinger's wave mechanics, which would have been recognized as one of the classics of modern physics except that Schrödinger published similar calculations at approximately the same time.[34]

Despite their failure to contribute many ideas crucial to the advancement of quantum theory during the 1920s, the young Americans who took part in that development in Europe were eminently prepared to instruct the following generation at home. There was a special quality in the teaching of these men, Oppenheimer claimed: "Some of the excitement and wonder of the discoverer was in their teaching."[35] When they returned, mostly in 1927–29, they changed both the structure and the quality of American physics departments. For the first time groups of creative theoretical physicists became important members of almost every major department.

By 1930 at least five American universities—Caltech, Berkeley, Chicago, Michigan, and Princeton—had created theoretical physics faculties of the first order. Six other faculties—Columbia, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, M.I.T., Cornell, and Wisconsin—were not far behind. At Caltech, Oppenheimer, Houston, Pauling, Tolman, and Zwicky had returned after lengthy European study. Houston and Zwicky joined Epstein and Bateman in directing an advanced seminar in theoretical physics in addition to their specialized theoretical courses. Oppenheimer gave difficult lectures in quantum theory in a course with few enrolled students but many auditors. Pauling and Tolman undertook pathbreaking teaching and research in the application of quantum theory to chemistry, especially to chemical bonding.[36]

[34] Interview with Van Vleck, Oct. 2, 1963, pp. 5–7; Dennison to Van Vleck, July 21, 1926; Van Vleck to Ralph Kronig, Sept. 18, 1926; Van Vleck to H. A. Kramers, Sept. 22, 1924; Kramers to Van Vleck, Nov. 11, 1924, all in Van Vleck File; interview with Slater, 39; Oscar Klein to Dennison, Nov. 1, 1926, David M. Dennison File, AHQP; Jammer, *Conceptual Development of Quantum Mechanics*, 275–76. The Americans were not the only victims of this severe competition. Enrico Fermi, for example, informed Paul Dirac with exquisite sarcasm that the latter's recently published theory of ideal gas was "practically identical" to the theory published by Fermi in the world's major physics journal eight months earlier. "I suppose you have not seen my paper," Fermi concluded. Fermi to Dirac, Oct. 25, 1926, Paul Dirac File, AHQP.

[35] Oppenheimer, *Science and the Common Understanding* (New York, 1953), 36.

[36] Bulletin of the California Institute of Technology, 1929, pp. 155, 159, 160; 1931, pp. 158–59; interview with Carl Anderson, June 30, 1966, p. 13, AIP. Anderson, a Nobel Prize winner in 1932, had enrolled in Oppenheimer's quantum theory course in 1929. He quickly realized the extent of his unpreparedness and told Oppenheimer that he would have to drop the class. Oppenheimer replied that every other student already had withdrawn—although thirty or forty continued to audit the lectures. In order to retain his sole student, and his course, he persuaded Anderson to remain with a promise of generous grading.

Berkeley became the chief training ground for American theoreticians, largely because Oppenheimer gradually concentrated upon teaching there rather than at Caltech. [37] Uhlenbeck recalled that when Oppenheimer visited Leiden in 1927 "he was clearly a center of all the younger students. . . . He was really a kind of oracle. He knew very much. He was very difficult to understand, but very quick, and with a whole group of admirers." Again at Berkeley, starting in 1929, a cult of admirers began clustering around Oppenheimer. At Berkeley as at Caltech, most graduate students in physics avoided registering for his courses, complaining that they simply could not follow his explanations. The department chose not to assign him any undergraduate classes at all. William H. Williams' graduate seminar in theoretical physics consistently enrolled more students than Oppenheimer's. From among Oppenheimer's disciples, however, emerged what his colleagues regarded as an astonishing number of fine theoreticians. In some years during the 1930s most NRC fellows with grants for study in theoretical physics chose to work at Berkeley with Oppenheimer.[38]

In a lucid account of his attitude at Berkeley, Oppenheimer recalled:

> I didn't start to make a school; I didn't start to look for students. I started really as a propagator of the theory which I loved, about which I continued to learn more, and which was not well understood but which was very rich. The pattern was not that of someone who takes on a course and who teaches students preparing for a variety of careers, but of explaining first to faculty, staff, and colleagues and then to anyone who would listen what had been learned, what the unsolved problems were.[39]

Arthur Compton created another formidable theoretical faculty at Chicago, largely by persuading Robert S. Mulliken and Carl Eckart to join Frank Hoyt at that university in 1928. Mulliken's theoretical work during the late 1920s in the borderlands between physics and chemistry remained unverified until high-speed computers could be used to test the evidence. After this corroboration he received a Nobel Prize in 1967.[40]

Probably the two most successful efforts to build modern schools of theoretical physics in the United States during the 1920s took place at the University of Michigan and at Princeton. Michigan, a financially poor

[37] "Millikan loathed Oppenheimer, wouldn't match the promotions we gave him here, and harassed him maliciously," without a sign that Oppenheimer cared, Birge recalled. Quoted in Nuel Pharr Davis, *Lawrence and Oppenheimer* (New York, 1968), 52. Finally Niels Bohr visited the two California schools, grasped the situation, and suggested to the Berkeley administration and to Oppenheimer that the physicist move almost completely to Berkeley. *Ibid.*, 52–53.

[38] Interview with Uhlenbeck, 8; Robert Serber, "The Early Years," *Physics Today*, 20 (1967): 35–39; Birge, "History of the Physics Department," vol. 9, p. 30, app. 14; interview with Oppenheimer, Nov. 20, 1963, p. 30; Davis, *Lawrence and Oppenheimer*, 51. In 1931–32 total registration for Oppenheimer's graduate course in theoretical physics (Physics 290), taught in the fall semester, was thirty. Registration for the same course (Physics 290), taught by Williams in the spring semester, was eighty-two. Birge, "History of the Physics Department," app. 14.

[39] Interview with Oppenheimer, Nov. 20, 1963, p. 30.

[40] Interview with Mulliken, 20–22. On Mulliken's theoretical papers during the 1920s, see Jammer, *Conceptual Development of Quantum Mechanics*, 235–36.

state university, which furthermore was denied the foundation support that proved effective at Princeton, nevertheless moved purposively and quickly to add a group of brilliant young theorists to its faculty. In contrast, Princeton's physics department, though favored with money, prestige, and mathematicians eager to expand the university's curriculum in theoretical physics, acted comparatively slowly to modernize its theoretical program.

The moving force in the University of Michigan's development, Harrison M. Randall, demonstrated perfectly how superior leadership could substitute for money in the formation of a distinguished university department. By the early 1920s Randall realized that theorists elsewhere were using data published by Michigan experimentalists and "were enjoying the reputation which I thought belonged to us." Also, Randall and Walter F. Colby were attempting to teach theoretical courses at Michigan without the intensive training in quantum physics necessary to keep up with recent developments. Unable to hire any of the bright, young theorists attached to the major universities, Randall arranged for the proper training of a promising Michigan student, David Dennison, meanwhile recruiting other young theorists in Europe.[41]

Fortunately, the genial Colby knew many of the profession's leaders as a result of rather desultory study throughout Europe. In the summer of 1926 he called upon Ehrenfest in Leiden, hoping that either Samuel Goudsmit or George Uhlenbeck, Ehrenfest's most accomplished pupils, could be induced to come to Michigan. When Colby arrived, Uhlenbeck recalled:

> Ehrenfest gave him an impassioned speech, in which he said that this was a very bad idea, to try to get one man to Ann Arbor. Because there was nobody there—just wilderness. You must have more than one, he said, otherwise they have nobody to talk to. Even better, more than two. . . . He could talk so seriously about how science develops. He made an enormous impression on Colby.[42]

Two or three weeks later Goudsmit and Uhlenbeck, already well-known in their mid-twenties for their discovery of the "electron spin," were offered appointments at Michigan. Goudsmit, especially, balked, although he knew that it would be years before he could expect a professorship in the hierarchical European universities. "If it had been Egypt or somewhere like that," he reminisced, "I would have gone right away, or China, or even India, I always wanted to go to exotic places; but America seemed terribly dull and uninteresting." Ehrenfest urged them to accept. Only in Russia and the United States, he argued, was university education, particularly in physics, steadily improving. Goudsmit finally gave in, and Uhlenbeck then consented also.[43] By this time Dennison had completed his European studies and agreed to return to Ann Arbor. Otto La Porte, one of Sommerfeld's

[41] Interview with E. K. Plyler, Apr. 7, 1964, p. 10, AIP; interview with Randall, 2–16, 46.
[42] Interview with Uhlenbeck, 14.
[43] Interview with Samuel A. Goudsmit, Dec. 5, 1963, pp. 32–33, AHQP.

Munich students, in Washington for a year as an International Education Board fellow at the Bureau of Standards, also was engaged, giving Michigan four fine young theoreticians. Goudsmit, Uhlenbeck, La Porte, and Dennison, with Colby, offered a comprehensive graduate program in modern physical theory, including a variety of courses in quantum theory, atomic structure, theoretical mathematics, theory of spectra, recent thermodynamics, kinetic theory, and molecular vibrations.[44]

The men Randall had collected were retained with the aid of a generous system of paid leaves that enabled each of them to leave Ann Arbor periodically to work with others in their field throughout the world. When the young men still complained about their isolation, a summer symposium for theoretical physics was established, which made Ann Arbor the favorite summer gathering place for theoreticians from Europe as well as the United States. The number of graduate students at Michigan multiplied, and the number of Ph.D.'s in physics awarded annually grew from an average of one or two early in the 1920s to an average of seven late in the decade. Thus, from an ordinary American college physics faculty, Randall swiftly transformed Michigan's department into a superior training ground for modern physicists.[45]

Karl T. Compton, the most influential member of the Princeton physics department, fully understood his faculty's need for a group of modern theorists with a complete grasp of quantum mechanics. In 1928 nevertheless, as the young theorists streamed home from Europe, Compton, about to become department chairman, acknowledged that the subject still was not taught systematically at Princeton.[46] One great obstacle to the flourishing of modern physics at Princeton was the university administration's reluctance to create the research and graduate teaching positions necessary to compete for the returning theoreticians. Princeton's official leadership remained committed to the institution's traditional emphasis on undergraduate liberal arts education, supplemented by a small graduate program accenting the humanities.[47]

The ideals long dominant at Princeton were undermined by a variety of influences pressing the school toward the role of a twentieth-century university, but most directly and immediately by the intervention of Wickliffe

[44] Interview with Otto La Porte, Jan. 31, 1964, p. 3, AHQP; University of Michigan General Register, 1928–29, pp. 223–24.

[45] Interview with Goudsmit, 37; interview with Uhlenbeck, 19; interview with Randall, 16, 29, 48–49; Goudsmit, "The Michigan Symposium in Theoretical Physics," *Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review*, May 20, 1961, pp. 178–82; Wilfred B. Shaw, ed., *The University of Michigan, An Encyclopedic Survey* (Ann Arbor, 1944), 689. Offered a higher-paying position at Columbia in 1929, Goudsmit declined, pointing to the conditions established by Randall—the light teaching schedules, the leave system, and the presence of Uhlenbeck, La Porte, and Dennison—as reasons for his unqualified refusal. Goudsmit to H. Knauss, Jan. 8, 1930, Samuel A. Goudsmit File, AHQP.

[46] K. Compton to H. A. Moe, Dec. 18, 1925; K. Compton to Condon, Feb. 3, 1928, K. Compton Papers.

[47] Laurance R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago, 1965), 241–48.

Rose and the General Education Board. The leaders of the university's comparatively small science departments reminded Rose in a series of memorandums and conversations of the crucial role of mathematics in basic scientific research and pointed to the excellence of Princeton's mathematicians. "Moreover, there has spontaneously developed within the mathematics department during the last several years, a coordination and concentration of effort upon the big problem now before the mathematical world: namely that of establishing a mathematical basis for an attack on the problems set by the new physical theories of matter." The supplicants also supplied evidence of the very high standing of Princeton's scientists and of the cooperation already taking place among them. The board responded in 1925 with a grant of one million dollars to the endowment funds of five Princeton science departments, stipulating that an additional two million must be raised from other sources and donated for the same purpose: graduate instruction and research. Half of the three million dollars was used to endow six chairs for research professors—two in physics, and one each in mathematics, chemistry, biology, and astronomy—all with extraordinarily high salaries. The other half went into a research fund to be managed by the five departments.[48]

Despite the sizable reservoir of money available for manipulating the terms of new appointments and the example of successful efforts at Caltech, Chicago, and Michigan before him, Compton at first did not act decisively to build a theoretical physics staff. Then, wisely resisting the natural temptation to distribute the money among themselves, the physicists and mathematicians who controlled half of the research endowment drew up a list of theoreticians acceptable to leaders of both departments. After receiving polite rebuffs from the two most obvious candidates, Albert Einstein and Werner Heisenberg, Compton and Oswald Veblen of the mathematics department in spring 1928 persuaded Herman Weyl, the great Zurich mathematician and physicist, to come to Princeton. As a research and teaching assistant for Weyl, Howard P. Robertson, one of the most highly regarded young American theoretical physicists, was recruited from Caltech, also through use of the General Education Board grant.[49]

[48] Karl T. Compton, Edwin G. Conklin, and Henry B. Fine, "Memorandum for Dr. Wickliffe Rose, President of the General Education Board, in Support of the Application to the General Education Board for Its Support in the Fundamental Sciences at Princeton University," undated, copy in Veblen Papers, box 29. I am indebted to Professor Daniel J. Kevles of the California Institute of Technology for bringing this manuscript to my attention. See also Compton, Conklin, and Fine, "Memorandum of Conversation [on May 22, 1925] with Dr. Wickliffe Rose on the subject: 'Support for Research in the Fundamental Sciences at Princeton University,' " undated. Veblen Papers, box 29. On Princeton's struggle to raise the matching funds, see Fine to Hale, Mar. 31, 1926, Hale Papers, microfilm roll 50; and Fine to Veblen, Nov. 28, 1928, Veblen Papers, box 5. The negotiations between Rose, his representatives, and the Princeton scientists and administrators can be followed through correspondence and other manuscripts in the Veblen Papers, boxes 5, 29.

[49] K. Compton to J. G. Hibben, Jan. 30, 1928; K. Compton to Heisenberg, Jan. 30, 1928, both in K. Compton Papers; Veblen to Einstein, Sept. 16, 1927; Einstein to Veblen, Sept. 17, 1927; Veblen to Weyl, May 4, June 15, 1928, all in Veblen Papers, box 4.

In the midst of his negotiations with European scientists and with Robertson, Compton persuaded another promising American theorist, Edward U. Condon, to join the Princeton faculty. "We all hope," Compton wrote to Condon in February 1928, "that your appointment may be the first step in bringing together a stimulating group of men interested in theoretical physics." Condon, twenty-seven years of age, fresh from postdoctoral study in Europe, never before a member of a university faculty, was promised that his only responsibility would be a graduate seminar in quantum mechanics. He was also promised that he would be recommended for promotion to associate professor at the end of his first year.[50]

Before Condon even started his service as assistant professor at Princeton he was offered a full professorship at Minnesota. At about the same time he received proposals from Berkeley, Columbia, Wisconsin, and New York University. "The market conditions for young theoretical physicists continues to surprise me," he observed to his department chairman. With Condon's arrival, Compton surrendered all pretense that he directed a department responsible primarily for undergraduate education. A rumor reached Condon that an elementary physics course might be added to the graduate seminar promised him, and he immediately protested to Compton: "When I learned that I might be expected to do some freshman recitation work I concluded that I must have misunderstood you. . . . Now that a comparison [among positions] has to be made I am especially anxious to know exactly what my teaching obligations are at Princeton." Compton found time on a Fourth of July holiday to reply reassuringly: "You are quite right in assuming that your only obligation [is] the graduate course in quantum mechanics. As regards the freshman section . . . , I am certain that if you feel that this would interfere with your research productivity and would in the long run not be to the best interests of theoretical physics in Princeton, none of us should want you to undertake it." Although further promises from Compton kept Condon at Princeton for one year, he then left for Minnesota, and Weyl returned to Zurich, prompting Veblen to remind Compton that "we are, of course, at the stage where we must concentrate a bit on the problem of making all this money do the job it was intended for.[51]

In the fall of 1929 Princeton invited two of the great theoretical physicists of the younger generation to join both the mathematics and physics departments. Eugene P. Wigner and John von Neumann had grown up together in Hungary and started university work in Berlin at about the same time after World War I. During the 1920s they worked together as researchers and as teaching assistants in Berlin and Göttingen. By 1929 physicists who understood the recent momentous developments in their field recognized

[50] K. Compton to Condon, Feb. 3, July 4, 1928, K. Compton Papers.

[51] Condon to K. Compton, June 19, July 14, 1928; K. Compton to Condon, July 4, 1928; Veblen to K. Compton, Oct. 19, 1929, all in *ibid.*

Wigner and von Neumann as significant contributors to this progress. Scientists who knew von Neumann generally agreed with Wigner that he "had a brain which was phenomenal." Eckart remembered listening to von Neumann's lectures on statistical interpretations of quantum theory at Berlin in 1927–28. "Von Neumann was so abstract that at the time none of us really understood what he was talking about. It wasn't until one got his book, which was then being written, that one began to see what his ideas were and how they related to the whole problem." This monumental volume, *Mathematische Grundlagen der Quantenmechanik* (1932), based in part on revisions of papers published in 1927, presented what remains, with the possible exception of Dirac's work, the most comprehensive mathematical explanation of quantum theory. In a series of articles, also beginning in 1927, Wigner introduced the mathematical concepts of group theory into quantum physics; these became indispensable instruments for the study of elementary particles.[52] In 1927 Wigner was twenty-four and von Neumann twenty-five years of age.

At Princeton Wigner was at first miserable, unable to speak English fluently or to make friends in the small college town. He felt sure that no one in the physics department, except perhaps Robertson, shared his and von Neumann's deep interest in quantum theory. "In Berlin," Wigner explained, "we had a colloquium, as I remember, every Thursday afternoon. Schrödinger organized it. And after the colloquium, we always went to . . . a coffeehouse. . . . And then we talked about physics, about everything almost. And that I missed. You see, there's no coffeehouse, to begin with, at Princeton."[53] Nevertheless, at the end of the academic year 1929–30, Wigner and von Neumann agreed to fill two of the new research professorships at Princeton. Their agreement with the physics and mathematics departments stipulated that they could spend half of every year in Berlin. Like the arrangement for rotating leaves of absence made for the theorists at Michigan, this was a drastic departure from past procedures at American universities.

Princeton's growing theoretical physics staff—Edwin P. Adams, Robertson, Wigner, and von Neumann—was further augmented by Condon's return from Minnesota and by the arrival of Rudolf Ladenburg from the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute in Berlin to succeed Compton in 1930 as Brackett Research Professor. By the early 1930s the university's graduate program in physics had been broadened and upgraded significantly. Wigner offered quantum field theory, a course covering the quantum theory of radiation, and second quantization, a problem introduced to physicists in papers by Wigner, Pascual Jordan, and Oscar Klein in 1927–28. Von Neumann taught advanced quantum mechanics, and Wigner, von Neumann, Robertson, and Condon together conducted a seminar in mathematical physics.

[52] Interview with Eugene P. Wigner, Nov. 21, 1963, pp. 2, 6, AHQP; interview with Eckart, 12; Jammer, *Conceptual Development of Quantum Mechanics*, 343, 367, 376.

[53] Interview with Wigner by the author, Oct. 10, 1966; interview with Wigner, Nov. 30, 1966, p. 4, AIP. The quotation is from the AIP interview.

Condon directed the basic graduate course in quantum mechanics; Adams continued to train students in the bases of modern mathematical physics. Henry P. Smyth taught a two-semester course on the most advanced atomic physics, and with Ladenburg and Gaylord P. Harnwell led a seminar in nuclear physics.[54]

Despite the clear intent to build a great physics department at Princeton and the considerable amount of money devoted to the undertaking Wigner did not immediately believe that he had joined a community of scientists on the level of Göttingen or Berlin. The quality of physics, especially theoretical physics, when he arrived at Princeton struck him as

> very rudimentary and very, very elementary. I felt that a great deal had to be done and often I felt that I engaged in baby-talk. However, after a couple of years, I realized that their interest was sincere, that they didn't want baby-talk, that they wanted to learn, or at least wanted me to teach the young people. . . . I did not realize that at first. I first thought it was sort of an extravagance of the Americans that they wanted two people from Berlin, and that perhaps it has no significance. But after a couple of years I realized that what they wanted was a transformation of the theoretical physics school into a modern, progressive, powerful school.

Within a few years Wigner's students were, to use his term, "fantastic." His first graduate students included Frederick Seitz, John Bardeen, and Cornelius Hering, who were among the founders of modern solid state physics.[55]

After the rapid dissemination of quantum mechanics in the United States, Americans soon took the lead in pressing on to major applications of the new theories. Making use of evidence on the molecular structure of hydrogen published by the Germans Walter Heitler and Fritz London in 1927, Pauling, Slater, Millikan, Tolman, and Van Vleck demonstrated to chemists how quantum mechanics could help explain chemical bonding, eventually bringing all of chemistry under the influence of quantum physics. European chemists, declared Pauling, did not study advanced mathematics and quantum physics as American physical chemists did. The result, according to Pauling, was "the failure or inability of European chemists to contribute very much to the development of modern physical chemistry or structural chemistry. The United States has been the leader in that field."[56]

[54] Princeton University Catalogue, 1930–31, p. 349; 1932–33, p. 368. On the appointments of von Neumann and Wigner, see "Minutes of the Department of Physics (Permanent Staff), March 19, 1930," Department of Physics, Princeton University; von Neumann to Veblen, Nov. 13, 19, 1929; Veblen to von Neumann, Dec. 10, 1929; J. G. Hibben to Wigner, Dec. 10, 1929, all in Veblen Papers, box 4.

[55] Interview with Wigner, Nov. 21, 1963, pp. 18–19, and Nov. 30, 1966, pp. 22–23.

[56] Jammer, *Conceptual Development of Quantum Mechanics*, 343; interview with Pauling, 19; interview with Harold C. Urey, Mar. 24, 1964, pp. 1–2, AHQP; interview with Van Vleck, Oct. 2, 1963, pp. 25–28; Van Vleck, "The New Quantum Mechanics," *Chemical Review*, 5 (1928): 467–506.

"Sometime in the 1920's," Harold C. Urey recalled, physicists realized that "quantum mechanics applied to the [atomic] nucleus also." Thus began the most consequential application of the new atomic theories. "People like Heisenberg," Rabi remembered, "were beginning to talk about the nucleus in late 1928 and 1929, even though they might still have been working on something else, and to say that this was coming. . . . It was part of the general gossip." Arthur Compton traced his interest in nuclear energy to a lecture by Ernest Rutherford at Princeton before World War I in which the British physicist described his discovery of the atomic nucleus. Following Ernest Lawrence's visit to Chicago in 1929, during which he discussed his projected cyclotron, designed to break open the atomic nucleus by high voltage bombardment, Compton "made sure that the new physics laboratory which we were then building at Chicago would include space for super voltage equipment."[57] In his research notebook Compton began speculating at least as early as 1930 about the exact amount of energy that could be released from the uranium atom. Writing to Henry Ford in 1931 to request support for basic scientific work, especially at Chicago, Compton declared: "Typical of the fundamental scientific problems whose solution should lead to important industrial consequences are, for example, the release of atomic energy, which experiment has shown to exist in quantities millions of times greater than is liberated by combustion."[58]

This research into the possibility of releasing atomic energy coincided with the economic and political events that brought Western civilization to a second world war. Almost inevitably, an atomic weapons program was started as part of the American military effort. The dramatic—and terrifying—consequences demonstrated all too literally the accuracy of Wickliffe Rose's prophecy in 1924 that the future belonged to nations that cultivated the sciences. The bitter controversies and voluminous literature engendered by the use of these weapons have obscured the original objectives and fundamental accomplishment of modern physics: a new understanding of the nature of all matter, especially at the atomic level. The leading American physicists in the middle of the twentieth century were, for the most part, theoreticians who had entered a field that at the time was largely without obvious practical applications. With the aid of farsighted foundation officials and leaders of their profession these university professors had brought to the United States the most advanced quantum physics and then created the framework for a great theoretical physics profession where some had said that none could ever exist.

[57] Interview with Urey, 6; interview with Rabi, 33; Arthur Holly Compton, *Atomic Quest, A Personal Narrative* (New York, 1956), 3–4, 13–14.

[58] Arthur H. Compton Research Notebook, entry dated July 23, 1930, Arthur H. Compton Notebooks, Washington University, St. Louis, and AIP. A. H. Compton to H. F., May 18, 1931, AIP.

Good Old Economic History

A Review Article by R. M. HARTWELL
and ROBERT HIGGS

DAVID S. LANDES. *The Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe from 1750 to the Present.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1969. Pp. ix, 566. Cloth $8.50, paper $2.95.

David Landes' *The Unbound Prometheus* is about economic growth and industrialization in Western Europe. The two big problems Landes tackles are the explanation of technological change and the influence of technological change on growth. In his concern with economic growth he joins a very large band of social scientists and historians. But while economists write explicitly about growth and political scientists about modernization, historians write about "the rise of capitalism" and "the industrial revolution," often confusing the two. Economists have a precise definition for growth: sustained rising per capita real income, or, even more precisely, "a discernible rise in total and in per capita income, widely diffused throughout occupational and income groups, continuing for at least two generations, and becoming cumulative."[1] They also have a clear idea of the problems to be investigated, as we shall see below. Political scientists have burdened themselves with an undefinable and unoperational concept, which is now, unfortunately, being used by some historians. And historians, as usual backward in the exact definition of concepts and in the precise specification of problems, persistently avoid clarification of what they have been doing in their studies of industrial revolutions and industrialization. Economists seek to understand growth for good, practical reasons, and although they have gone far in the theoretical and empirical analysis of growth, they have found the problems of explaining past growth and of providing blueprints for future growth, especially in the underdeveloped economies, formidable. Economists nevertheless have identified many of the sources of growth—for example, technological progress—and have analyzed them in some detail. Historians, however, have only gradually come to realize that what they

[1] Benjamin Higgins, *Economic Development: Principles, Problems, and Policies* (rev. ed.; London, 1968), 147.

have been studying in the history of industrialization is largely economic growth.[2]

Certainly now many historians are aware that the period in which they live is part of a distinct epoch in history, an epoch of economic growth, in the sense defined above, that can be precisely dated in its beginnings to the economic and social changes that occurred in England in the late eighteenth century and are known as the Industrial Revolution. Time was when modern history was universally dated from the Renaissance and the rise of capitalism, but increasingly historians have been forced to recognize the Industrial Revolution as "the great discontinuity" of modern history[3] and to seek an understanding of the contemporary world in the study of such phenomena associated with industrialization as the population explosion, urbanization, the rise of the industrial labor force, and the growth of the world economy. The adjectives "industrial" and "pre-industrial"[4] are more and more used to differentiate eras as distinct from each other as "medieval" and "modern" were once alleged to be.[5]

It is for such reasons that there is now widespread interest in "the first industrial revolution," which produced "the first industrial nation"[6] and a spate of literature on the industrial revolutions of the advanced economies of Europe. Indeed, the historical literature on industrialization, like that of the economists on growth, is now very large, although most of it is still about particular economies or industries and not about industrialization as a generalized phenomenon or as an aspect of growth. Except for textbooks, some of which admittedly stand as fine scholarly works in their own right,[7] there have been until the last decade few important attempts at a comparative historical analysis of industrialization and growth. Apart from a few classics—like Max Weber's *General Economic History* (1927) and Werner Sombart's *Der moderne Kapitalismus* (1921–28)—teachers of that almost universal course on "the economic development of the great powers" (pre-1939 usage) had to depend on a small number of textbooks written by historians. In the last decade, however, more comparative studies have ap-

[2] For a discussion of the historians' failure to define the Industrial Revolution, and the consequences, see R. M. Hartwell, "Introduction" and "The Causes of the Industrial Revolution: An Essay in Methodology," in R. M. Hartwell, ed., *The Causes of the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1967), 1–30, 53–79.

[3] See R. M. Hartwell, "The Great Discontinuity," *Historical Journal* (New South Wales), 1 (1970): 3–16.

[4] See, for example, Pierre Léon, *Économies et Sociétés Préindustrielles, 1650–1780* (Paris, 1970). It would be more accurate to describe economies according to whether or not they are experiencing economic growth.

[5] For discussion of the discontinuity of the Renaissance, see W. K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought: Five Centuries of Interpretation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), *passim*.

[6] Phyllis Deane, *The First Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge, 1965); Peter Mathias, *The First Industrial Nation* (London, 1969).

[7] For example, Herbert Heaton, *Economic History of Europe* (New York, 1936, and subsequent editions). See also M. M. Knight, H. E. Barnes, and Felix Flügel, *Economic History of Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928); and Witt Bowden, Michael Karpovich, and A. P. Usher, *An Economic History of Europe since 1750* (New York, 1937).

peared, again by historians,[8] that demonstrate an increasing awareness among historians of the value of such studies.

Even more important for the comparative study of industrialization and growth has been the work of economists in two areas: first, the construction of statistical time series describing economic growth, culminating in the remarkable comparative studies of Simon Kuznets;[9] second, theoretical and empirical work on the process of technological change, for example by W. E. G. Salter, Jacob Schmookler, Edwin Mansfield, Dale Jorgenson, and Zvi Griliches.[10] On the basis of such work, "new economic historians" have been able to produce a quite different kind of comparative economic history of growth and industrialization, as can be seen, for example, in the work of Richard A. Easterlin, J. R. T. Hughes, Paul Bairoch, and Angus Maddison.[11] How does David Landes fit into this era of changing scholarship?

The Unbound Prometheus first appeared in 1965 as a long chapter in volume 6 of *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*. It now appears separately, with the 1965 text, covering 1750–1914, almost unchanged but with the substantial additions of an introduction, a conclusion, and two new chapters that carry the history from 1914 to the present. The book is conventionally organized along chronological lines: after an introduction follow chapters on the Industrial Revolution in Britain and on the early industrial revolutions on the Continent; then one chapter each on the periods 1850–70, 1870–1914, 1918–39, and post-1945; and finally there is a conclusion. Within each chapter the arrangement varies between the functional and the geographical; the chapter on Britain's Industrial Revolution, for example, begins with a general discussion of the causes of growth, followed by an industry-by-industry survey of change with great emphasis on technological change. With 555 pages of text the book is by modern standards very long; it is extremely detailed, very learned, packed with facts and the most fascinating minutiae of technology, and draws on a wide range of sources in many languages. There is in this one book a skillful distillation of the now considerable literature by historians on industrialization, a com-

[8] John U. Nef, *The Conquest of the Material World* (Chicago, 1964); Rondo E. Cameron, *France and the Economic Development of Europe, 1800–1914* (Princeton, 1961); Carlo Cipolla, *The Economic History of World Population* (London, 1962); W. O. Henderson, *The Industrial Revolution on the Continent: Germany, France, Russia, 1800–1914* (London, 1961).

[9] Kuznets' findings appeared in a series of ten articles in the journal *Economic Development and Cultural Change* between 1956 and 1967. They are conveniently summarized in his book, *Modern Economic Growth: Rate, Structure, and Spread* (New Haven, 1966). See also his *Economic Growth and Structure* (New York, 1964).

[10] W. E. G. Salter, *Productivity and Technical Change* (Cambridge, 1960); Jacob Schmookler, *Invention and Economic Growth* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966); Edwin Mansfield, *The Economics of Technological Change* (New York, 1968); *idem, Industrial Research and Technological Innovation* (New York, 1968); Dale Jorgenson and Zvi Griliches, "The Explanation of Productivity Change," *Review of Economic Studies*, 34 (1967): 249–82.

[11] Richard A. Easterlin, "Economic Growth, I, Overview," *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (1968), 4: 395–408; J. R. T. Hughes, "Industrialization, I, Economic Aspects," *ibid.*, vol. 7: 252–63; Paul Bairoch, *Révolution industrielle et sous-développement* (3d ed.; Paris, 1969); Angus Maddison, *Economic Growth in the West* (New York, 1964), and *idem, Economic Growth in Japan and the USSR* (New York, 1969).

parative summary of more than a generation of European historical effort, especially in Britain, France, and Germany. Anyone in doubt about the breadth and depth of Landes' scholarship should consult his remarkable bibliography—itself a formidable work of scholarship—in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe,* and, alas, lacking in *The Unbound Prometheus.* While scholars of any particular economy may still prefer the literature of that economy for detailed research, anyone interested in the industrialization and economic growth of modern Europe on a comparative basis can best start with Landes' book, which is unique in its coverage and impeccable in its historical scholarship. It is impossible not to admire the vast range of facts that Landes commands and the way he has organized them into a readable and purposeful account of European industrialization. Certainly this book will long remain the historians' textbook on the economic growth of modern Europe; its strength and virtue are obvious and have already been widely applauded; it is in the nature of being a historical best-seller. But is it more than that? Does David Landes add substantially to knowledge by altering our views, either about how economic change occurred in Europe or about how economic history should be written? We think not.

In most ways Landes belongs to the traditionalists rather than to the innovators in economic history; he is a distinguished "old economic historian" and certainly not a "new economic historian"; he is always historian rather than economist; he is in the English empirical tradition rather than in the tradition either of the old-style Continental conceptualizers, like Weber, or of the new-style American quantifiers and theorizers, like Kuznets; he has more in common with Clapham than with Schmookler. This leads Landes to a strange neglect of both theory and statistics. Thus, although concerned primarily with technological change, he ignores (or is ignorant of?) the large and important literature by economists on technological change.[12] Again, although much of what he deals with is susceptible to statistical analysis, to graphing, tabling, and mapping, he firmly remains a historian of figures rather than a statistician of economic change. The book has only sixteen tables to cover the period up to 1914. Only one of these—on pig-iron output (p. 96)—pertains to the Industrial Revolution in Britain, and only two—on cotton manufacturing, Haut-Rhin (p. 160) and raw cotton consumption, Western Europe (p. 165)—to the early industrialization of Europe. There is not one graph or map. This is not to say that Landes does not use figures; on the contrary the book is packed with them, but they are presented in an inconvenient and unsystematic fashion, imbedded in prose rather than in tables and graphs, and not systematically used for statistical inference. This,

[12] No reference is made, for example, to Jacob Schmookler, Zvi Griliches, Edwin Mansfield, Richard Nelson, Dale Jorgenson, or Robert Solow; only one reference is made to W. E. G. Salter. For these authors, see above, and Richard R. Nelson, ed., *The Rate and Direction of Inventive Activity* (Princeton, 1962), *idem et al., Technology, Economic Growth, and Public Policy* (Washington, 1967); and R. M. Solow, "Investment and Technical Progress," in K. J. Arrow *et al.,* eds., *Mathematical Methods in the Social Sciences* (Stanford, 1960), 89–104.

to us, seems almost perverse. How much more easily Landes' text could be followed if he had used more tables and some graphs. The complete absence of maps is particularly unfortunate. Landes quite rightly bases his economic history firmly in economic geography, but no one can be expected to follow his detailed geography of economic change without a map or series of maps.

There is no doubt, as can be deduced from the many methodological comments in this book, that Landes has a profound skepticism of the methods of economists. When he compares the techniques of the economist and the historian (p. 535) he asserts that economists are simple-minded about causation—"the construction of simple explanatory models"—while historians seek "the wholeness of reality, however complex it may be" and make "an effort to see things as they are, not as manifestations of idealistic models" (p.535)."When all is said and done," Landes affirms on the causation of growth, "neither empirical evidence nor theoretical reasoning is likely to settle the dispute"; and he goes on to argue that we will continue to believe what we "find not only plausible but congenial" (p. 357). Other methodological comments are similarly hostile to economic theory (for example, pp. 357, 510, 520, 525). We are not sure whether Landes voices views commonly held by American general historians, views presumably of a profession more skilled in writing than in counting, but we think that such views are methodologically naive and belied by the remarkable development of modern economics. And they lead to confusion and error. Landes never makes explicit, for example, that industrialization and growth are not necessarily the same thing, and although his main avowed theme is technological change, much of his book is about growth. He also assumes, at least implicitly, that the growth sequence of modern times is that of technological change, industrial development, and economic growth. Again, he defines the Industrial Revolution as an improvement in manufacturing through technological change and therefore seems to imply that the unprecedented increase in man's productivity was due mainly to improvements in machinery (p. 1). It is more useful, we think, to see the Industrial Revolution as growth and industrialization interacting simultaneously and to seek the causes of increasing productivity within the framework of the economic theory of production. We do not think that Landes' avowed historical method leads to more understanding of, and firmer conclusions about, the processes of industrialization and growth. A careful consideration of his text, and particularly of the introduction and conclusion, can only lead the reader to as much skepticism about the historical method as Landes has of the economic method. Landes' strength lies not in theory but in what might be called high empiricism.

Growth economists have had two main, and closely related, aims in their work: first, to identify the sources of growth and to show how they interact to explain movements in output; second, to explain how growth gives rise

to changes in the structure of the economy, some of which produce feedback effects on the growth process. These, surely, should also interest the historian. In the discussion of growth sources the interest and effort of economists have centered primarily in material capital accumulation, education, and technological change, with dispute varying from estimates that attribute most growth to technological change to estimates that attribute most growth to capital accumulation, education, or other sources.[13] These basic disagreements in growth analysis have not yet been resolved, and since adequate empirical evidence to help solve them must necessarily relate to long periods of time, the wealth of material in historians' accounts of growth should have some value in suggesting answers. Equally important, however, the recognition of such problems can act as guidelines to historians. It seems to us particularly necessary that Landes come to terms with the problems regarding technological change that economists have made explicit. In spite of their disagreements virtually all economists still believe that technological progress either directly or indirectly is an extremely important, if not the most important, source of growth.[14] Economists, therefore, have investigated at great length what determines the rate of technological change, one important hypothesis being that investment in technology is motivated by market forces; they have inquired also whether there is a factor bias in technological change toward relatively more labor saving than capital saving; they have studied at length the relation between industrial concentration and technological change. The historical implications of such questions are obvious and important, and looking at Landes' magnificent mass of factual data it can reasonably be asked why he did not use his history to test the economists' theories of technological change. The answer obviously lies, as we have already argued, in Landes' skepticism of economists. But this skepticism and his empirical approach to the complex problems of technological change and economic growth lead to paradox, and even error, in his historical analysis and to weakness in his conclusions. "If there is some general conclusion to be drawn from all this," Landes argues at the end of his book, "it is the complexity of economic development" (p. 544). "It is impossible," he further asserts, "in the present state of our knowledge to evaluate the parameters of economic development" (p. 359). Perhaps the only theoretical conclusion that Landes argues with conviction concerns the operational role of free enterprise in economic growth. He believes that market rationality is the basis of change and growth; the secret of growth lies in the market. "It is no coincidence," he points out, "that the areas of most rapid industrial growth in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

[13] Dale Jorgenson and Zvi Griliches in "Explanation of Productivity Change" argue that in one sense almost no growth can be attributed to technological change. But see the important criticisms of this work by Edward F. Denison, "Some Major Issues in Productivity Analysis," *Survey of Current Business*, 49, pt. 2 (1969): 1–27.

[14] See, for example, Kuznets, *Modern Economic Growth*, 1–85; and Robert Higgs, "American Inventiveness, 1870–1920," to be published in the *Journal of Political Economy*, 79 (1971).

were those free of supervision and constraints" (p. 549). Similarly Landes explains the earlier growth of Europe, and within Europe of Britain, by "the scope and effectiveness of private enterprise" that ensured "the rational manipulation of the human and material environment" (p. 15). We have much sympathy with this view, but the thesis is not a novel one, and Landes does little to explain either how free enterprise was established—although there are two illuminating pages on legal change (pp. 198–99)—or how market institutions developed over time.

It is on technological change that Landes gets into the most trouble. He is quite certain that improved machinery is the main cause of increasing productivity—at least a debatable proposition—and he shows no awareness of the large relevant literature on productivity measurement (pp. 317, 419–20, 431). More important, however, is his theory that technological change is mainly a response to wage increases. High wages, according to Landes, induce technological change: "High wages were a stimulus to innovation and technological change" (p. 116); "the very slowness of certain technological changes is negative evidence of abundant labor" (p. 138); "the effort of labor to wrest improvements from the employer was a stimulus to innovation" (p. 321).[15] Landes does not recognize that wage increases need lead only to the substitution of capital for labor and not necessarily to technological progress. Nor, as he asserts (p. 115), does mechanization necessarily lead to growth. Nor is best-practice technology always the most capital-intensive technology, a belief that makes it difficult for Landes to explain the persistence of "obsolete" technology (pp. 181, 191, 471). Least-cost methods can hardly be considered obsolete, no matter how labor-intensive they are; the entrepreneur's object, after all, is to maximize his wealth. Nor, as Landes believes, are there necessarily diminishing returns to innovation (pp. 235, 237, 277, 466). Nor is it obvious, as he claims, that there are certain discontinuities in the trend of technological progress (pp. 235, 249, 284, 421, 520, 539). Such measurements of the movement of total factor productivity as we have show no such breaks, and it is only candid to admit that we do not have a viable method for measuring the rate of purely technological change. Landes writes, however, as if he knows the rate of technological change (pp. 319, 326, 420, 433, 474, 519–20), although he gives no evidence for his statements.

There are many other issues, nearly all of them concerned with the use of economic theory, on which we would challenge Landes: among them the explanation of the climacteric of the late nineteenth century (pp. 232–34); confusion about the notion of sunk costs (pp. 272, 353, 462, 470); the economics of education (pp. 340, 348); the magnitude of the social problem of the industrial labor force (p. 42); the idea of the exhaustion of opportunities for technological advance (pp. 235–37); and the assertion of entrepreneurial stupidity in various countries (pp. 263, 349, 463, 472, 147, 356, 542). Finally

[15] For similar statements, see 115, 137, 161, 190, 420.

we would argue strongly against Landes' dismissal of the hypothesis of balanced growth to describe what happened in Britain in the eighteenth century (p. 78), for there is no doubt in our minds that the Industrial Revolution in Britain was a classic example of balanced growth.[16]

Landes' basic aims are to explain technological change itself and the influence it exerts on economic growth, but his book is not a general treatise; it consists primarily of the description of selected techniques, their invention, innovation, diffusion, and economic effects. Whenever Landes moves from description to explanation and generalization, there is uncertainty or assertion, mainly, we would argue, because he is not familiar with the relevant economic theory and often displays an ignorance of basic economics. Not being informed by theory, the book is not unified and has no obvious theme; it has nothing to hold it together or to guide the reader. It remains, therefore, a brilliant encyclopedia of facts, a monument of effort, a magnificent piece of old economic history, but in no way a pioneering volume. For us, Landes' book raises a question of considerable relevance to a wide variety of research in economic history: can economic history be satisfactorily written in isolation from economic theory? Our answer is that it cannot.

[16] See R. M. Hartwell, "The Industrial Revolution as an Example of Balanced Growth," in his forthcoming *Essays on the Industrial Revolution and Economic Growth.*

Reviews of Books

GENERAL

B. I. MARUSHKIN. *Istoriia i politika: Amerikanskaia burzhuaznaia istoriografiia sovetskogo obshchestva* [History and Politics: American Bourgeois Historiography of Soviet Society]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Vseobshchei Istorii.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1969. Pp. 393.

It is difficult to review this book. Mr. Marushkin's announced purpose is to analyze American historiography of Soviet society, and one would welcome a careful and balanced work that did so from the point of view of a Soviet scholar. These pages, however, are so filled with such invidious terms as "falsification," "tendentious," "distorted," and other favorites from the Soviet *Schimpflexikon* that it becomes almost an exercise in self-flagellation to search out the few points on which Marushkin's views may have some portion of validity. He does write of a number of absurdities onto which Americans have fastened as explanations of the rise and continuance of the Soviet regime, and there are perhaps some who would agree with his criticisms of a purportedly unhealthy relationship between the American academic community and various agencies of government or business, but these are buried in such a torrent of invective that they lose any real force. Indeed, when it is noted that Mr. Marushkin's denigration of American scholarship is coupled with resounding and uncritical praise of all facets of Soviet reality and policy, one feels that his pages might well come from a textbook illustration of the term "paranoia." Such outpourings would not ordinarily seem to have any place in the publications that appear under the sponsorship of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, and one can only wonder at what aberration in the Soviet system could lead anyone to assume that Marushkin had much to contribute to a subject that might well respond to a calmer and more judicious approach. The hundred or so Soviet books and articles bearing such titles as "A New Sally of a Falsifier of the History of American Intervention in Russia," which are listed in the footnotes, would seem to indicate that Marushkin is not without his co-practitioners in the substitution of hard words for hard thought and analysis.

ROBERT V. ALLEN
Library of Congress

MILADA BLEKASTAD. *Comenius: Versuch eines Umrisses von Leben, Werk und Schicksal des Jan Amos Komenský*. Prague: Academia. 1969. Pp. 892. Kčs. 148.

Milada Blekastad, a Czech scholar living in Norway, has given us a comprehensive biography of Jan Amos Komenský, known better in the learned world as Comenius. The book, written in German, appeared simultaneously in Oslo and in Prague, an impressive tribute to a man of international reputation. Both the author and the Norwegian Research Council, which subsidized the publication, deserve credit for this attractively printed volume.

Prior to its appearance three biographies of Comenius were available to anyone interested: an authoritative but rather ponderous study in Czech by J. V. Novák, which was completed by Josef Hendrich; a readable monograph in French by Anne Heyberger, which was originally a dissertation presented

to the Sorbonne; and a sympathetic portrait of "that incomparable Moravian," done in English by Matthew Spinka. The largest of these three books, Novák-Hendrich, usually served as a springboard for more detailed research or re-evaluation of Comenius' place among the educators and thinkers of the seventeenth century.

Writing fifty years after Novák, the Czech-Norwegian author derived substantial advantage from the progress of research in which scholars of many nationalities have participated. She was able not only occasionally to correct biographical data but also to make full use of several writings by Comenius of which scholars of the earlier generation seldom knew more than the mere titles. The most significant contribution to elucidation of Comenius' activities was made by Dmitrij Tschiżewskij, who located at Halle (Saale) the long missing draft of the most ambitious work that Comenius was preparing for publication in the latter period of his life, "De Rerum Humanarum Emendatione Consultatio Catholica" (The General Consultation about the Improvement of Human Affairs). Subdivided into seven parts, the Consultation was to cover a wide range of topics, some of which Comenius assigned to his collaborators for a more adequate treatment. As it can be established from Comenius' correspondence that he conceived the idea of the Consultation in 1645, it is obvious that its planning and drafting carried him away too often from his earlier obligations, especially educational reform.

By paying due attention to Comenius' intensive occupation with the grandiose, but chimeric, scheme of universal reform of the world, Milada Blekastad adds new dimensions to the story of his life and endeavors. To present adequately the hitherto less explored aspects of Comenius' personality the author gleaned a good deal of information from the half-finished Consultation and from unpublished fragments of another writing, for which Comenius chose the symbolic title *Clamores Eliae* (Elijah's Outcries). Other biographical sources, available partly, at least, in modern critical editions, were also consulted so that the book represents the present state of research.

While the earlier biographers of Comenius usually focused attention on his tireless efforts to contribute to the liberation of his homeland from the Habsburg rule, Milada Blekastad reconstructs the tragic conflict between dedication to concrete projects, such as the reorganization of the school system in Sweden and Transylvania and the noble ambition to bring together the peoples estranged by the Thirty Years' War and other bloody campaigns, by doctrinal polemics, and by diverging scientific methods. She also establishes more clearly the links between Comenius and his illustrious contemporaries, especially the English and Scandinavian admirers of his endeavors.

There is an enormous wealth of information in this book, both in the smooth-flowing narrative and in the bibliographical lists. Of the few omissions I noticed the most regrettable is the absence of reference to Matthew Spinka's biography, to his translations of Comenius' works into English, and to his several articles.

The tercentenary of Comenius' death (he died November 15, 1670) was observed on a large scale. An international conference was held in Prague with the Consultation as a central theme. The first volume of Comenius' writings in a modern edition appeared under the auspices of the Pedagogical Institute at Prague. But the most significant literary product of revived interest is Blekastad's biography.

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GIORGIO TAGLIACOZZO, editor. *Giambattista Vico: An International Symposium.* Co-editor, HAYDEN V. WHITE; consulting editors, ISAIAH BERLIN *et al.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1969. Pp. xxvi, 636. $12.00.

When the *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* appeared in the mid-1930s, the entry for Giambattista Vico filled a single page. By contrast, in the 1968 edition of the *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* the Vico article had grown to three and a half pages. On November 23, 1969, the New York *Times Magazine* considered him sufficiently important and of interest to its readers to publish an article by Isaiah Berlin who referred to Vico in his title as "One of the Boldest Innovators in the History of Human Thought." In the

United States Vico's fame has been slowly growing since 1944, when the Fisch-Bergin English translation of his *Autobiography,* prefaced by an excellent survey of his fame and influence, was published. Previously, Giambattista Vico had been a name known only to a few who had met him either via Croce, Collingwood, possibly Michelet, or even Joyce. For many today Vico still remains a somewhat hermetic thinker, and his works continue to be considered confused and obscure by those who demand clarity of expression in a writer. Despite these reservations, however, during the past quarter century American scholars have become increasingly aware that the Neapolitan philosopher, born in 1668 and dead by 1744, made important contributions to modern intellectual developments. One of the contributors to this excellent *Symposium* writes that "Vico stands as one of those thinkers whom everyone can read with profit, in whom everyone finds some element of contemporary thought embodied or foreshadowed. . . . every philosophical ism since the eighteenth century, including the most recent—idealism, positivism, naturalism, pragmatism, existentialism—after proclaiming its own originality, has found itself confronted with Vico. . . . If we look at some of the more extensive bibliographies consecrated to his historical influence, we sometimes wonder whether Vico has not been responsible for the entire intellectual state of the contemporary world in all its vagaries and contradictions as well as in its more progressive and positive aspects" (pp. 483–84). This quotation may well be considered the aim and goal of the *Symposium:* to illustrate how Vico anticipated many concepts, now part of the modern *Weltanschauung.*

This *Symposium* is but one of the many tributes paid to Vico in 1968 to commemorate the tercentenary of his birth. In this year scholars from different disciplines hailed him as one of the seminal minds of our age. It would seem that Vico has arrived. Yet, like his own theory of *corsi* and *ricorsi,* Vico's fame and fortune have moved in cycles. Largely ignored by the eighteenth century—though not to the extent once believed, as Enrico De Mas points out in his contribution "Vico and Italian Thought"—he enjoyed considerable fame outside Italy during the Romantic era, thanks to Coleridge and especially to Michelet. In Italy the patriots of the Risorgimento honored him, without on the whole really understanding his ideas, because he was an Italian, as I have pointed out in my article, "Giambattista Vico and the Risorgimento" (*Harvard Library Bulletin,* July 1969). Once Italian unification was achieved, Vico seemed to have had little to say to his compatriots. Outside Italy late nineteenth-century thought appeared far removed from Vico's conceptual analysis of man and his history. At the beginning of the twentieth century Benedetto Croce, disillusioned with Marxism, resurrected Vico. Thus began what was to be a life-long study of all aspects of Vico's thought and a dedicated effort to assure Vico the recognition that Croce believed he deserved. Croce's first *Bibliografia vichiana* was presented to the Neapolitan Accademia Pontaniana in 1903, and his *Filosofia di Giambattista Vico* was published in 1911.

This *Symposium,* which is the result of the work and determination of Giorgio Tagliacozzo, presents an incredibly rich survey of Vico's place in the history of Western thought. Thirty-nine American and foreign scholars have contributed essays ranging from literature to sociology and psychology. What emerges is that Vico cannot be neatly categorized under the rubric of "historian" or "philosopher" but needs to be associated with the most varied approaches to and theories on the study of man. To reflect this universality or all-embracing quality of Vico's thought the book is divided into four parts: "Comparative Historical Studies"; "Vico's Influence on Western Thought and Letters"; "Vico and Contemporary Social and Humanistic Thinking"; "Vico and Modern Philosophy, Pedagogy, and Aesthetics."

In the first part Vico's intellectual debts to preceding thinkers and his influence or kinship to those who followed, but may not have been aware of his work, are discussed. Thus Vico's admiration for Plato, Tacitus, Bacon, and Grotius is analyzed in Enrico De Mas's "Vico's Four Authors"; Santino Caramella's "Vico, Tacitus and Reason of State"; and Dario Faucci's "Vico and Grotius: Jurisconsults of Mankind." Yvon Belaval encapsulizes

Vico's own philosophical position in "Vico and Anti-Cartesianism." George A. Wells once again reviews the apparent similarities between Vico and Herder and concludes that, while undoubtedly many of Vico's ideas were known to Herder, the differences between the two men's historical systems are greater than the superficial similarities. Thus Wells rejects J. G. Robertson's thesis that "the whole wonderful conception of Herder's *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* is unthinkable without a knowledge of the *Scienza nuova*" (p. 99). Most interesting is Eugene Kamenka's brief but illuminating piece on "Vico and Marxism." Though Marx referred to Vico directly only once in a footnote in *Das Kapital* (bk. 1, pt. 4, ch. 13, n. 89), and in two letters of April 28, 1862, one to Lasalle and the other to Engels, he revealed more than a passing knowledge of Vico's works and expressed regret at not having been able to get his legal writings. Moreover, Marx seems to have been aware of the discussion then going on in German periodicals on the relationships between Wolf's and Vico's views on Homer and between Vico's and Niebuhr's interpretations of Roman history. Kamenka goes on to point out that Marxists have appreciated some aspects of Vico's views on man's historical evolution, but have never really studied him. Only Antonio Gramsci, the Italian Communist leader and theorist, seriously tried to incorporate Vico's ideas into his own methodology. In Russia, Kamenka notes, historians have been at best lukewarm toward Vico; at worst, they have either ignored or criticized him.

The first five papers in the second part survey Vico's role in Italy, France, nineteenth-century Spain, prerevolutionary Russia, and eighteenth-century England and Scotland. Together they provide the reader with a comparative view of Vichian influence in different countries at different times and illustrate well the *corsi* and *ricorsi* of his fame. Very illuminating is the last essay in this section by A. Walton Litz on "Vico and Joyce." Since Joyce "demonstrated that Vico's ideas hold a special vitality and relevance for the modern artist" (p. 245), Litz attempts to identify what drew Joyce to Vico. In Joyce's own words: "My imagination grows when I read Vico and it doesn't when I read Freud or Jung" (p. 245). Evidently Joyce felt an empathy with Vico, and Litz concludes that "it was Vico's creative interpretations of poetry and language that appealed to Joyce" (p. 255).

The essays in the third part show the timeliness of many Vichian ideas in social and humanistic thinking today. In "Vico's New Science of Myth" David Bidney writes that "it was Vico's unique achievement to have expressed clearly the idea of a comparative science of ethnology or socio-cultural history" and that he "most nearly anticipates modern ethnological science, in his conception of the evolutionary, social mentality of human societies and the corresponding stages of socio-cultural evolution" (p. 263). Bidney's essay weighs carefully what was innovative and is still valid in Vichian thought and what has been superseded by modern studies. For instance, Bidney points out that "the *New Science*, although mistaken in its allegorical interpretation of myth as ethnohistory, was nevertheless destined to promote ethnological and sociological thought and to open up new horizons in the history of civilization for . . . scholarly research" (p. 277). Closely related to Bidney's essay are Werner Stark's "Giambattista Vico's Sociology of Knowledge" and Edmund Leach's "Vico and Lévi-Strauss on the Origins of Humanity." Together these three essays emphasize that aspect of Vico's ideas that today is claimed by sociology rather than by history or philosophy. All indicate that Vico with considerable justification may be considered a precursor of many modern sociological interpretations.

Since Croce's whole outlook is indissolubly linked to that of Vico, while reading Croce's interpretation of Vico one must be careful to distinguish between what Vico really wrote and what Croce interprets him to have written. Hayden V. White's "What Is Living and What Is Dead in Croce's Criticism of Vico" neatly points up the limitations in the Vico studies by Croce and Fausto Nicolini, Croce's *alter ego*. No one would deny that more than any one else in this century they brought about the present *ricorso* in Vichian studies, but some Vico scholars may agree with White that many of the Croce-Nicolini interpretations of Vico's ideas were "biased and restricted" (p. 879). White believes that this bias and

restrictiveness resulted from trying to see in Vico an intellectual ancestor of Croce's "philosophy of the spirit." To do this, Vico's attempts to establish a science of society and a philosophy of history were neglected, for they contradicted the Crocean world view. An analysis of whether White is in turn taking a "biased and restricted" look at the Crocean world view could well lead to an interesting debate on contemporary historical world views. What he has to say, however, on the Croce-Vico dichotomy is provocative and illuminating.

A thorough analysis of each essay is obviously impossible, but no aspect of Vico's present-day relevance is neglected. For instance, Antonio Corsano's "Vico and Mathematics" proves particularly instructive for a reviewer whose familiarity with and interest in Vico spans some two decades. The reader will also find Max H. Fisch's "Vico and Pragmatism," Enzo Paci's "Vico and Cassirer," James M. Edie's "Vico and Existential Philosophy," and Raffaello Franchini's "Vico, Historical Methodology, and the Future of Philosophy" useful in assessing Vico's place in modern thought. To conclude, this *Symposium* is like a rich fruit cake, yielding appetizing morsels wherever one cuts into it. It belongs on the bookshelf of anyone interested in Vico, next to the works of Vico himself and those of his commentators and bibliographers: Croce, Nicolini, Berlin, Fisch, Caponigri, Collingwood, Mazlish, De Mas, Fassò, Corsano, and Gianturco, to name only a few. Even for those not particularly drawn to Vico this book provides stimulating reading for it presents, with Vico as the unifying constant, a spectrum of modern thought. Rarely does a symposium give the impression of such unity and continuity. Above all, it shows clearly that Vico is now certainly enjoying a *ricorso*. It is to be hoped that he will not once again sink into neglect and have to be resurrected by a future generation to go through a new *corso* and *ricorso*. Perhaps this *Symposium*, which brilliantly shows the universality of Vico's mind, may help to keep interest in him alive and to stimulate further study on the many facets of his thought.

EMILIANA P. NOETHER
University of Connecticut

ROBERT E. SCHOFIELD. *Mechanism and Materialism: British Natural Philosophy in an Age of Reason*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1970. Pp. vi, 336. $9.50.

In this book Mr. Schofield has led us through to a level of much more satisfactory understanding of British eighteenth-century natural philosophy. By focusing upon concepts of matter, he seems to have identified an area that gives coherence to British thought on several apparently unrelated topics. He rescues the British from that realm of dead uncreativeness to which they were consigned by those who followed the mathematical theme from Newton to Leibnitz to the Bernoullis, to Euler and Lagrange, to Laplace and a new sort of mathematical physics.

He offers, however, a tour that begins even more specifically with Newton. He solves, indeed, what has been called "the doctrine of the two Newtons." Some years ago I. Bernard Cohen was misunderstood in his explanation of a seeming paradox in Benjamin Franklin's view of himself and his work in electricity as Newtonian—a paradox because Franklin knew absolutely nothing of Newtonian mechanics or of the great achievements of the *Principia*. Yet, not only he but most scientists in the English-speaking world, despite the strangest differences in approach, proclaimed themselves Newtonians.

Now, Mr. Schofield, working from a background of detailed study of aspects of British science, finds that there are indeed two specific and quite different threads running from Newton in the writings on matter. One view he identifies as mechanistic; this followed Newton in the elaboration and application of "dynamic corpuscularity," spreading its influence through many fields including theology. About 1740 criticism, continental writings, and diverging approaches shifted the emphasis toward materialistic explanations—which advocates asserted with equal force to have been derived from Newton. These built upon such concepts as ether, electric and magnetic fluids, caloric, and phlogiston. Then from 1760 to 1789, Schofield feels that there was a shift back to mechanistic explanations, which ultimately come out in fluid dynamics and field concepts.

This scheme makes it possible to relate a remarkable range of writings, and it will provide an essential framework for future scholars. The canvas, of course, is too large for all the characterizations to ring true, and informed readers are bound to react against some complex concepts being ticked off lightly and men of breadth being shot into ill-fitting holes. Yet Mr. Schofield's success in showing Lavoisier as an antimechanist and Cavendish as a Newtonian are vignettes of the power of his analysis and the utility of his scheme.

BROOKE HINDLE
New York University

SEYMOUR DRESCHER. *Dilemmas of Democracy: Tocqueville and Modernization.* [Pittsburgh:] University of Pittsburgh Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 302. $6.95.

Professor Drescher's book is undoubtedly the most probing and convincing study of Tocqueville's ideas on social structure, economic development, and political trends. If I understand Drescher correctly, Tocqueville turned out to be a rather weak analyst of Western man's political evolution because he failed to see the positive correlations among these three factors. And his weakness resulted from the fact that he was more of a *moraliste* than a *positiviste,* that is, he was less concerned about what is than about what ought to be. His vision was too narrowly formed by his limited experiences in Orleanist France and Jacksonian America.

As an aristocrat he paid little attention to newly developing industry and more modern forms of behavior among the urban population. Rather he saw the future in terms of agricultural needs and argued that democracy would grow out of the more equitable distribution of land and individual independence. The degree of freedom enjoyed by self-employed farmers was Tocqueville's indicator of modernization. The mass society he foresaw would be an undifferentiated collection of individuals, enjoying easy social mobility resulting from personal capacity rather than group or class action. An additional indicator of modernization, however, was the growth of state action and resulting centralization. From a premodern society in which man depended on man (the poor on the rich) there would result one in which man depends on the state.

Drescher, in his reading of Tocqueville's published and unpublished writings, relies as much on his own analysis of societal facets neglected by Tocqueville as on those fully described by the Frenchman. This technique has allowed Drescher to give a more complete description of Tocqueville's mind and of its limits than other writers have done. The study of what a man does not say is as important as what he does say. In order to clarify a writer's contribution, it is essential to discover the blind spots in his vision. Drescher has also gone extensively into letters and unpublished manuscripts to find information to help him understand Tocqueville's mental processes. Since Tocqueville did not write extensively on social and economic matters—save as regards penology and slavery—Drescher has done a very good job in bringing out the main concerns of his subject, and, just as important, his interpretation of the data breaks out of the rather narrow shell of traditional intellectual history in order to bring to bear some of the contributions of the behavioralists.

LEO A. LOUBÈRE
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CARL H. SCHEELE. *A Short History of the Mail Service.* Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press; distrib. by Random House, New York. 1970. Pp. 250. $6.95.

The volume under review is almost wholly concerned with the mail service in this country, and it should have been so titled. It is divided into three parts. Part 1 (thirty pages), entitled "Old World Background," gathers a miscellany of references to letter-carrying practices in such countries as ancient Egypt, Greece (dealt with in a mere thirteen lines), and Rome, and even including in the "old world background" ancient China and Japan (fourteen lines). The last selected postal area, Great Britain, is the only real background included for the mail services of this country, since part 2 is given over to the thirteen colonies. Part 3 (125 pages) covers the years from 1775 to 1967; it brings the total narrative to 155 pages.

The listing of sources for so short a history

seems out of all proportion. The footnotes number over six hundred, and the bibliography (entitled "References") has 271 items, including some that seem hardly necessary, such as philatelic articles and postage stamp catalogues, and, for example, titles such as "Great Britain, Acts," Herodotus, *The Book of ser Marco Polo, the Venetian, etc.*, and "The Holy Bible, Authorized version." (Mr. Scheele is curator of philately and postal history at the Smithsonian Institution.)

Part 3 has much useful information, especially on the mechanization of the services, but it is so broken up—into some thirty subdivisions—that the flow of the narrative is interrupted.

The viewpoint is largely laudatory, in sharp contrast both to objections to a service under political-party control and to the report in 1968 of a commission on postal organization appointed by President Johnson. This commission found conditions so "chaotic" that it recommended the removal of the Post Office from political interference by making it an "independent corporation"—and Congress has acquiesced.

Beyond identifying so-called "junk mail" as "nagging" (p. 186), the author offers no discussion of a category of mail that has become an intolerable nuisance but that has nevertheless been encouraged by government agencies that sell lists of addresses to advertisers at so much per reel. Mr. Scheele's final judgment on the mail service is that it has "continued to function with remarkable success" (p. 188).

HOWARD ROBINSON
Oberlin, Ohio

THORKILD HANSEN. *The Way to Hudson Bay: The Life and Times of Jens Munk.* Translated by JAMES MCFARLANE and JOHN LYNCH. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1970. Pp. 348. $7.95.

The Northwest Passage through and above arctic North America has engaged the interest of navigators and explorers for centuries. So, similarly, has it engaged the interest of chroniclers and historians of the numerous exploring expeditions and the scientific and not so scientific activities attending thereto. There has been a spate of publications on a wide variety of English, Dutch, United States, and Canadian expeditions—almost to the point of being repetitious. Therefore it is timely and pleasantly surprising to find an account of a little-known Danish expedition, little-known, that is, outside Denmark. The talented young Danish author Thorkild Hansen collaborated with Peter Seeberg and published in Copenhagen in 1965 *Jens Munks minde ekspedition.* This book has been translated into English by James McFarlane and John Lynch, published first in England as *North West to Hudson Bay* (1970) and in a somewhat abridged version in the United States in 1970 as *The Way to Hudson Bay: The Life and Times of Jens Munk.*

"Jens Munk's life centers on the sea. He was one of the intrepid [seventeenth]-century explorers who navigated the Arctic seas with inadequate ships, faulty charts and primitive instruments" according to the book jacket. Significantly, Munk was but one of three, from a crew of sixty-five, who survived an expedition that reached into Hudson Bay in 1659, suffered a severe winter, buried his dead in the forbidding land, and by sheer dint of massive will power returned to Denmark with a fantastic diary and other accounts. The surviving records, together with the products of a wealth of research in the archives and libraries of Denmark particularly, and with an extraordinary fund of information on the contemporary scene gleaned by the authors from many sources, have made it possible for them to write a remarkable account not only of Munk's voyage to Hudson Bay but, indeed, to prepare a lengthy, detailed biography of that explorer. Although the title of this book emphasizes "The Way to Hudson Bay," fully 250 pages are biographical and not related to that subject. These pages are a well-written account of Munk's life, his numerous piratical, king's-protector exploits, and personal feuds. Excellent descriptions of Munk's activities and of the settings in which they took place are provided. The account of Munk's remarkable voyage to Hudson Bay is dramatically and beautifully described. This book is exceptionally well written, spicy at times, and, to the extent that the records permit, appears to be reasonably objective. It is very well illustrated with reproductions of contemporary maps,

sketches, landscape views, and plans and designs of ships.

Most regrettably this book lacks definitive documentation, though abbreviated references to sources are occasionally woven into the text. There is no bibliography or a related discussion of sources. The serious reader who will be impressed by the literary skill with which the book is written cannot but be concerned about its objectivity—is this fact or fiction?—except of course where the text relies on the *Journal,* which is in the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

HERMAN R. FRIIS
The National Archives

CHRISTINE BOLT. *The Anti-Slavery Movement and Reconstruction: A Study in Anglo-American Co-operation, 1833–77.* New York: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations, London. 1969. Pp. 197. $4.95.

ADELAIDE WEINBERG. *John Elliot Cairnes and the American Civil War: A Study in Anglo-American Relations.* London: Kingswood Press. n.d. Pp. 224. $6.50.

Significant in the American antislavery crusade, especially during the 1830s and 1840s, were funds and encouragement received by American abolitionists from Englishmen of wealth, status, and political power. American abolitionists were bitterly surprised, therefore, when the British government, from 1861 to 1863, sympathized with the South. These two books examine the responses of English abolitionists to this official policy during the American Civil War and Reconstruction era.

Christine Bolt, relying heavily upon newspaper sources, adds English evidence to historians' recent recognition that emancipation in America did not end efforts by former abolitionists in behalf of Afro-Americans. After emancipation, English abolitionists, and their American counterparts, did not feel displaced and retire from responsibility, nor did they bemoan the loss of a worthy cause. British freedmen aid societies raised an average of £24,000 annually for the relief and education of emancipated American slaves and arranged preferential rates with British shipping and railway lines to transport food and clothing.

Bolt's discussion of these deeds and the arguments directed at British public opinion are the strongest parts of her book. Less convincing is her claim that British reformers were well informed about Reconstruction and fully supported it. She fails to answer satisfactorily Wendell Phillips' charge that the British allegiance to radical Reconstruction was primarily "an old clothes movement." Suggesting that English racism eventually undermined sympathy for freedmen, she slights the presence of racism prior to emancipation. Many American historians now acknowledge that antislavery feelings before the war were not synonymous with equalitarian ones, but Bolt unconvincingly depicts widespread British racism as mostly a postwar development.

The late Adelaide Weinberg's book analyzes and reprints some essays and correspondence of John Elliot Cairnes, the distinguished Irish classical economist. *The Slave Power,* a thorough and well-known pamphlet published by Cairnes in 1862, warned Englishmen and Americans of the danger and economic inutility of the South's peculiar institution. Inevitable soil exhaustion, the inefficiency of slave labor, Southern territorial aggression, and that section's dependence on the interstate slave trade were fundamental to Cairnes's economic argument. But he also noted that Southern passions, habits, and politics perpetuated slavery. Laissez-faire economics, he concluded, falsely assumed that public and private good were synonymous. He deeply feared for the life of America, one of "only two great free nations in the world."

Weinberg renews Cairnes's importance for historians by clearly explicating his antislavery position and support for enfranchising the freedmen during Reconstruction. She does not discuss, however, Cairnes's sources: he depended heavily upon F. L. Olmstead and G. M. Weston, and his critics have argued that his failure to utilize also the work of Robert Russell, J. D. B. De Bow, and Edmund Ruffin invalidated his conclusions. While Weinberg obviously disagrees with Ulrich Phillips that Cairnes's analysis of slavery was filled with "grotesqueries," she concedes too readily the obsolescence of Cairnes's soil erosion argument because she uncritically accepts the findings of Avery Craven and Lewis Gray. Unavailable to Weinberg until her manuscript neared publication was Eugene Genovese's

The Political Economy of Slavery, which promises to avoid Cairnes's "simplistic and mechanistic notions" but admittedly accepts most of his view of slavery—with the notable exception of the Englishman's conviction that the North represented political democracy. Had Adelaide Weinberg lived to complete her plan to revise the manuscript she surely would have said more than this about Genovese's book: "Cairnes's reasoning here as well as in other places derives much support."

TILDEN G. EDELSTEIN
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EDMUND IONS. *James Bryce and American Democracy, 1870–1922*. New York: Humanities Press. 1970. Pp. 339. $12.75.

In 1927 H. A. L. Fisher published a two-volume biographical study of his friend James Bryce. Such works had been standard in Victorian and Edwardian England; clearly, neither the war nor the example of Lytton Strachey had seriously undermined the "life and letters" convention. Edmund Ions, turning to the same subject four decades later, expresses gratitude for the earlier volumes; but he suggests that Fisher did not "do justice either to the life, in all its various pursuits, or to the letters, in their range and volume" (p. 305). One's appetite is whetted; one looks for a modern biography that is less dominated by the requirements of friendship and the traditions of an earlier historical scholarship. The surprise—and it is that—is that Ions has written a biography that might just as easily have been published forty or more years ago. One has become so accustomed to reading "modern biography" that one finds Ions' study of Bryce a throwback to an earlier genre. This, to give only a single example, is how Ions describes the woman Bryce married when he was already past fifty. Ions writes: "Thomas Ashton's daughter Marion shared her father's devotion to good works and liberal causes. Both at home and on civic occasions she often met her father's friend James Bryce, whose law lectures at Owens College drew large and appreciative audiences. Marion Ashton also possessed beauty, charm and intelligence. In April 1889 her engagement was announced to Professor James Bryce, M.P. They were married in July. It was a perfect match and their married life was one of great felicity" (p. 142).

It may be that our tastes have been too rudely used these last years to accept this kind of expression. Such a portrait is simply not credible to readers today. It is not only that the whole psychological dimension is missing in this biography, but that Ions has ignored the social dimension as well. We are given the most explicit information on where Bryce went, whom he visited, what he read, what he wrote, and where he lectured; but there is no analysis of what tied him to that very special group of Americans he came to know so well. How is one to explain the Anglo-American connection that developed in certain intellectual and social circles toward the middle and end of the nineteenth century? What significance did these connections have? Why was there such an easy communion between Bryce and his American friends? Why were there not analogous relations between these Americans and French or German scholars? Mr. Ions does not think to ask this kind of question. The book, inevitably, lacks both the psychological and the social dimension we have come to expect of modern biography. Ions' book reminds us of a vast literature that used to be written in the Anglo-American world earlier in this century. This is not necessarily a criticism of the work; it simply indicates why one is so surprised when one starts to read it.

STEPHEN R. GRAUBARD
Brown University

JOHN B. BLAKE, editor. *Safeguarding the Public: Historical Aspects of Medicinal Drug Control*. Papers from a conference sponsored by the National Library of Medicine and the Josiah Macy, Jr. Foundation. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1970. Pp. xi, 200. $7.50.

This book is essentially a verbatim report of the papers delivered at the Conference on the History of Medicinal Drug Control held in 1968 at the National Library of Medicine in Bethesda, Maryland, where participants were "asked to consider . . . problems relating to controls of the purity, quality, safety, and efficacy of drugs prescribed by physicians

rather than problems relating to out-and-out quackery, narcotic control, or price control." And the central theme that emerges from these papers is that as developing science and technology begin to solve the problems of drug control in one period, they not only create new problems for the next, but also produce difficulties for governments and professional groups in their efforts to keep pace with the new discoveries in order to ensure the safety and efficacy of therapeutic agents used by physicians to treat the sick.

This race between scientific advances and the efforts of government to provide safeguards is illustrated in several papers. James Harvey Young in "Drugs and the 1906 Law" makes clear that because the major concern of the Food and Drug Law was with foods, the Food and Drug Administration initially paid little attention to prescription drugs except for misbranding and adulteration. Young suggests that the FDA did not begin to scrutinize manufacturers closely in the 1920s partly because of the policies of Republican administrations. David F. Cavers demonstrates that despite a new law in 1938 and new administrative policies and machinery, it was some time before the regulative machinery became effective, for Congress continued to starve the FDA of funds. The therapeutic revolution ushered in by the sulfa drugs in the mid-1930s, moreover, created many new problems.

Obviously it is impossible to discuss all the interesting papers in this book, or to detail the very many striking insights on the problems of drug controls that are to be found in the commentaries and discussions at the end of each session. An enlightening paper by Alex Berman on "Drug Control in Nineteenth-Century France" discusses a situation where legislation was ahead of science and technology, but the lack of basic knowledge in chemistry and physiology led to drug laws that were inflexible, conflicting, and often unenforced. The information contained in the many essays and discussions in this volume provides useful insights into the difficult problem of supervising new drug discoveries.

MORRIS W. GARBER
Rutgers University, New Brunswick

DANIEL R. BEAVER, editor. *Some Pathways in Twentieth-Century History: Essays in Honor of Reginald Charles McGrane.* Detroit: Wayne State University Press for the University of Cincinnati. 1969. Pp. 313. $11.95.

This *Festschrift* is a collection of eight essays written by former students of the late Professor R. C. McGrane of the University of Cincinnati and published in his honor; it also includes a biographical sketch of McGrane and a selected bibliography of his writings by Harry R. Stevens. Although Professor McGrane never directed a doctoral dissertation or conducted a graduate seminar, this volume is a graphic testimony to the impact of his teaching upon undergraduate students. The essays are: Thomas McCormick, "'A Fair Field and No Favor': The Structure of Informal Empire"; Alfred D. Sumberg, "William Howard Taft and the Ohio Endorsement Issue, 1906–1908"; Daniel R. Beaver, "George W. Goethals and the Problem of Military Supply"; Henry R. Winkler, "The British Labour Party and the Paris Settlement"; C. William Vogel, "Leopold Amery: Man against the Stars in Their Courses"; Francis L. Loewenheim, "An Illusion that Shaped History: New Light on the History and Historiography of American Peace Efforts before Munich"; Richard M. Leighton, "The American Arsenal Policy in World War II: A Retrospective View"; and William M. Franklin, "Yalta Viewed from Tehran."

It is difficult to review a *Festschrift* that lacks a common theme and is composed of articles of varying originality and merit. Unfortunately also, a good essay therein is likely to remain undiscovered by scholars interested in its particular subject matter. Of these essays, three are focused upon American foreign relations, two upon facets of its military history, and one upon its domestic politics; the other two essays deal with British politics and foreign affairs. McCormick's essay on the formulation of the Open Door policy, an elaboration from his previously published studies, presents Hay's notes as a realistic maneuver in America's quest for "informal empire" or economic predominance in the China market. A good case can be made for America's interest in expanded markets at the turn of the twentieth century, but care must be used not

to oversimplify economic motives into a monolithic explanation. Beaver's and Leighton's essays on military history are thoughtful studies of procurement in the First and Second World Wars.

The highlights of this collection, I think, are Loewenheim's analysis of Roosevelt's diplomacy prior to Munich and Franklin's brief but stimulating comparison of the Tehran and Yalta conferences. Professor Loewenheim examines FDR's vague proposal for an international conference in 1937 and early 1938, and concludes that the president shared the British government's illusion that it might be possible to make a just and lasting settlement with the aggressor states. Sumner Welles and Anthony Eden come off rather poorly in his evaluation, while Neville Chamberlain emerges as far more realistic than is generally assumed. Loewenheim's article, together with Arnold A. Offner's study, *American Appeasement* (1969), graphically portrays the dilemma of an administration caught between the tides of popular isolationism and fear of a new world war. Dr. Franklin, director of the State Department's Historical Office, points out that the Tehran Conference has usually been slighted by scholars more interested in the dramatic events at Yalta, yet the earlier Big Three meeting discussed and reached tentative agreement on many of the issues subsequently "settled" at the Crimean conference. Moreover, Roosevelt was in good health at Tehran, in contrast to Yalta, and his ideas in 1943 of a drastic partition of Germany obviously long predated the much discussed Morgenthau Plan. I agree with Franklin's conclusion that Tehran deserves more scholarly analysis than it has yet received.

DANIEL M. SMITH
University of Colorado

ANGUS MADDISON. *Economic Growth in Japan and the USSR*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1969. Pp. xxviii, 174. $6.00.

In terms of output, the USSR and Japan account for one-fifth of the world's economy, occupying second and third places, respectively, behind the United States. Japan has had the world's fastest growth of per capita income over the past quarter century, and the Soviet Union has not lagged far behind. But about a century ago they were both relatively static feudal societies. Angus Maddison's study analyzes the policies that enabled them to transform their economies and to catch up with the developed world.

The strategies the two nations adopted have been, of course, vastly different. Japan has favored free enterprise, maintained relatively small farms, had a dichotomous industrial development, with large and small firms existing side by side, and she has developed a labor-intensive technology and most successfully penetrated world export markets. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, organized on the basis of state ownership and operation, has created giant farms and factories and yet has remained fairly isolated from world trade. Since 1945 the USSR has devoted one-eighth of her resources to military purposes, while Japan has applied practically nothing to such uses. The Soviet Union has become a world military and political power; Japan a world economic power.

In his short study Dr. Maddison offers a comparative analysis of the growth experience of the two countries that enlarges our knowledge of the development process. He contends that a better understanding of the Soviet and Japanese experiences can be illuminating and relevant for economic growth policies in developing countries today. Considering the developments of the last quarter of a century in India and in Communist China, however, one wonders about the relevance of the Japanese and Soviet experiences.

The study is divided into two parts. Part 1 consists of six chapters detailing the history of Japan's economic development. Chapter 5 deals with Japan's "explosive" economic growth from 1953 through 1965. Chapter 6 draws conclusions about the significance of Japanese economic growth. Part 2 contains five brief chapters on Soviet economic development, the last chapter of which draws conclusions about the significance of Soviet economic growth.

Angus Maddison is an English economist who worked in Paris since 1953 for the OEEC and the OECD, where he was successively head of the Economics Division, director in the Development Department, and a fellow in the De-

velopment Center. A graduate of Cambridge University, Mr. Maddison has studied and taught in both the United States and Canada. He is currently a director of a Twentieth-Century Fund project on economic development and policy.

His brief and somewhat cursory analysis of both Japanese and Soviet economic growth adds little, if anything, to what is already known about the economic development of both countries. Conclusions such as "Soviet growth experience has a broader significance than that of Japan because the U.S.S.R. is one of the two super-powers of the world and is the major exponent of an ideology which is intended as a challenge both to developed capitalist countries and to the developing world" (p. 131) are hardly to be classed as contributing to economic knowledge.

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City University of New York

GEOFFREY BENNETT. *Naval Battles of the First World War.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. [1969.] Pp. 319. $7.95.

ROBERT M. GRANT. *U-Boat Intelligence, 1914–1918.* [Hamden, Conn.:] Archon Books. 1969. Pp. 192. $8.50.

Bennett's volume, which was derived in part from two previous works, *Coronel and the Falklands* (1962) and *The Battle of Jutland* (1964), is a competent popular account of British naval warfare, with some illuminating discussion of German motivations. Even so, there is little here for the scholar now that Marder's *From the Dreadnought to Scapa Flow* has been completed.

In contrast Grant's book, written, curiously enough, from the vantage point of the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, is indispensable to the specialist. Professor Grant calls himself a layman, and for so detailed and concentrated a monograph the lack of an index and the paucity of references are regrettable. The bibliography consists entirely of published works, including the recently completed German official history of submarine warfare. The preface, however, tells us that "the present volume represents a continuation of the research undertaken . . . on German records captured . . . in 1945," and refers to French intelligence documents located at Yale. In the text passing reference is made to other archives, as "intelligence" has always been chary of discussing its sources.

Professor Grant clears up some mysteries nonetheless. Building on his earlier *U-Boats Destroyed* (1964), to which the present work is complementary, the author, after a preliminary account of "the ways and means of naval intelligence," analyzes in great detail Allied intelligence of submarine operations. There are a number of charts and photographs and a valuable revised list of U-boats that were sunk. The general conclusion is clear: "The work of interception and decryption was all-important, especially when it was coordinated and acted upon."

PAUL GUINN
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JOHN MCVICKAR HAIGHT, JR. *American Aid to France, 1938–1940.* New York: Atheneum. 1970. Pp. ix, 278. $7.95.

To those who had labored to arm France in the twilight years of the Third Republic, the taste of wasted effort in June 1940 must have been especially bitter. The melancholy tale told in this unpretentious little book retraces the frantic efforts of the French government, beginning in 1938—incredibly late in the day, it now seems—to buy in the United States the air power that French industry seemed unable to build at home. Yet, if the effort was wasted for France, it was not for Great Britain, which took over $425 million in French aircraft contracts with U.S. firms along with several hundred military aircraft in transit in June 1940. Above all, it was not wasted for the United States, where Allied (mostly French) orders and capital investment since 1938 had quadrupled the capacity of the U.S. aircraft industry and prepared the way for the deluge to follow. Between spring of 1938 and the end of 1939 France placed orders in the United States for some 1,600 military aircraft, 200 more than the Army Air Corps, and the following March she joined the British in ordering 4,500 more. The handful of fighters and bombers that reached France in time to meet the German Blitz in

May 1940 generally gave a good account of themselves.

What this meant for American rearmament no one realized better than President Roosevelt, who not only believed that the Maginot line was America's first line of defense as well as France's, but also saw in France's need a way to do what an isolationist, economy-minded Congress would not allow him to do. Roosevelt employed all his political skill to help the French get the aircraft they needed, even at the expense of the budding Army Air Corps. He could also be heavy-handed, as when he warned General "Hap" Arnold, the AAC chief, that he might find himself exiled to some distant post "such as Guam" if he refused to cooperate.

The book is an impressive piece of research. For a subject of rather modest scope, the sources are unusually rich. Most notably, the author has been able to use the private papers of some of the leading French officials involved, including Guy La Chambre, air minister in the Daladier government; Senator La Grange, an old friend of Roosevelt and head of the first French purchasing mission to the U.S. in 1938; and of course Jean Monnet, who was in some sense the guiding spirit of the whole effort. Mr. Haight has also made good use of the diaries of Roosevelt's secretary of the treasury, Henry Morgenthau. He organizes his material well, writes straightforwardly if not felicitously, and has a tendency to overquote. For one especially infelicitous Roosevelt quotation, however, we can all be grateful. "What we want," FDR wrote to Ambassador Bullitt in November 1939 concerning the new Anglo-French coordinating committee, "is that perfectly possible combination of two head men . . . who will sleep in the same bed and lay all their cards on the table to prevent crossing wires."

RICHARD M. LEIGHTON
Industrial College of the Armed Forces

JOHN STRAWSON. *The Battle for North Africa.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1969. Pp. xi, 226. $7.95.

Michael Howard once commented wryly that no publisher seems to sleep easily "unless he has in prospect a new series on Great Battles, or Great Captains, or Great Campaigns." With its own Battle Series by veteran British general officers, Scribner's can sleep easily.

The Allies forged ultimate victory in Europe in the sputtering crucible of North Africa. But do we need another war history of the much-traveled dunes of Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and Tunisia? Not unaware of the immense existing literature, Brigadier John Strawson sets out not only to study the chieftains—a common approach—but also to dip into the recollections of warriors who fought the "bloody business." More important for the general reader, he traces changes in the nature and conduct of the battles that swirled across North Africa between 1940 and 1943. Although he uncovers no new sources, he breathes life into the fierce old battles, from Capuzzo to El Alamein, from Knightsbridge to Mareth. It is all very chivalrous (Rommel's *Krieg ohne Hass*), slangily British (the Axis "on a losing wicket, and . . . about to be hit for six"), and realistic (bully beef and biscuit, marmalade and tea, in tank laagers).

Strawson seems unacquainted with Warlimont's contribution to Jacobsen and Rohwer's work, Liddell Hart's *Other Side of the Hill* and his *Defence of the West,* and Marshal Harding's published lectures on Mediterranean strategy. Yet he is hardheaded and fair, accords full points to the Royal Navy, Malta, the RAF, and the Americans, and pens pithy vignettes of Churchill and the main commanders. His cameos of Montgomery and Rommel are memorable.

It is pleasing to have a very lively brigadier "in to tea" and to have him patiently unravel the tridimensional complexities with honesty and humor, verve and insight. His not least attractive quality is a familiarity with Dryden, Tacitus, and Shakespeare, as well as a more expected knowledge of Raglan and Wellington. From *Macbeth,* for example, Strawson borrows a lovely quotation to describe the later Rommel: his "way of life was falling into the sear, the yellow leaf."

Within brief compass, Brigadier Strawson has succeeded admirably. Intelligently illustrated and helpfully mapped, his modest volume deserves a place on the groaning bookshelf of World War II.

ALVIN D. COOX
San Diego State College

JOHN NEWHOUSE. *De Gaulle and the Anglo-Saxons.* New York: Viking Press. 1970. Pp. viii, 371. $8.50.

This is the most thorough and best-informed study to date of the decade of Gaullist foreign policy vis-à-vis Britain and the United States. Mr. Newhouse makes intelligent use of memoirs, the press, and the public record, such as it is. He has interviewed widely, especially in London and Washington, and he appears to have had access to unpublished documents, such as the British minutes of the 1962 Rambouillet meeting between Prime Minister Macmillan and President de Gaulle. The book then should serve as an important source for some time to come, whether one agrees with its central theme or not.

The author believes that it was never possible to do business with the General in terms of alliance politics as practiced by Washington and Whitehall during and after the Second World War. For de Gaulle, states molded by geography and history, not ideology, were the permanent realities of foreign policy. If Moscow could be gulled into managing its German policy in concert with Paris, then France could serve as the link and balance between America and Russia. NATO, nuclear sharing, the EEC were all marginal to this central aim; British membership in the Common Market might threaten it by stealing the leadership of Western Europe from France.

A very plausible case is made to support this analysis. The General often behaved as if he did not take the tripartite directorate idea altogether seriously, and it now seems clear that de Gaulle warned Macmillan at Rambouillet—before Nassau, the ostensible reason for the veto on British entry into the Common Market in 1963—that he would oppose England's admission into the Six. The author supports his argument with a wealth of detail and some very sophisticated detective work. He is particularly shrewd on the bureaucratic politics of Washington, slightly less convincing on Paris.

For all its merits, the book makes almost too good a case. Although Mr. Newhouse notes that the General was an inspired opportunist, ever ready to take advantage of the mistakes of his adversaries, and of his nominal allies, he tends to attribute to design some of what may have been accident or just "shaking the coconut tree." Since foreign policy was the *secret du roi,* it is difficult to get to the policy-making process. But there were perhaps greater strains in the machine than Mr. Newhouse allows—although President de Gaulle was more invulnerable to domestic political pressures than the leaders of other democratic states, he was not entirely immune. Moreover, there had always been a certain ambiguity in the Fourth Republic's relations with its allies, and that ambivalence was much intensified under the Fifth. De Gaulle appealed to a latent anti-Americanism in France, but this had sometimes been unwittingly fed from Washington. (It must have pleased him to threaten his own "agonizing reappraisal.")

Finally, the General emerges from these pages a somewhat unreal figure. Some attention is paid to his early background, none to his experiences between the wars, yet these were probably at least as crucial as the events of World War II. But the author can hardly be blamed, for de Gaulle's historical persona is largely a work of literary artifice. One waits with impatience for the last volume of *Memoirs,* more perhaps for their elegant style and imaginative sweep than for the light they may throw on events. Mr. Newhouse has done that job in this interesting and important work.

D. B. GOLDEY
Lincoln College, Oxford

ANCIENT

G. S. KIRK. *Myth: Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and Other Cultures.* (Sather Classical Lectures, Volume 40.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1970. Pp. xii, 299. $7.95.

This book is a valiant attempt to heal the breach resulting from anthropologists' knowing no Greek and classicists no anthropology. Kirk, a classicist, begins by rejecting universalist explanations of myth: not all myth is connected with gods or ritual; folktale is a distinctive species marked by interest in narrative and by ingenious solutions. Lévi-Strauss made a breakthrough by showing that the structure of myth is significant: it may reflect the

structure of the myth-making society or the behavioral attitudes of the myth-makers; myth provides a logical model that can overcome a contradiction, for example, between nature and society or life and death. Mesopotamian myths, wherein nature-gods develop into city-gods, emphasize the limits of human institutions; relate them to the natural environment; treat the natural and social order as inevitable and god-given; and juxtapose episodes to elicit conclusions about natural and human fertility, nature and culture, life and death. Gilgamesh, for example, learns to accept death. In Greek myth some Centaurs are good (civilized), some run amok; the Cyclops Polyphemus is in some aspects relatively civilized, in others, barbaric. Developed Greek myth as we meet it in Homer and Hesiod has twenty-four simple themes (pp. 187 ff.) that are reducible to eight basic concerns (p. 205)—gods, heroes, relations of men and gods, relation of mortality and immortality, the origin of evils (for example, senility or disease), family stresses, fertility, and eschatology. Victorians thought of Greek myth-makers as wallowing in primitivism; then Zeus said, "Let Thales be," and all was light. This is wrong. By Homer's and Hesiod's day (eighth century B.C.) myth had been reasonable for a very long time, seeking system and order in society; to think of prehistoric or primitive peoples as illogical is Romantic nonsense. Greek myths show a realistic fantasy perennially attractive to old and young, an important part of a coherent, developed, imaginative culture. Myths may be narrative (entertaining), operative (validating social institutions), or speculative (mediating between apparent contradictions). They are not merely the collective dreams of the tribe. They develop from narrative structure; symbolism is incidental. The speculative element is the most important; to evaluate it, we need to know more about the storyteller in nonliterate societies. This is a bold book, which will probably satisfy neither classicists nor anthropologists, but if they will keep open minds, both will be illuminated by it, as it is a significant contribution to the history of thought.

PAUL MACKENDRICK
University of Wisconsin, Madison

J. J. WILKES. *Dalmatia.* (History of the Provinces of the Roman Empire.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1969. Pp. xxvii, 572, 59 plates. $15.00.

This is an odd book. It shows great industry and is a major contribution to its field, but there are amazing gaps, and the total effect is blurred.

After a geographical outline there are five chapters of straightforward history from Greek exploration to Augustan conquest. Then come nine chapters describing elements of society under the principate—governors, army, natives, cities, upper classes, rural settlements, and trade. Twenty-three pages relate the history from 305 to 612, and fifteen appendixes document the sociological chapters. Abbreviations and bibliography fill twenty-five pages; indexes of persons, places, and subjects, forty; and there are forty-eight pages of photographs, most of them well chosen.

In sum, the book is a social history. There is very little on art and religion, while economics, government, political and military history are treated as framework to the study of the society, and the society is studied minutely—the army is examined almost man by man. The results, if not surprising, are at least more fully detailed and documented than ever before in English. Unfortunately, the method requires repetition, and statements and references recur in chapter after chapter. While the overall organization is clear, the presentation in the chapters jumps back and forth from place to place and period to period, goes through the whole of the principate on one page and back to the beginning on the next. The result is a blur, and the book is dull reading; but it is useful for reference.

It would have been more useful (since the social analysis is closely connected with geographical divisions) if the maps had not been inadequate and the geographical terminology inconsistent. Places appear under Latin names on one page, Italian, Turkish, or German on the next, and Slavic on the one after that. There are eleven maps with no index; one must hunt through all eleven to find that a place is not shown, and about one-third of the places mentioned are not.

Since this volume is the second of an important series, I hope the editors will consider the following facts. One good, big map in a

pocket at the end of a book is much better than a dozen small ones buried in the pages; it can show the relations between the elements —geophysical features, settlements, roads, political boundaries, military movements—that the little maps present in isolation and therefore fail to explain. For the history of a Roman province, a good road map with approximate dates of construction is essential, and this book has none. Floor plans should, when possible, show doorways. This volume is a clumsy, heavy hulk with long lines of print that are tiring to read. It could have been made lighter and more readable and could also have had larger maps and pictures, had it been designed as a small quarto with two columns of smaller type per page.

MORTON SMITH
Columbia University

MEDIEVAL

GEORGE GALAVARIS. *Bread and the Liturgy: The Symbolism of Early Christian and Byzantine Bread Stamps.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1970. Pp. xvii, 235. $10.00.

As the title indicates, this book deals with the bread stamps and the bread used in the rites of the Greek Orthodox Church. The work consists of a helpful introduction to the subject and four chapters entitled "From Pagan to Christian Bread Stamps," "The Eucharistic Bread," "The Eulogia Bread," and "Bread Stamps and Byzantine Liturgy." The final chapter constitutes the synthesis, "where the stamps and the bread they represent are discussed in the setting of the Byzantine liturgy."

Professor Galavaris made his fine synthesis with the coordination of several diverse disciplines—iconography, archeology, paleography, liturgics, theology, history, and literature. However, iconography, paleography, and contemporary usages were the primary means and tools used "to reach logical solutions to the various problems." Ninety-five illustrations, most of which are dated prior to the tenth century, help give the treatise clarity and precision.

Galavaris starts his discussion of the symbolism of bread stamps from the very beginnings of the Church and goes beyond 1453 to include some post-Byzantine and modern examples and thus give a more complete picture of the development of the use of bread in the Byzantine rite. But no Latin stamps were included, for these must by their very nature be studied separately.

Of particular interest to the ecumenists should be the statement made on the types of bread. "The same baking method and ovens were used by the Christians for both their daily bread and that which was to be used in worship. It must be made clear that . . . in the Early Christian centuries and in all eastern rites through the ages, except in the Armenian church, the bread used for the Church did not differ from ordinary bread in substance. From the beginning leavened bread was used" (p. 13).

The broadness of spirit in the Church is seen in the kinds of liturgical bread used and in the symbolism of the stamps. For example, the pagan *hygieia* bread survived in the form of the liturgical bread called *antidoron*. Insofar as the design of the bread stamps is concerned, although Canon 82 of the Trullan Council forbade the representation of the Lamb in iconography, to this very day one can see eucharistic stamps marked with the Lamb only.

Professor Galavaris has succeeded in making the bread stamps yield valuable information and also in making mute literary texts speak with the help of these stamps. His book should prove very useful and informative especially to students of art and liturgics. It is well written and carefully printed.

JOHN P. CAVARNOS
Portland State University

RUPERT VON DEUTZ. *De Victoria Verbi Dei.* Edited by RHABAN HAACKE. (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, Number 5.) Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger. 1970. Pp. lix, 474. DM 58.

In this new edition of *De Victoria Verbi Dei,* the third work of the author to appear in the series, Rupert of Deutz's masterpiece is published at last in a worthy version. Most of his writing is too prolix to make easy reading, but this work, written in 1124 when he was at the height of his powers, is his clearest and most systematic. It provides the student of intellec-

tual history with an excellent example of monastic historiography and of the Augustinian view of history as theodicy, in which the events of Biblical narrative expressed through the imagery of the Apocalypse and Daniel's vision are universalized. Beginning with Satan's prompting of the fall of the angels and proceeding through the attacks of pagan empires on the Jews and Nero's persecution of the Christians, the past is presented as a series of battles between Satan and the bearers of the Word, between the reprobate and the elect. Using the warriors of antiquity as its unconscious instruments for the preservation of the Jews until Christ could found the Church, the Word has destroyed six heads of the dragon of the Apocalypse, and these victories point forward to the eventual destruction of the seventh head, the Antichrist, and the end of time and history. The stages of the divine scheme are also shown to correspond to Augustine's progression of six ages as prefigured by the six days of creation; and recurring through all of them is the mysterious woman of the Apocalypse, bearing the son, whom the dragon tries to devour, but who always escapes: she is Mary bearing Christ and the Church, the spouse of God pregnant with his Word. Rupert's vision of history as theology teaching by examples was at once the culmination and the close of a rhetorical tradition far older than Augustine. It had suited the needs of a contemplative order. But the light of common day was already breaking in, and, by the end of the century, the prophets and the propagandists were to perceive the uses of history in building the City of God on earth.

BERNARD S. SMITH
Swarthmore College

FRITZ WERNLI. *Studien zur mittelalterlichen Verfassungsgeschichte.* Volume 1, *Die mittelalterliche Bauernfreiheit;* Volume 5, *Die Talgenossenschaften der Innerschweiz: Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Hundertschaften und Markgenossenschaften.* (Trübbach: the Author.) 1959; 1968. Pp. 58, xii, 226. 3.80 fr. S.; 17 fr. S.

In the past ten years Mr. Wernli has published a series of studies on the history of medieval *Verfassung*, a subject I am inclined to call "social structure" rather than "constitution." The series is more or less concentrated on the condition of free peasants in the valley communities of pre-Confederation Switzerland. In book 1 the author exposes his basic tenets, while in following books he presents detailed evidence on free men in the early Middle Ages ("Die Gemeinfreien des Frühmittelalters," book 2 [1960]) on the common landholding of the *Mark*-communities ("Zur Frage der Markgenossenschaft," book 3 [1961]), on the origin of village communities ("Der Hof Benken und die Entstehung der Gemeinden," book 4 [1961]), and finally in book 5 on the emergence of the Swiss Confederation.

In the studies under review, the author argues against the assumption that it was dominantly through forest-clearing (*Rodung*) that commoners were granted liberty; he asserts that there existed an "estate" (*Geburtsstand*) of free people who enjoyed personal liberty regardless of the land they held. They are distinguished from *advenae,* whose freedom stemmed from the mere fact that no lord claimed them. The specific evidence presented in the chapters on Uri and Schwyz is meant to support his thesis. He points out in particular that the majority of the inhabitants of the founding cantons retained their personal liberty into the late Middle Ages. In book 5 a summary of the birth of the Swiss Confederation emphasizes the conflict between the free constitution of the valley communities (*Talgemeinden*) and the seigneurial claims of the Habsburgs. Finally he elaborates, somewhat repetitiously, on the legal and administrative structure of Uri, Schwyz, and the slightly different condition of Unterwalden.

Mr. Wernli seems tireless in throwing the gauntlet to the "modern school" of historians, as he euphemistically terms those German scholars, who in the era of National Socialism embraced the *Führerprinzip.* He accuses them of having abandoned not only the politics of nineteenth-century liberalism but also the historical methods associated with it. He charges these historians (for example, Theodor Mayer) with twisting historical evidence to fit their ideology and of transferring the contemporary notion of the all-powerful state into the Middle Ages. His criticism is on many counts irrefutable; some quotes from writings published in the Third Reich (see, for example, book 1, p. 52 ff.) more than justify the

sharply polemical tone of his arguments. But the author seems to stretch his evidence when he implies that an "estate" of free men large enough to be socially or constitutionally significant survived in medieval Central Europe outside of limited and rather secluded areas. On the question of the *Mark* he tends to overlook the extensive controversies of the past few decades. Also, in his courageous defense of *bürgerlich* (read: liberal) historiography, Mr. Wernli fails to recognize that in the twenty-five years since the Nazi millennium, some of the historians rightly accused of ideological bias have given second thoughts to the problem of indigenous or royally granted liberty. Crusaders inevitably invite disagreement, but it is remarkable and regrettable that leading German periodicals failed even to comment on Mr. Wernli's work. His studies certainly deserve attention quite apart from their polemical value.

J. M. BAK
University of British Columbia, Vancouver

STEVEN RUNCIMAN. *The Last Byzantine Renaissance.* (The Wiles Lectures given at the Queen's University, Belfast, 1968.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1970. Pp. ix, 111. $3.95.

Sir Steven Runciman is unusual among Byzantinists; he is unusual because he has shied away from monographs, and the few articles he has written have been done upon requests in connection with the publication of some *Festschrift*. He has chosen rather to write narrative history, selecting subjects with a much wider appeal than that of the circle of specialists. For this he has on occasion been accused of superficiality, and there may be some truth in that charge; but in none of his works has he ever deviated from the tenets of sound scholarship or has he ever lost sight of the sources. All these things may be said to apply to his present book.

Sir Steven has compressed into four chapters (originally four lectures) what may be described as a general survey of the Byzantine Empire during the last three centuries of its existence, a period of political, administrative, social, and economic disintegration but at the same time one of intellectual and artistic vigor. He has examined in these chapters the various factors underlying the sad political, social, and economic conditions of the Empire; the principal issues, notably Hesychasm and the question of ecclesiastical union with Rome in which both politicians and intellectuals became involved; the intellectuals and scholars as personalities; and finally the achievements of their scholarship. Though not much is said about the art of the period, its general importance is duly emphasized.

There is nothing factual in the book that one may not find in Ostrogorsky, Krumbacher, Beck, Meyendorf, and others. It is, therefore, of little value to scholars. But the general educated public for which the book is really intended will find in its well-integrated narrative and in the generally sound observations of the author a good summary of what transpired in Byzantium in the realm of scholarship and in the work of the mind during the last three centuries of the Empire's existence.

PETER CHARANIS
Rutgers University, New Brunswick

MODERN EUROPE

MIROSLAV HROCH. *Die Vorkämpfer der nationalen Bewegung bei den kleinen Völkern Europas: Eine vergleichende Analyse zur gesellschaftlichen Schichtung der patriotischen Gruppen.* (Acta Universitatis Carolinae Philosophica et Historica, Monographia Number 24.) Prague: Universita Karlova. 1968. Pp. 171. Kčs. 20.

The Pioneers of the National Movements of Smaller Nations of Europe is an interesting attempt by Czech historian Miroslav Hroch at a comparative analysis of the historical strata of patriotic groups of some of these nations. In these days, when the community of historians—generally absorbed with the activities of great powers, with "great ideas and ideologies," and with artificial generalizations—is being forced to pay attention to the problems and longings of the hitherto generally ignored multitude of smaller nations and minority groups, Hroch's book is a contribution welcome on both sides of the so-called Iron Curtain. It is interesting to note that the book was published on the other side of the curtain, albeit still in 1968.

Hroch has attempted a Herculean task. There are, of course, no problems regarding sources.

During the last hundred years historians, both of nations without "previous history" (*geschichtsloser Völker*) and of nations that lost their independence in the Middle Ages, have produced a voluminous literature on the national awakening of their peoples. Their volumes have been written, however, for local consumption and often lack broader perspectives. The problem posed is the difficulty of locating and using these sources, which appear in a bewildering multitude of languages and are not mentioned in general guidebooks. One has to travel from country to country to locate materials and to find local people to translate them. One also has to develop a method for dealing with these sources.

Some of the peoples that struggled for national identity and independence were suppressed by one or several foreign powers that had taken over or partitioned their lands. Others were partly suppressed by their own aristocrats, who had been induced into the service of one or several foreign powers that had taken over their lands. In some countries local aristocrats assumed leadership of local national movements; in others local intelligentsia and a growing middle class played the role of national leaders. And in still other countries the pioneers of local national movements were actually sympathetic members of the foreign ruling class. The national movements became successful only in those countries, however, where the local agricultural population, forming the majority, joined the national struggle.

Hroch realizes that his volume (172 pages) is only an early attempt to create an over-all picture of the national struggle of smaller nations in Europe. His work has been very difficult and deserves our praise. He has given us much material and some interesting ideas. Some questions still have not been answered, however. In his study Hroch has examined the movements of national rebirth or national awakening among the Czechs, Lithuanians, Estonians, Finns, Norwegians, Flemings, and Slovaks. Unfortunately there is little or no information on similar movements among the Latvians, Irish, Welsh, Bretons, Basques, Albanians, White Ruthenians, Romanians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Jews, Georgians, Armenians, and so on.

A study of this sort is long overdue. It is particularly feasible in the United States, where we are not lacking in local talent in historians of a variety of national backgrounds, equipped with the knowledge of languages not in general use, and often intimately acquainted with the small countries of their origin and the development and special problems of these areas. Historians have to overcome, however, general indifference toward the historical development of smaller nations among their colleagues and the leaders of various research institutions. Their research activities need to be somewhat coordinated and systematized.

EDGAR ANDERSON
San Jose State College

P. A. ZHILIN. *Gibel' Napoleonovskoi armii v Rossii* [The Destruction of the Napoleonic Army in Russia]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Voennoi Istorii, Ministerstva Oborony SSSR.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1968. Pp. 403.

P. A. Zhilin, a general in the Soviet army and a professor of military history, has already contributed to the military understanding of the Napoleonic period with studies of the counteroffensive of the Russian army in the French invasion of 1812 and of the Russian defeat of the Turks in 1811. In his most recent work Professor Zhilin has undertaken a more comprehensive view of the Napoleonic invasion in 1812. He takes as his theme the decisive role played by the masses of the Russian people in the defeat of Napoleonic aggression. Despite the limits of the title, he sets the stage for the military story in some detail with an examination of the international situation on the eve of the war between feudal-monarchical Russia and bourgeois France and then proceeds to share the glory of the Napoleonic defeat equally between the guerrilla forces of the Russian people and the officers and men of the Russian army. Again, despite the seemingly restricted purview of the title, the author proceeds to a short but interesting examination of Russian military operations in Europe in 1813 and 1814.

The apparatus of the book may actually be its most helpful contribution to historians. The main work is preceded by a very useful fifteen-page historiographical survey of the Napoleonic campaign. The bibliography, after a rather extensive acknowledgment of Marxist-Leninist classics, reveals an extensive use of archival ma-

terial and provides a lengthy summary of printed documents and sources and a survey of the literature in the field. There is an index of proper names and an index of geographical locations. The book is well illustrated and provided with fine maps.

L. JAY OLIVA
New York University

ANGELO FILIPUZZI, editor. *Le relazioni diplomatiche fra l'Austria e il Granducato di Toscana.* Third Series, 1848–1860. Volume 5 (19 maggio 1856–12 maggio 1859). (Documenti per la Storia delle Relazioni Diplomatiche fra le Grandi Potenze Europee e gli Stati Italiani 1814–1860. Part 2, Documenti esteri. Fonti per la Storia d'Italia.) Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1969. Pp. 565. L. 5,500.

This volume, edited by one of Austria's foremost experts on Italian history, is the fifth in a series devoted to the publication of documents in the Viennese Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv dealing with diplomatic relations between Austria and Tuscany from 1848 to 1860. Twenty-five of the 314 documents and the enclosures in them are in German; six of the enclosures in the correspondence are in Italian and one is in English. All the rest of the letters and enclosures are in French. All but twenty-three of the letters are either reports from Baron Carl Alexander von Hügel, the Austrian minister at Florence, to the Austrian foreign minister, Count Karl Ferdinand Buol-Schauenstein, or instructions from the latter to the former. The rest are reports to the foreign minister from Baron Bartolomeo Testa, who was in charge of the Austrian mission in Tuscany from late July to the end of October 1856, when Hügel was temporarily away from the Tuscan capital.

The letters touch on various matters, such as internal affairs in Tuscany, the dispute between the grand duke and the pope over the appointment of an archbishop at Pisa, the building of railways in Tuscany, the state of the Tuscan economy, the "dangerous" activities of the Bible Society, British diplomatic policies, the activities of Mazzinian conspirators, and the vain efforts of the Tuscan government to obtain Austria's permission to issue a proclamation of neutrality immediately after war broke out in 1859. The most important documents in the volume, however, and the ones of greatest interest to the reader, are those that reveal the gradual breakdown of relations between Austria and Sardinia and France; the increasingly successful anti-Austrian propaganda tactics of the Piedmontese; and the maneuvers of the moderate, or constitutional, party in Tuscany to win support for Cavour's plans for Italian unification—maneuvers that proved to be successful in undermining the position of the weak and vacillating grand duke to the point where he was forced to leave Florence a few days after the Austro-Sardinian War started. As Hügel's reports make clear, until the very last both the Tuscan government and the Austrian minister seemed to be unable to comprehend the real strength of the nationalist, constitutional movement in Tuscany.

The volume has a good table of contents for all the documents and a useful index of names. It is a must for anyone seriously interested in studying the causes of the Austro-Sardinian War.

R. JOHN RATH
Rice University

WOLFGANG V. GROOTE and URSULA V. GERSDORFF, editors. *Entscheidung 1870: Der deutsch-französische Krieg.* Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1970. Pp. 403. DM 24.

In 1966, on the occasion of the centennial commemoration of the Prusso-Austrian War of 1866, the Militärgeschichtliche Forschungsamt in Freiburg, West Germany, brought out a volume of historical and military studies, *Entscheidungsjahr 1866,* which dealt with that event. Leading to the separation of Austria from the rest of Germany and preparing the way for the Prussian-led unification of Germany, 1866 was indeed a year of decision; the book thus centered on an important topic. The present symposium, which applies the same formula to the Franco-German War of 1870–71, is limited to the war as such and thus lacks a theme of equal significance. Regrettably, too, the contributions gathered in the present publication do not always measure up fully to the high standards set by its predecessor.

Of these papers perhaps the most interesting one is an analysis of the German military conduct of the war by Colonel Eberhard Kaulbach. Supplementing the findings of Michael Howard

in *The Franco-Prussian War* (1969), the essay provides additional material on the astonishing blunders committed by the German field commanders. Colonel Fernand Thiébaut Schneider, evaluating the military developments from the French viewpoint, reaches conclusions similar to those of his German counterpart. Both authors, moreover, while very critical of French military leadership, are agreed on the high caliber of the French rank-and-file. Concluding the discussion of military topics, an article by Joachim Hoffmann analyzes the views of Marx and Engels on national wars and the Franco-German War in particular. The study has no new insights to offer, but it provides a convenient survey of both men's thoughts on wars and armies within the context of their revolutionary objectives.

Among the nonmilitary topics, Ernst Samhaber's paper on the French war indemnity contains a great many unknown technical details. Samhaber also compares the arrangements of 1871 with the reparation payments imposed upon Germany after World War I, but in his indictment of the latter arrangement fails to take notice of the defense advanced by the French economist Etienne Mantoux in *The Carthaginian Peace or the Economic Consequences of Mr. Keynes* (1952).

Least helpful are the two essays by Leonhard von Muralt and Rudolf Buchner on the diplomatic causes and consequences of the war; they merely sum up familiar facts. A concluding paper by Julien Freund on new attitudes toward war after 1870 is a loosely organized collection of data, marred by errors of fact and interpretation. Anyone looking for an informative and integrated account and analysis of the Franco-German War will still find it in Michael Howard's work rather than in this volume.

ANDREAS DORPALEN
Ohio State University

ROBERT A. KANN, editor. *Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach—Dr. Josef Breuer: Ein Briefwechsel, 1889–1916*. Vienna: Bergland Verlag. 1969. Pp. 193, 15 plates. $2.75.

Europe's cultural life around 1900 is most richly preserved in correspondences. Its participants shared their several concerns through the mails more readily and more readably, by and large, than their counterparts of other periods. Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach's exchanges with Josef Breuer are an instructive instance. Breuer, a physiologist and a doctor, was Freud's forerunner in psychoanalysis against whose professional and private generosity Freud reacted with hate. Now Breuer turns out to have also been Ebner's literary as well as medical, indeed her all-around, consultant—one esteemed, beloved, and as a rule unheeded. From his prescriptions for her manuscripts and maladies, from his counsels on politics, religion, and esthetics, he emerges as a savant superlatively learned, clever, and humane. Toward him Ebner's matronliness gave way again and again to girlishness.

The historical interest of this correspondence is ill served by the present edition. Some surviving letters were omitted, others elided. At two junctures those printed are out of sequence (pp. 56–63, 145–46). Basic contextual indications are lacking, such as when the correspondents met. We are told only that they began corresponding in 1889, a fact that is bewildering in that the first letter printed is one of 1889 in which Ebner styled herself as Breuer's old friend. The textual notes are too sparse even for the specialist, except that on family matters they tend to redundancy. A *"Zeittafel"* provides comically scant biographic information. There is no index. And, meager as it is, the back matter contains inaccuracies and inconsistencies: thus Ebner's *Meine Kinderjahre* appeared early in 1905 according to the letters (pp. 70, 72), but in 1906 according to note 66 and in 1900 according to the *"Zeittafel."*

The introduction is in the main a neat gloss on the correspondence. It somewhat introduces Breuer; Ebner was considered to need no introduction. Ebner's picture alone adorns the jacket: she is the star. Breuer steals the show.

RUDOLPH BINION
Brandeis University

MARTHA BYRD HOYLE. *A World in Flames: A History of World War II*. New York: Atheneum. 1970. Pp. xxi, 356. $10.00.

The present work has some of the advantages and many of the disadvantages of any one-volume summary of a broad and complicated subject. Not everything can be covered in such a summary, so selection and emphasis are ex-

ceedingly important. There is no doubt that Mrs. Hoyle has provided us with a well-written, concise account of the military operations of the war. Whether, and to what extent, she makes use of nonmilitary material to make these operations—which, after all, were not conducted in a vacuum—more intelligible is another matter.

Thus the origins of the war in Europe are dealt with only superficially, and the important Allied-Soviet negotiations in 1939 are dismissed in two general sentences. Except in connection with Pearl Harbor, the role of military intelligence is not mentioned, even when it affected such major military operations as the invasion of Belgium and the Netherlands and the transfer of Soviet troops from the Far East to Stalingrad. Fifth Column activities are also overlooked. The omission of Operation Felix, the German plan for the invasion of Spain, could be justified on the grounds that it never materialized. On the other hand, a reference to it would have facilitated an understanding of Hitler's strategic dilemma in 1940 and would have illustrated the weakness of German armaments. This latter point, Germany's lack of military preparedness for a world war, is never mentioned by the author.

There is a nine-page bibliography of books in English, but there are no illustrations, and the maps provided are barely adequate.

GEORGE O. KENT
University of Maryland

RICHARD HEMMIG MEYER. *Bankers' Diplomacy: Monetary Stabilization in the Twenties.* (Columbia Studies in Economics, Number 4.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1970. Pp. xi, 170. $8.00.

This book, straddling the fields of economics and politics in a historical fashion, emerged from a dissertation under the auspices of the economics department at Columbia University, with liberal financial support from the Ford Foundation and with abundant scholarly facilities provided at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. That the "output" resulting from this "input" earned approval from high quarters is indicated by the fact that the author became chief of foreign research at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York.

Mr. Meyer prefaces his presentation with a plea for the comprehensive concept of "political economy" as understood before Adam Smith in 1776 brought forth *The Wealth of Nations,* the first modern treatise on economics. The subsequent demarcation into separate provinces for political scientists and economists, Meyer notes, has led frequently to excessively narrow specialization likely to cause neglect of the actual interrelationships between politics and economics, especially in the sphere of international affairs.

Meyer presents a case study of the monetary stabilization loan and credit negotiations of 1926–28 for Belgium, Italy, Poland, and Romania in that era when there was no International Monetary Fund to effectuate a comprehensive program. The negotiations were so conducted as to inflict divisiveness among central bankers, in part because the participants thought international politics and economics were separable. Another major difficulty was the *ad hoc* nature of the unilateral organization set up for each case, a type of setup increasingly used, although such transactions could have focused in part on established international agencies.

The precedent of combining a central bank credit with a stabilization loan was set in Belgium's case; and the entire negotiations for both the Belgian and Italian credits were handled by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York and the Bank of England, with other central bankers invited to participate on the strength of their trust in Benjamin Strong and Montagu Norman.

In Poland's case a foreign advisory commission prepared a comprehensive plan that served as the basis for the final effort, and the Bank of France cooperated with the Federal Reserve Bank in stabilization arrangements. But there was no doubt that the latter was the more responsible, and without its dominance Poland perhaps could not have obtained a central bank credit. In the case of Romania the Bank of France played the largest role, while "The Fed" was reluctant. In all cases mistrust and ill will between central banks was so generated that they did not manage to build a defense adequate to protect the economic structure they had extended; it collapsed with suspension of "sterling gold" payments in 1931. Meyer

perceives present tendencies to revert to disastrous devices of the twenties. He warns of the need to reinforce the basic institutions of international monetary machinery in recognition of the political nexus with economics.

JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS
University of Pennsylvania

WHITNEY R. D. JONES. *The Tudor Commonwealth, 1529–1559: A Study of the Impact of the Social and Economic Developments of Mid-Tudor England upon Contemporary Concepts of the Nature and Duties of the Commonwealth.* [London:] University of London, Athlone Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1970. Pp. xii, 253. $7.75.

The notion is hardly novel that the best—or perhaps the only—instructive parallel with the tribulations confronting mankind today is to be found in the upheaval of the sixteenth century. No American reader of Dr. Jones's *The Tudor Commonwealth, 1529–1559,* which deals with that "crisis period for Tudor England in an economic and social, as well as a religious and constitutional, context" can fail to be reminded frequently of the similarities between social situations separated by four centuries. His is a convincing analysis of the efforts of the groups whom he calls "Commonwealth's men" —"the More Group, the Cromwell Group and the later 'Commonwealth Party' in which Somerset, [John] Hales and Latimer were outstanding figures"—to delineate in print and to ameliorate by legislative or administrative process the ills of mid-Tudor England. Then, as now, conscientious thinkers in more or less close association with men in government tried to find remedies for the problems of society.

Dr. Jones's modest book establishes the frame of his subject in three succinct chapters concerned with the concept denoted by "commonwealth" in English history, the ideal "Commonwealth" of the Tudor period, and the identification of the "Commonwealth men." Then he deals with " 'Good Order and Obedience' " showing that "mid-Tudor England believed . . . revolt to be both illegal and damnable." There follows an analysis of the "Voice of Religion," which concludes that "the continuity of traditional concepts regarding economic and social standards and obligations remained almost wholly unaffected by any doctrinal innovation. . . ." Here Dr. Jones brings to bear upon his topic the plethora of controversial but important political writing that is too easily ignored except in monographic works, because only More's *Utopia* and Smith's *De Republica Anglorum* seem to stand out.

The heart of the book is the four chapters that take up different aspects of "The Social and Economic Problems of the Commonwealth." These are social stability (crime in the streets); poverty (unemployment); inflation; and the conflicting interests of agriculture, industry, and commerce. On all these topics Dr. Jones has fitted into his frame the data and conclusions set forth in many monographs and articles. The whole appears to signify a good deal more than the sum of its parts.

Finally there are chapters dealing with private liberties and public wealth and with the implementation of policy. There is an excellent bibliography of printed sources and of secondary authorities; there is no evidence that the author used manuscript materials.

While *The Tudor Commonwealth* does not sparkle with epigrams, it is well written. If Dr. Jones's accomplishment is not the disclosure of completely new evidence, his marshalling of very diverse sources and of essentially all modern studies on a neglected focus makes his book a stimulating addition to an understanding of the mid-Tudor crisis. Can we be confident that today's problems will be resolved as well as were the parallel ones of the sixteenth century?

JOHN H. GLEASON
Pomona College

WILLIAM P. HAUGAARD. *Elizabeth and the English Reformation: The Struggle for a Stable Settlement of Religion.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1968. Pp. xv, 391. $12.50.

CLAIRE CROSS. *The Royal Supremacy in the Elizabethan Church.* (Historical Problems: Studies and Documents, Number 7.) New York: Barnes and Noble. 1969. Pp. xiv, 15–239. $6.50.

It may be unfair to tax the two books under review with the faults of their respective genres, especially since each is a conscientious example of its type, but both suffer from some characteristic faults of their kind. Mr. Hau-

gaard has worked up a doctoral dissertation into a book when he should probably have condensed it into an essay. Miss Cross has added still another collection of documents to yet another series.

Of the two books, Miss Cross's, while slighter, is the more useful. She writes for a series that G. R. Elton, the editor, claims "combines genuine collections of documents with introductory essays long enough to explore the theme widely and deeply." The one without the other, he argues, is insufficient, and he is probably right. But whether a small book can sufficiently support two such enterprises is less obvious. In fact, Miss Cross supplies the reader with two introductions, each of about sixty pages: one on the royal supremacy in theory, the other on it in practice. Fifty documents follow, illustrating her themes. Needless to say, many are given in extract, in a few cases the merest fragments. Miss Cross is a conscientious writer; her essays are up to date in scholarship, fair, lucidly written, and well equipped with bibliographical citations. In the end, however, Professor Elton's claim is, publishers being what they are, something of a compromise. Neither introduction nor documents, but especially the latter, are entirely successful when the scale is too small.

Of Mr. Haugaard's book there is less justification, but this is not for lack of effort. Mr. Haugaard is a learned man, and he has labored diligently at his sources. He claims to supply new information and a new interpretation of the Elizabethan settlement. The new information is limited pretty much to the surviving documents of the 1563 Convocation. These he has examined in manuscript, and he shows in detail the inadequacy of Strype's transcripts, on which most scholars have hitherto relied. This research allows him to reconstruct the events of 1563, the most useful contribution of his book. Unfortunately, his reconstruction is buried in a text that attempts something more ambitious and that tends, along with the rather clumsy organization of the work, to obscure it.

Mr. Haugaard's thesis is avowedly apologetic. As a convinced Anglican, he thinks it important to show that the Elizabethan settlement resulted from a pure and consistent religious intention. This means that the queen must have had a clear, steady, and essentially religious purpose from the very beginning of her reign. Needless to say, this idea contradicts the received opinion (including that of Miss Cross) that Elizabeth's motives were at least as political as religious and that she was often indifferent and inconsistent in Church matters. Mr. Haugaard's method is not equal to his conclusions. He confines himself to the first years of the reign and considers the problem of religion almost entirely *in vacuo*. There is very little of Elizabeth, for whom religion was but one problem, and almost nothing of politics. Most seriously, Mr. Haugaard rarely describes a choice where he offers the whole range of circumstances affecting it. No wonder, then, that the Puritans or Precisions (Mr. Haugaard and Miss Cross are at odds on their terms also) are portrayed as being as consistent and inflexible as Elizabeth from the outset of the reign. Lost in Mr. Haugaard's thesis is the fluidity of sixteenth-century religious opinions and their interrelation with mundane causes. It is well to be reminded that religion mattered to the sixteenth century, but not at the expense of everything else. Mr. Haugaard's work may well have been an exemplary dissertation, but it is not the definitive reinterpretation that its title suggests.

JOSEPH M. LEVINE
Syracuse University

ROBERT W. KENNY. *Elizabeth's Admiral: The Political Career of Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, 1536–1624.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1970. Pp. xi, 354. $11.00.

Howard of Effingham, a capable commander in 1588, was often mistrusted, garrulous, and ineffective. Professor Kenny describes all this pleasantly enough, but at the end one is left to wonder whether biography is feasible when there is a paucity of autobiographical evidence. Analysis and narrative are different things, and the narrative of a man is not of necessity the narrative of his society. To some extent, the author slips between these stools. Biography may not be the best way of writing history, however attractive it can seem initially.

This book surveys the political career of a man who was an admiral for thirty years. Nautical affairs and tactics naturally receive only peripheral attention. An adequate impression of the landed man is provided, but that is all.

What are the alternatives? The county is crucial to an understanding of Elizabethan politics, but portrayal of Howard in this respect is sparse. Perhaps there was nothing more to say. Little is added to Neale's account of his early parliamentary career; sessions, Parliaments, and dates are confused, Howard even being returned at a nonexistent election (pp. 13, 22).

The author appreciates the absence of real distinction between the public and private business of a great office. Attention is paid to Howard's profits from the handling of the war and from his close supervision of the Admiralty. There are good things on the deterioration of this court during his later years and on the investigation of 1608, but notice of other institutions might have enriched the account. For all the excellence of existing work from Oppenheim to Andrews, we do not have an adequate study of the admiral and the Admiralty.

It is possible that a direct attack upon the institution might have been the best way of writing about Elizabeth's admiral. Instead his career is pegged onto familiar episodes—the Armada, the expeditions of the 1590s, and the revolt of Essex. Professor Kenny argues strongly for divergence, even hostility, between the admiral and other Howards, notably Northampton. He became one who belonged to no group whatsoever, but there is some hesitation as to whether this became clear before Salisbury's death in 1612 (pp. 313–14). Subsequent to Northampton's death in 1614 there may have been little bond with Suffolk, but perhaps this was not all that apparent to other politicians. Abbot, Buckingham, Coke, Ellesmere, and others receive only passing notice, but they are fundamental to an understanding of the pressures put upon Nottingham and Suffolk during their declining years. Failure to place the admiral in the context of his contemporaries affects consideration of politics. A greater institutional awareness might have provided a counterbalance, but this is lacking.

Professor Kenny is sympathetic to his subject, but he is never betrayed by pink spectacles. He has tried to explain Nottingham by following his links with politics and with an institution. It is questionable whether the sources are sufficient to sustain a biographic outline at this length. One wonders what the result would have been if the institution had been taken first and used as a means to explain the man.

W. J. JONES
University of Alberta

R. W. KETTON-CREMER. *Norfolk in the Civil War: A Portrait of a Society in Conflict.* Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books. 1970. Pp. 382. $11.00.

The late Mr. Ketton-Cremer admits at the outset that he is a biographer rather than a historian, and that it was the influence of his publisher that impelled him to write a narrative of Norfolk politics from the later 1630s to 1649 instead of a series of biographical studies. He is too modest. While providing some remarkable, even moving, portraits of prominent Norfolk men caught in the toils of civil war, he also manages to execute a sustained narrative of events that is a model for local history-writing treating county political rivalries. The author's skill as a narrator enables him to compress into less than four hundred pages the history of the civil war, its background and its consequences, in the local context of an important county that contributed principals to both sides of the conflict. The account is especially satisfying because of the prominence given the clergy; the chapters on Bishop Wren and the clergy in the 1630s and the parish clergy during the civil war are original contributions of great value. Indeed, if anything, Mr. Ketton-Cremer handles bishops and parsons with greater sureness than he handles peers and gentlemen; his analysis of the social structure and dynamics of county society lacks the rigor that recent scholarship indicates should be brought to the subject. This defect is particularly noticeable in chapter 2, on the lord lieutenant and the gentry; there he gives far too much prominence to the lieutenant and in dealing with the gentry seldom descends from a lofty level of generalization. Perhaps this is the inevitable price paid for narrative history, yet a historian with Mr. Ketton-Cremer's sense of the *genius locii* might have provided an unusually sensitive and searching appraisal of the county's society.

It would be churlish to tax Mr. Ketton-

Cremer with having relied too much on a Whiggish intrepretation of the political events of the period, but his tendency at times to weave in Clarendon's assessment of events without further critical analysis of those events is unfortunate. Miss Wedgwood has demonstrated how effectually political narrative can be written without leaning too considerably on traditional interpretative constructs; this study would have gained by following her example. Nonetheless, it is a fitting last work and a memorial to a zealous student of Norfolk. It will probably not be superseded very soon, not because it has preempted the field or because there is not much more to say about Norfolk, but because devoted local historians such as Ketton-Cremer are becoming fewer, and the once strong tide of professional academic interest in the local context of Stuart history appears to be on the ebb.

THOMAS G. BARNES
University of California, Berkeley

DONALD W. HANSON. *From Kingdom to Commonwealth: The Development of Civic Consciousness in English Political Thought.* (Harvard Political Studies, published under the direction of the Department of Government in Harvard University.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1970. Pp. xiv, 469. $15.00.

Mr. Hanson's theme is that civic consciousness—awareness of the public realm and of the individual as a political actor therein—was able to take shape in the English mind only during and because of the civil wars of the seventeenth century. Before that, political thought was inhibited by an intractable dualism—Hanson calls it "double majesty"—that located authority alternatively in the king and in a *populus* of magnates; the individual, compelled to relate himself to one or another of these and lacking conceptual sources for his own action, could not develop or assert consciousness of himself as a citizen. We may agree that something like an explosion of political consciousness occurred in the mid-seventeenth century, in respect both to the numbers of people rendered self-conscious and to the forms such consciousness could take, and that the kind of dualism Hanson identifies was in direct conflict with consciousness of this sort. But for some reason, he is determined to assert that before 1642 no mode of awareness other than the state of mind called "double majesty" was available to anyone, with the result that its collapse at the outbreak of civil war becomes the sole and sufficient explanation for the eruption of civic consciousness.

It is hard to believe this; there has been so much research into the Tudor and Stuart growth in political awareness—as the gentry became a parliamentary community, as humanism enlarged the content and transformed the concept of counsel, as England became an elect nation inhabited increasingly by puritan saints—that we now think of the Great Rebellion as occurring because there was more consciousness than the traditional structure could contain without dislocation. Hanson's "civic consciousness" is merely that which "double majesty" negates, and his account of its rise is therefore lacking in concreteness. It is suspicious that he can identify this "civic consciousness" only in the over-familiar, if always wonderful, figures of Lilburne, Overton, and Rainborough.

This distortion seems to have occurred because he is too much bent on vindicating the concept of "double majesty" by destroying the McIlwainian doctrine that medieval kingship was controlled by a body of customary fundamental law. Here he confuses the concepts of theory and ideology. Chief Justice Hengham on his bench knew very well how to change common law by statute, but Chief Justice Fortescue in his study was compelled by the medieval epistemology of reason and experience to present a theory of statute, inferior to custom in prudence while superior to it in authority. Hanson insists that the equation of common law with custom was the invention of early Stuart judges, while quoting (p. 384) a passage of my own to the effect that this could not have happened because the equation was built into the English mind at deeper levels. The point, however, is not our disagreement on this issue, but the impoverishment of what could have been a brilliant study by

the author's insistence on presenting it in the form of arbitrarily selected antinomies.

J. G. A. POCOCK
Washington University

GEOFFREY HOLMES, editor. *Britain after the Glorious Revolution, 1689–1714.* (Problems in Focus Series.) [New York:] St. Martin's Press. 1969. Pp. ix, 245. $7.50.

One of the first volumes in a series entitled Problems in Focus, this is a collection of ten essays, prefaced by an editor's introduction, dealing with a variety of issues in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century British history. Three of the essays concentrate on William's reign. Jennifer Carter argues that the change in the succession in 1689 did not necessarily imply the limitations subsequently imposed on the Crown by Parliament. The new constitutional relationship was determined by Parliament's resentment of William's policies and practices and by the exigencies of war finance and administration. G. C. Gibbs, in "The Revolution in Foreign Policy," credits William with making Britain a European power, while E. L. Ellis sees the reign as "dominated by a search for a degree of domestic stability that would enable England to maximise her military effort abroad" (p. 116).

Several articles deal with problems spanning the period from 1689 to 1714. Henry Horwitz provides a lucid review of the debate on the role of party; W. A. Speck argues persuasively that the conflict between the landed and monied interests was real and not simply rhetorical, as some historians have contended; and Angus McInnes finds no improvement in the lot of the common man as a consequence of the Revolution. G. V. Bennett writes of the conflict within the Church and of the political consequences of clerical discontent in the post-Revolution era. He traces the development of the High Church movement from its beginnings as an element in the country opposition to William to its demise in 1714, when, with the accession of the Hanoverians, all hope for a return to the old alliance between Church and state was lost.

T. C. Smout investigates the factors that disposed a Scottish Parliament hostile to England as late as 1703 to swing toward union in 1705–06 and is at particular pains to reject the view that the union was primarily a "political job." A. D. MacLachlan revises the traditional account of the Utrecht negotiations to assign Harley rather than St. John the pre-eminent role. And G. S. Holmes, discussing the collapse of the Tory party after 1714, concludes that, while the bitter conflict between Harley and St. John and the Tory split over the succession badly weakened the party, they need not have killed it. But the party suffered fatally from lack of leadership and neglect. Without direction or discipline it could not withstand the onslaught of the Whigs in the first years of the new reign.

Taken together, the essays, not surprisingly, portray the post-Revolution period as one of turbulence and change. What is interesting is the clear indication that this was as much a consequence of William's policies and the exigencies of a long war as of any particular constitutional and religious problems arising from 1689.

SHEILA BIDDLE
Columbia University

BARRY SUPPLE. *The Royal Exchange Assurance: A History of British Insurance, 1720–1970.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1970. Pp. xx, 584. $16.00.

Dr. Supple has set himself a formidable task. Not only has he written a history of the Royal Exchange Assurance from its inception in 1720 to the present, but he has developed the story of this durable firm into the far wider history of the British insurance industry as a whole. His achievement is great, for he has produced a very readable and superbly organized book of interest to the specialist as well as to anyone generally interested in British economic history. In a field where not a great deal has been written, this work improves upon Raynes' general history of British insurance while maintaining as high a standard in dealing with a single corporation as that reached by Wright and Fayle in their history of Lloyds.

From the emergence of the REA at the time of the South Sea Bubble, an excellent balance is maintained between broad synthesis and detailed examination. His generalizations deal often with major controversies. For ex-

ample, he buttresses the "conventional view of the industrial revolution as a sharp discontinuity occurring in the late eighteenth century." The Victorian years of the REA are depicted as a process of alternating between traditional insurance patterns and innovations (such as loans to London builders in the 1840s that would have been "looked upon as reckless earlier"). The story of the REA both as a pioneer in accident insurance and as a leader between 1890 and 1914 in the drive for large composite offices is very well done.

Some of the best sections deal with the overseas operations of the REA—the selection of agents, the appointment of supervisors, the controls exercised from London over branch offices, the impact of the San Francisco earthquake. In these sections as well as in the chapter, "The Establishment 1838–1914," we begin to know some of the people who were a part of REA. These insights provide excellent social history. Indeed, one wishes even more could have been said about the clerks, directors, and others who gave REA its identity. Surely we could have learned more of, say, directors' attitudes toward such issues as free trade, the rise of labor, or the Great Depression. These reservations are minor, however, for this is a very valuable and essential study.

RICHARD A. REMPEL
University of South Carolina

CLIFFORD MUSGRAVE. *Life in Brighton: From the Earliest Times to the Present.* Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books. 1970. Pp. 503. $20.00.

The first sentence of the foreword (p. 7) reads: "My primary purpose in writing this book has been to provide a reliable and comprehensible history of Brighton from the earliest times to the present day." It seems, therefore, fair to judge this book as a history. It must be noted, however, that the author is not a historian but a highly successful and competent museum curator. His other books deal with furniture, the Brighton Pavilion, and similar subjects.

Certain grave shortcomings of the book must, unfortunately, be noted. It is not always accurate. In reference to the winter of 1793–94 it is stated (p. 112): "As Napoleon's flat bottomed boats. . . ." French possibly, but Napoleon's, no. It is often vague and incomplete. There are references to increases and decreases in population, but in the first half of the book there are no figures. For example, toward the end (p. 375) there is a statement that the "normal population" increased during the First World War "by 30,000 newcomers who established themselves permanently in the town." At last, two pages later, there are some exact figures: 131,237 in 1911 and 134,790 in 1921. What happened to the thirty thousand? It is stated (p. 417) that "the Council's resources were already stretched to the uttermost" and again (p. 422) that "the Council, themselves, were becoming acutely aware of their financial difficulties." There is, however, no discussion of revenue and its sources or of expenditure. There is, indeed, nothing about government. The short chapter on William IV concludes with the statement (p. 237): "After a comparatively uneventful reign" he died. Was the Reform Act, even in Brighton's terms, uneventful? Brighton was created a parliamentary borough and given two members. This is not mentioned. Was there no local interest or excitement? There is a chapter entitled "Early Social Movements." It sweeps from 1828 to 1929 in two pages! This is ridiculous. Either the subject deserves no mention or a more serious treatment.

The book is not a history. What then is it? About half the space is given to a description of buildings: hotels, houses, churches, windmills, theaters, railroad bridges, piers, and, of course, the Pavilion. This is a subject the author obviously knows, but the treatment here is marred by too great inclusiveness, unusable maps (photographs of maps are too small to be serviceable), and the jumbled arrangement of photographs, for example, a house of 1880 (p. 256) over one hundred pages before a crescent of 1797–1806 (p. 384).

The author could, no doubt, write a fascinating guide to Brighton, but this book is neither history nor guide; it is merely long.

GEORGE WOODBRIDGE
Barnard College

P. J. MARSHALL and JOHN A. WOODS, editors. *The Correspondence of Edmund Burke.* Volume 7, *January 1792–August 1794.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1968. Pp. xxvi, 615. $16.00.

With this seventh volume, excellently edited by Mr. Marshall and Mr. Woods, the great enterprise of the *Burke Correspondence* is in sight of completion. In August 1794 Burke was offered a pension and given assurances, which were never fully implemented, that his financial anxieties would be ended. This was a testimony at once to the fact that his active career was known to be nearly over and to the fact that he had become an institution.

The bulk of the letters to and from Edmund Burke and the interesting correspondence of his son Richard are published here for the first time, and they reveal Burke's increasing gloom, his difficulty in fitting his old enthusiasms for justice in India and Ireland to his overwhelming desire for an ideological crusade against revolutionary France. Many of the comments on the Irish situation have a contemporary ring. "The Protestants of Ireland are just like the Catholicks—the Cat looking out of the window and the Cat looking in at the Window—The difference of being in or out of power is the only difference between them; and power is a very corrupting thing; especially law and jobbish power—This makes the Protestants a triffle worse" (p. 101). Burke longed to confirm the established churches in both countries; the Whigs could not ally with the English Dissenters, but the Irish Catholics should act with Irish Dissenters. Yet no Catholic could take up Jacobinism and keep his Christianity.

Revolution in France was so destructive to the historical roots of institutions that nothing but all-out war was possible. Burke was at first unheeded, but when the war situation deteriorated he regained the ear of the British government; he saw Portland swallow his deep distrust of Pitt and come finally into a coalition. Of this Burke had almost despaired, and Fox appears the more villainous the longer he delayed Portland's return to office. Against Fox, Burke championed "those aristocratick principles, and the aristocratick interests connected with them . . . to which all names of party, all Ranks and orders in the State, and even Government itself ought to be entirely subordinate." The contrast between this and the vehemence with which Edmund and his son Richard denounced the Protestant puddingheads in Ireland is one of the unconscious humors of a fascinating volume.

W. R. WARD
University of Durham, England

WINIFRED GÉRIN. *Horatia Nelson.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. xiv, 350. $10.50.

This first biography of the daughter of Vice-Admiral Horatio, Lord Nelson and Lady Hamilton is based upon extensive research and is obviously the product of considerable effort. The author brings together a large cast of characters and a remarkable display of documentary evidence. Yet despite its virtues as a scholarly production, the book suffers from several flaws. The author's use of direct quotation is decidedly excessive and not infrequently repetitive. The book's greatest weakness, however, is that it does not succeed as a biography. Horatia Nelson did not lead a particularly exciting or unusual life—at least, not after the death of Lady Hamilton—nor was she (outside her family circle) a particularly interesting individual. The author, of course, cannot help her subject's lack of intrinsic interest, which she tacitly acknowledges in the final paragraph when she states that Horatia's "claim on our interest" is as the beloved daughter of Lord Nelson. The author is responsible, however, for devoting the first two-thirds of her book so exclusively to Lady Hamilton. Spending more than two hundred pages to bring a rarely seen child up to the age of fourteen might have been justified as a biographical device had those years been crucial to her personality or her future. But the author herself disposes of that excuse by stating that "the worst effects" of Horatia's "recent trials could be effaced. Only occasionally . . . did the shadow of the past fall again upon her."

The book might have succeeded better had it been presented as a study of the Nelson "connection," for all the various relations are here. Except as yet another exposé of Lady Hamilton, the book's chief interest will lie in its depiction of the comforts and uncertainties,

the close family ties and the frequent intermarriages, of a middle-class English family.

MARY B. WICKWIRE
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

A. ASPINALL, editor. *The Correspondence of George, Prince of Wales 1770–1812.* Volume 5, *1804–1806.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 561. $23.50.

The fifth volume in the standard edition of the correspondence of the Prince of Wales covers the period from the formation of Pitt's last ministry in May 1804 to the dissolution of Parliament in October 1806. Professor Aspinall has predictably carried out the tasks of editorship with the same skill and impeccable scholarship that marked his earlier volumes in this series and in the standard edition of the later correspondence of George III recently completed. Together with his earlier edition of George's correspondence as prince regent and king, Aspinall's achievement supplies the specialist in late Georgian history with a remarkable body of material that should generate fresh biographical inquiries and pose new political questions for years to come.

In the short period covered in the present volume the prince's personal and political life, as usual, were inextricably bound together in a manner that weakened both. Surely one of the saddest victims of the reversionary interest in Georgian politics, he was doomed to petty victories and grand defeats in his nominal leadership of a section of the opposition.

Fox was the force that kept the Prince of Wales close to principle in his political intrigues. But it was the personality of Fox more than the Whiggery of Fox that sustained George for more than two decades of opposition. He was perhaps ready in 1804 to support Pitt on his return to office. But the king's refusal to approve Fox for a post in the ministry turned the prince into an almost frenetic opponent of the returned first lord. Having been parties to the fall of Addington, the prince's friends now turned as vehemently against Pitt. Feeding on acrimonious disputes within the royal family, they encouraged the prince to become more apparently a partly leader.

The strained relationship between George III and his heir never lacked new and unpredictable divisions to keep it evergreen. There were disputes over the education of the Princess Charlotte. There were charges of bad faith due to the king's visits to the Princess of Wales. And there was deep resentment over the king's refusal to grant Prince George the military rank that Carlton House thought was suited to the prince's exalted civil station.

The carefully selected letters that make the present volume demonstrate the trivial nature of many of the prince's political concerns, his interest in place and peerages and baronetcies for his friends, the absence of a deeper responsibility that his maligned father had to an extraordinary degree. But one also sees the prince as a loving brother, especially to his devoted sisters, and as a man who perhaps wanted to be a dutiful son. The prince was a victim of high principles that he never fully understood and of a friendship that was to leave him personally and politically bereft when Fox died in September 1806. This dependence was succinctly described in George's letter to Lord Holland the day before Fox's death. "What am I then to do without my friend, my supporter & such a friend & such a supporter too. 'Tis too much, too much indeed, indeed, my dear Holland; it is not only a wiser line for me, but it is my earnest wish & desire to mix no further in the political sphere . . . I have neither health nor spirits to contend without his assistance. . . ."

Fox had supplied the royal rebel with a cause and had given George the countenance of patriotism in his conflict with George III. The high hopes raised by the death of Pitt in January were dashed by the death of Fox nine months later. It is no small part of Aspinall's superb achievement that the historian can now browse his way through this transformation in the fortunes of the future George IV.

GEORGE B. COOPER
Trinity College, Hartford

A. ASPINALL, editor. *The Later Correspondence of George III.* Volume 5, *January 1808 to December 1810.* (Published by authority of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1970. Pp. lvii, 896. $45.00.

The publication of this fifth volume of the later correspondence of George III covering the years

from 1808 to 1810 marks the completion of one of the ambitious editorial projects of this generation. Beginning in 1783 where the six volumes of the early correspondence of George III, edited by Sir John Fortescue, ended, Professor Aspinall's five volumes cover the years from the beginning of Pitt's long administration to the king's insanity in 1810. The editorial skill so strongly manifested in the first four volumes has been maintained in this final one. Unlike the letters in the earlier volumes, which were mostly in the king's handwriting, these, because of his blindness, were written by his private secretary, Sir Henry Taylor.

In this enormous volume of more than 950 pages, the editor devotes 42 pages to the introduction, 637 to the correspondence, 68 to five appendixes, and 186 to a comprehensive index to volumes 1 to 5. The introduction is of value and interest not only to specialists in the reign of George III but to all who wish to understand the structure of politics in Britain during the depressing years from the triumph of Napoleon in 1807 to the revival of hopes with the first victories in the Peninsular War. So valuable is this introduction that I would like to express the hope that the editor and publishers will make available in a separate volume all of the introductions in this set.

One of the most valuable features of the editorial work lies in the fact that these volumes are not limited to a mere reproduction of the letters that George III received and of his answers, if copies were kept, in the Windsor Castle Archives. In the period covered in volume 5 Sir Henry Taylor kept copies of most, if not all, of the letters he wrote for the king. Professor Aspinall has dredged with most exemplary diligence all available papers of prominent men who play either an important or small part in this correspondence. The result is the incorporation in this volume as well as in the four preceding ones of much relevant material from archives other than those in Windsor Castle. As I worked on the originals of the Windsor Correspondence in Windsor Castle and the typescripts of Sir John Fortescue in the Clements Library in Ann Arbor, Michigan, the advantage that the work of Professor Aspinall gives present day research scholars seems enormous.

Considerable space is given in both the introduction and the correspondence to the friction in the government in 1808 and 1809 over the conduct of the war, to individual jealousies, to the Walcheren disaster, to the clash between Castlereagh and Canning that led to the famous duel and to the breakup of the Portland ministry, to the difficulties of Perceval in forming a government, to the illness of the Princess Amelia, and to the reactions of Parliament, the ministers, and the king to the scandal of Mary Anne Clarke and the Duke of York.

In conclusion I would like to repeat a hope previously expressed in reviewing one of the earlier volumes in this series that Professor Aspinall or some other talented editor would do for the correspondence of George III from 1760 to 1783 what he has done for the years 1783 to 1810. To be of value it would be necessary to employ the technique that Professor Aspinall used and not that which Sir Lewis Namier found so objectionable in Sir John Fortescue.

DONALD GROVE BARNES
Case Western Reserve University

RHODES BOYSON. *The Ashworth Cotton Enterprise: The Rise and Fall of a Family Firm, 1818–1880.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. xviii, 285, 7 plates. $9.00.

Dr. Rhodes Boyson focuses with great clarity and skill on a classic cotton enterprise of the English Industrial Revolution and on a classic example of the Manchester-School type of messianic industrialist-protagonist Henry Ashworth (1794–1880). The man and the family business both approach the ideal-type of their period and locale. The book gives us far more than its modest title suggests.

Richly detailed company records enable Dr. Boyson to show entrepreneurial decisions as they were actually made. Balance sheets, returns on capital, concrete details on factory work, and life in Ashworth's semifeudal mill village and schools are all laid out admirably for the reader. We see how the firm was organized and financed; how shrewd purchasing and effective management control transformed an obscure family mill of 1818 into two showplace modern factories of international repute,

known for "model" treatment of their 1,000 workers and for achieving a sixteen-fold growth in capacity by 1834—a partial inspiration for Disraeli's *Coningsby* and *Sybil*. Expansion was financed in Victorian textbook fashion out of retained earnings, with an occasional out-of-family loan at 4.5 per cent. Ashworth's made profit in good years and bad until the late 1830s when a maturing industry saw too many firms competing for falling profits.

From the Bolton election of 1837 on, Henry and his brother Edmund became increasingly involved in Radical-Liberal politics. Henry was a Quaker utilitarian; "enlightened self-interest" was for him a law like gravitation. He never budged from laissez-faire capitalist orthodoxy. His superb confidence in the superiority of the manufacturing classes—owners and workers—made him a leading spokesman and publicist for his own self-interests. His own sons were sent not to Eton but to the factories; four out of five daughters even married into industry. President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, friend of Cobden, brother-in-law of Bright, champion of free trade, public education, and the franchise, bitter opponent of factory acts, corn laws, colonies, trade unions, and landlords, Henry's vision of the world was integrated and whole. The mill owners, workers, small farmers, tradesmen, and artisans had a close identity of interests, threatened by those Tory oligarchs, the landlords.

Ironically, Henry's absorption in politics brought his neglected cotton mills almost to ruin by 1847. They recovered under his able sons; but Henry's ideas were rapidly bypassed by structural change. He lived to see the workers vote for the Tories—the party of landlords and of his old factory acts opponent Lord Ashley, who in 1844 had expressed such strong fears that Henry was educating his millworkers above their station.

Dr. Boyson's monograph lacks only a general conclusion. It is an important and fascinating study—organized, compact, lucid—the work of a craftsman.

PETER D'A. JONES
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GEORGE FEAVER. *From Status to Contract: A Biography of Sir Henry Maine 1822–1888*. New York: Humanities Press. 1969. Pp. xx, 366. $11.00.

Maine's posthumous reputation has not really matched his contemporary reputation as an outstanding legal historian, one of the leading Victorian critics of democracy, and an Anglo-Indian official who left his mark on Indian law and policy not only through his membership in the Viceroy's Council from 1862 to 1869 but also through his theories of early society and social change. In *Ancient Law* (1861) Maine struck a vein that, for diverse reasons, his contemporaries were anxious to exploit in a variety of ways. *Ancient Law,* with its central intuition that there were essentially two social types, based respectively on status and contract, and that progress was essentially the transition from the former to the latter, became a seminal work in jurisprudence, historiography, sociology, and anthropology. In political theory Maine combined a belief in the necessity of a governing elite—not merely of expertise but of experience, which implied for him an apologia for aristocracy—with a firm commitment to the open commercial society based on freedom of contract. Maine disdained tradesmen in government, yet based his notion of the progressive society on the commercial rather than the patriarchal virtues.

Maine is personally an unattractive figure, arrogant yet colorless, irritable and priggish, anxious to combine the habits of a scholar with the dignities of a public servant. The posthumous memoir by M. E. Grant Duff was jejune, and his wife burned many of his personal papers. That Dr. Feaver's painstaking biography has not been able entirely to surmount these drawbacks is by no means the author's fault. The extent and perseverance of his researches make his claim that it is unlikely that much remains to be discovered a credible and modest one. On Maine's more theoretical work he provides a penumbra of useful information rather than any substantially new light, but in two major respects he has been able to go beyond this. Aided by the ample files of the India Office, Feaver provides a full and interesting reconstruction of Maine's work and thinking on Indian questions, which is not only intrinsically important but establishes

more clearly than hitherto the relations between it and his more general juristic and political ideas. Second, by tracing the origins of Maine's conservative polemic, *Popular Government* (1885), in his articles for the *St. James Gazette,* Feaver has been able to reveal fully the roots in contemporary politics of the opinions to which Maine later attempted to give a more general "philosophic" form.

J. W. BURROW
University of Sussex

C. J. BARTLETT, editor. *Britain Pre-eminent: Studies of British World Influence in the Nineteenth Century.* (Problems in Focus Series.) [New York:] St. Martin's Press. 1969. Pp. 200. $6.00.

Britain Pre-eminent is a collection of interpretive essays on British world influence in the nineteenth century. The editor, C. J. Bartlett, has managed to assemble eight well-written pieces: Peter N. Stearns, the sole American contributor, writes on the spread of industrialism; S. G. E. Lythe describes Britain's financial predominance; D. F. Macdonald explores the "great migration" of Englishmen overseas; Kenneth Fielden discusses the rise and fall of free trade in England, as well as the effort to persuade the world of its scientific and moral validity; the export of the British parliamentary system is D. R. Watson's subject; and that of a humanitarian concern for the abolition of slavery and the welfare of native peoples is Oliver Furley's; and there are two concluding essays, one on the British Empire by Donald Southgate; and, finally, one on British diplomacy in the nineteenth century by the editor. Such a broad view of the character of the *Pax Britannica* is certainly more satisfying than the traditional British Empire course curriculum of one or two generations ago.

A reader can, of course, always find gaps in a collection of this sort, both within individual articles and in the overall conception, and this is inevitably the case in a pioneer enterprise. An entire chapter, for example, might have been devoted to the special relationship of Great Britain to its Indian empire, upon which much of British pre-eminence in the nineteenth century rested. The editor is aware of the need for a chapter on Great Britain's cultural impact, and its absence is unfortunate. Almost all of the essays fail adequately to take account of Britain's eighteenth-century pre-eminence, upon which its nineteenth-century successor built, a pre-eminence that caused a noted French historian to speak of the first half of the earlier century as that of "la prépondérance anglaise."

Certainly it would have been good if the subtler forces behind the fabled British self-confidence, upon which both England's empire and pre-eminence so substantially rested, had been explored. In 1899 Jan Smuts observed that "the dominion that the British empire exercises over the many tribes and peoples within its jurisdiction rests more upon prestige and moral intimidation than upon true military strength." Nor was it only within the formal empire that this "prestige and moral intimidation" was successfully exerted. In both hemispheres, the assertion of English superiority, although resented, was grudgingly acknowledged as having a certain justification. A pathetic remnant of the pose appears in one of the essays in this volume in the tattered jibe that "in America, indeed, a sort of English was the official language and the lingua franca." But this is an unhappy parody of the quality that needs probing.

BERNARD SEMMEL
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L. K. YOUNG. *British Policy in China, 1895–1902.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. x, 356. $9.95.

This is diplomatic history written in the old style. Mr. Young has not only thoroughly explored the appropriate Foreign Office papers but has also made use of Chinese printed materials, which give his account added interest and authority. This is particularly true of his treatment of the Boxer Rebellion, its internal and foreign causes, and its diplomatic aftermath. The author has, moreover, corrected and expanded even recently published accounts of this complex stage in Britain's changing imperial position. Mr. Young underlines the shifts in Lord Salisbury's thinking and diplomacy.

After first encouraging French and Russian commercial expansion in the Far East to relieve tensions elsewhere, the prime minister found it increasingly difficult to maintain that balance between encouragement and restraint that characterized his diplomacy in China until the "concessions war" in 1898. Even then, the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1899 was Salisbury's preferred policy until the Boxer Rebellion made its continuation untenable. It was Salisbury rather than Lansdowne who first looked to Tokyo for assistance. By early 1901, the former had fully understood that it was the Japanese and not the Germans who would provide the least dangerous means by which the Russians could be checked and British interests maintained in the Far East.

One sometimes wishes Mr. Young had not interpreted his brief so narrowly. He often fails to develop lines of argument that would give his book an added dimension of importance. He writes, for instance, of the pressures brought by the China Association and by British commercial firms on the Salisbury government, and he describes the latter's response to these appeals. Though the details are given, no general conclusions are offered on the changing balance between economic and political factors in Britain's Far Eastern diplomacy. Again, Mr. Young provides a good deal of new information on the relations between London and its local agents—those diplomatic, consular, military, and naval officials who even in this period enjoyed a large measure of independence. But the threads are not brought together either in the body of the book or in a concluding chapter.

This is a work for the specialized reader who will find in it the necessary materials for an understanding of Salisbury's China policy but only limited assistance in interpreting the wider context in which it must be placed.

ZARA STEINER
Cambridge University

S. W. ROSKILL, editor. *Documents Relating to the Naval Air Service.* Volume 1, *1908–1918.* (Publications of the Navy Records Society, Volume 113.) [London:] the Society. 1969. Pp. xxii, 790. $11.30 postpaid.

The Naval Records Society is to be congratulated on sponsoring this volume, for it contains much background material both on the Admiralty side of the Royal Naval Air Service and on the creation of the Royal Air Force in 1918. One hopes that the Air Historical Branch or the RAF Museum will now produce companion volumes on the War Office/Royal Flying Corps side of the business to parallel the two Roskill volumes.

The volume now before us contains but snippets on operations. Students using this in conjunction with the Marder volumes will nevertheless be able to gain a considerable insight into the way things actually worked during the First World War.

Given the obvious value of the materials, it is a pity that issue must be taken with the editing. There is not a very large collection of books on the subject, but the footnotes make it obvious that the editor is not familiar with most of them. Nor is it sufficient in editing aged, semitechnical materials merely to identify the principals, and then often only from the naval view. (Pemberton Billing, for instance, was also an aircraft manufacturer; and what is a Davis gun?) More seriously, the editor takes the view that Sir Murray Sueter, the farsighted pioneer of naval aviation, was the naval villain behind the creation of the RAF. This is highly questionable. By naval standards he was disloyal because he questioned the Admiralty's stand, yet the Admiralty was hostile to the Air Boards, and this alone was enough to cause the amputation of the RNAS from naval control. The real trouble with Sueter was that he was dynamic, inventive, and right at a time when naval administration was moribund. If he wrote anonymously for the newspapers, so did Jacky Fisher. Roskill's undocumented account of Sueter's demise has an entirely different chronology from the one Sueter gave me in 1959, the latter making more sense.

Lastly, the editor claims in the second sentence of the book that the RNAS did not come into being until eleven months after the start of the war, when in fact, in spite of Hankey's ignorance of the matter, it was established by Royal Warrant on July 1, 1914, a hint of which is given on page 162 by Sueter, who copied the naval pilot's brevet from his wife's brooch.

The second volume should have fewer weaknesses as the editor will know the field better.

ROBIN HIGHAM
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Vignobles et vins d'Aquitaine: Histoire—économie—art. (Actes du XX^e^ congrès d'études régionales, tenu à Bordeaux les 17, 18, et 19 novembre 1967.) Bordeaux: Fédération historique du Sud-Ouest. 1970. Pp. 446.

Vignobles et vins d'Aquitaine is a collection of twenty-four papers presented at the XX^e^ Congrès d'études régionales held at Bordeaux in 1967 under the auspices of the Fédération historique du Sud-Ouest. The Fédération would appear to be an unusually useful organization that has achieved a happy collaboration, reflected in this book, between the University of Bordeaux and libraries, archives, and historical societies in its circumscription. It has already given us six scholarly and handsome volumes of a projected eight-volume *Histoire de Bordeaux,* and in the introduction to *Vignobles et vins d'Aquitaine,* Professor Charles Higounet, who is also general editor of the *Histoire,* tells us how the Fédération systematically blocks out areas for investigation and research. This much said, it should come as no surprise that the papers presented in this book are not *pièces de circonstance;* rather they are careful preliminary explorations of hitherto neglected archival or other primary sources. This does not mean they are all of equal interest or significance or that coverage is comprehensive, even though periods represented stretch from classical antiquity to the eve of World War II. Still, the reader of this book will have a clear idea of the evolution of the Bordeaux vineyard and the hinterland vineyards of the Dordogne and Garenne valleys, Perigueux, and Béarn. A theme that emerges is the growth of Bordeaux's vineyard at the expense of the others, and many aspects of this transformation—economic, social, political, and technical—are touched on or, in some cases, described in detail.

It is always difficult in a collection of this scope to single out individual essays, but with the less specialized reader in mind, it is worthwhile to call attention to Mme Higounet-Nadal's "Le vignoble et le vin à Perigueux aux quatorzième et quinzième siècles," which has a broader interest for students of the economic and social history of the Middle Ages than its title might indicate. Students of trade regulation will welcome Francis Loirette's "Colbert, le privilège de Bordeaux et le commerce des vins du Languedoc dans la seconde moitié du dix-septième siècle," which will remind them how pervasive and entrenched local privilege was, even in the face of a determined adversary. From a more strictly viticultural point of view, Loirette's essay also reminds us that in the seventeenth century Bordeaux wine did not have a natural competitive edge over the wines of the now less-appreciated and much reduced vineyards of the Aquitainian hinterland. As some other essays in this book point out, it was the capital and the entrepreneurship of the city and the techniques these engendered that put the Bordeaux vineyard ahead of competitors in the hills and valleys of Quercy and Perigord, where growing conditions could be more favorable. This climb of the Bordeaux vineyard to superiority and the birth of its *grands crus* are interestingly chronicled in R. Pigassou's "La viticulture bordelaise dans la deuxième moitié du dix-huitième siècle," a study that is based in part on private archives.

With wine entering a larger national and international market in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the essays dealing with this later period tend to emphasize the political as much as the economic and social aspects of winegrowing. Thus, Pierre Hourmat's study of the winegrowers of the Basses-Pyrénées and the crisis of 1827–29 describes a pattern of protest that was to endure, grow, and ultimately lay the blame for everything except bad weather at the feet of the government. In the tradition of much recent research Jean-Claude Drouin aims at showing a relationship between the socio-economic structure of the Bordeaux vineyard and voting patterns in the 1849 elections, while Christiane Mora suggests the influence of Dorgères' *Front paysan* on the protest movement of the Bordeaux winegrowers during the crisis of 1929–36. Nearly a score more essays are divided between those with some general interest and others with a more narrowly viticultural emphasis. The preceding sample is intended to show the range of topics and periods covered in *Vignobles et vins d'Aquitaine.* It is an indis-

pensable book for viticultural historians and a valuable one for readers concerned with the economic and social history of France.

CHARLES K. WARNER
University of Kansas

CLAUDE BELLANGER *et al.*, published under the direction of. *Histoire générale de la presse française.* Volume 1, *Des origines à 1814;* Volume 2, *De 1815 à 1871.* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1969. Pp. xv, 633; 465.

These two volumes represent the first installment of a collaborative, four-volume survey of French journalism from its origins to the present. The project is designed to replace and update Hatin's eight-volume chronicle, which appeared in the mid-nineteenth century. Except for a final section, which covers the Second Empire and the Paris Commune, the work under review retraces the same ground that Hatin covered more than a century ago. The contributors are, for the most part, able scholars and, given a century of accumulated research, one would expect them to succeed in supplanting Hatin. Instead one misses the unity and coherence of the old chronicle. In the absence of one author, firm editorial direction was needed but not supplied. Much of the first volume, moreover, owes more to Hatin than to recent research. For the most part, the project falls lamentably short of the expectations it arouses.

In view of the effort made to convey a pleasing first impression, a *caveat lector* is probably needed. The reader should not be deceived by the handsome jacket with its blurbs promising the "most complete and rigorous documentation" and advertising high praise already received. Pierre Renouvin's promise in the preface of "rich, solid, and penetrating" fare should not be taken seriously.

Volume 1 opens with a brief sketch of technological developments from Gutenberg to the steam press. Helpful diagrams and drawings are accompanied by a hackneyed commentary, the sort that can be relied on to observe somewhere that "necessity is the mother of invention" (p. 16). The main section, which follows, consists of several chapters by Louis Trenard that cover developments from the earliest newsletters to the end of the *ancien régime.* This rambling account unfortunately occupies most of volume 1. Spot checks show heavy reliance on Hatin, who is acknowledged frequently (forty times in twenty pages, for example) but occasionally disappears behind juggled citations. Reliance on other authorities, notably Daniel Mornet, is similarly handled. In at least one case a pertinent recent monograph by Annie Barnes has not been used; in another, a recent study is cited but its contents have been misinterpreted or overlooked. Thus the activities of Renaudot's sons during the Fronde are described (pp. 96–98) in terms of a textbook cliché carefully demolished by M.-N. Grand-Mesnil in *Mazarin: La Fronde et la Presse 1647–1649* (1967), the very work cited as an authority for the false cliché.

Here, as elsewhere, the appearance of tidy organization, conveyed by chapter divisions and marginal captions, is deceptive. Trenard is deprived of the framework used by later contributors because political history under the *ancien régime* is not helpful in ordering journalistic developments. As a result he has to fall back on what has been called the "laundry-list" principle. Titles and editors of journals are grouped under such headings as "provincial" and "specialized" and a paragraph is eked out for each item listed. No effort has been made to avoid repetition or to spare the reader. Attempts at analysis rarely interrupt the array of items; but chapter 3 does open with a look at "sociological conditions." A paragraph tells us that the eighteenth-century market was limited, but, as shown by Maggiolo, illiteracy should not be exaggerated (p. 159). Some 240 pages later we come to the conclusion: public curiosity was lively, but, as shown by Maggiolo, illiteracy was still widespread (p. 402).

The final section of volume 1 contains a survey by Jacques Godechot of developments during the era of the French Revolution and Napoleon. Partly because Godechot is an old hand at traversing this field, and partly because narrative drive is supplied by the events themselves, this section seems better organized and moves at a brisker pace. I had certain reservations about the handling of some issues, especially noble and bourgeois views of freedom of the press, and I was also disappointed that many issues were overlooked. There is little here to interest specialists, but there are

probably readers who want a competent, quick sketch, and this Godechot provides.

Volume 2 again provides a deceptive impression of being more substantial and better organized than it is. The first twenty pages add up to less than meets the eye thanks to skillful use of blank space and wide margins. Two complete sections, impressively captioned and subdivided, turn out to comprise a few inconsequential paragraphs on legal and technical developments. Fortunately, the rest of the volume provides more substantial fare. Coverage of developments from 1815 to 1871 has been evenly parceled out among three conscientious and competent guides: Charles Ledré, André-Jean Tudesq, and Pierre Guiral. Even while fully acknowledging indebtedness to Hatin's chronicle, these scholars rely on it less than does Trenard. Their own research is used to enrich their accounts. Tudesq's discussion of how the provincial press helped to represent articulate portions of the body politic excluded from the "pays legal" is exceptionally interesting.

Reliance on politics and press laws to provide an organizing principle works better for the nineteenth century than for the *ancien régime*. In Tudesq's hands it works very well indeed. But even at best it leaves me dissatisfied. The use of political and constitutional history as a framework came naturally to Hatin, who belonged to Ranke's generation. The contributors to this volume, however, belong to a generation that has seen social history transformed and new approaches to communications media developed. Here was a chance to do for journalism what Lucien Febvre and Henri Martin have begun to do for the printed book. Here was a chance to strike out in new directions, to make a start at describing the rise of the Fourth Estate or at examining the effects of the prolonged struggle between the Catholic Church and the new powers of the press. It is sad to think of the opportunities that have been missed.

It is also distressing to consider how much energy has been dissipated in compiling the formidable reference apparatus with which the two volumes conclude. Decrees and edicts relating to press laws are arranged chronologically, rearranged in a topical outline, and reassembled in tables. Indexes of titles of journals and elaborately classified bibliographies are offered in both volumes and seem designed to impress the reader without much concern for actual use. More than five pages of fine print are devoted to titles grouped under subheadings but in alphabetical disarray. A final disappointment is provided by the illustrations that are scattered throughout both volumes. They rarely instruct or even entertain but seem to have been chosen at random, simply to give the appearance of a lavishly illustrated work. Even as a coffee table showpiece these volumes fail. I cannot imagine what group of purchasers they will please.

ELIZABETH L. EISENSTEIN
American University

GEORGE HUPPERT. *The Idea of Perfect History: Historical Erudition and Historical Philosophy in Renaissance France*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1970. Pp. viii, 215. $7.50.

This is a provocative book with something important to say. Mr. Huppert denies that modern historical method is the child of the scientific revolution. He rejects the common assumption that antiquarian research and literary history remained apart until they were united by eighteenth-century historiography. On the contrary, something very close to secular, "philosophic" history and to "the scientific use of historical data" (Butterfield's phrase) emerged from legal humanism to dominate the thinking of late sixteenth-century France. Then in the seventeenth century the association of relativist "historicism" with the *libertins* led, by way of reaction, to the divorce of erudition from historiography. The Enlightenment presided at the remarriage of the two, and in some undefined way the *siècle des lumières* felt the influence of historians from the age of the wars of religion. With such a thesis Mr. Huppert can undertake some refreshing revisionism. Vico, for instance, becomes "a straggler in the history of ideas, echoing Bodin, not announcing Hegel."

To demonstrate this with entire conviction would require a book far wider in scope than one that makes selective use of a few of the remarkable group of sixteenth-century French historians who wrote about the past and speculated about "the idea of perfect history." Such a study in depth of the same field was pub-

lished simultaneously by Donald R. Kelley (*Foundations of Modern Historical Scholarship* [1970]), though Mr. Kelley does not attempt quite the same generalizations. Moreover, not all the historians Mr. Huppert has chosen can be bent to match his standards of perfection. Bodin and Le Roy are useful insofar as they offer a selective principle in the rise of civilization, which is described as "the matrix from which many later ideas about the meaning of history, including our own, are descended"; but Bodin is too much the neo-Bartolist and Le Roy too much the humanist for the author's purpose. Vignier is used to demonstrate the practice of cultural history and the secular treatment of the history of religion; but Vignier is hypercritical and too fearful of unfounded generalities. Pasquier, as the practitioner of a relativist empiricism, and La Popelinière, as the theorist of comparative historiography, come closest to the author's ideals. La Popelinière appears to illustrate Mr. Huppert's adage that "the highest expression of historicism is to consider historiography itself subject to the *mutations* of time." Yet the same historian conveys an aspiration to free himself from the pressures of his environment and to discover a method both to reconstruct the past and to make sense of it.

Mr. Huppert sometimes exhibits commonplaces in the guise of striking novelty, as in his afterthought that the controversies of the eighteenth-century feudists had their counterpart in the sixteenth century. He may be mistaken on an important issue when he attributes primacy to Pasquier among those Frenchmen who found a German origin for the Franks. He is not always careful to distinguish critical alterations that sixteenth-century authors made in subsequent editions of their works. Many of the references lack precision; there is no bibliography; and the index is woefully misleading and incomplete. Perhaps it is a further illustration of the author's rejection of straight-line progress in historiography that his own book does not always attain the technical standards of perfection sought by the historians he describes. Yet the reader will forgive these faults when he encounters such bold conceptualization and such stimulating themes.

J. H. M. SALMON
Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania

MADELEINE FOISIL. *La révolte des Nu-Pieds et les révoltes normandes de 1639.* (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Paris-Sorbonne. Series "Recherches," Number 57. Travaux du Centre de Recherches sur la Civilisation de l'Europe Moderne, Number 7.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1970. Pp. 368. 40 fr.

Since the Soviet historian Porchnev put forward his Marxist analysis of seventeenth-century French social structure and the pre-Fronde popular rebellions in *Les Soulèvements populaires en France de 1623 à 1648* (French translation, 1963), Professor Roland Mousnier and his associates at the University of Paris have been documenting an alternative description and analysis of the facts. Foisil's work comes out of that effort.

Her review of the available sources is careful and thorough; but it also shows how many important documents are lost, especially those dealing with economic and social information on business and commercial conditions, prices, and population levels, and with the reports of administrators on the rebellions themselves. In her description of seventeenth-century Lower Normandy, men at all social levels were dissatisfied, and many of their grievances arose from the war and the resulting increased fiscal exactions. Royal officers were unhappy about heavy obligatory payments and about the establishment of new offices; burghers were distressed by poor trade; peasants and urban workers were burdened by taxes and a long epidemic of the plague. The decision to impose the gabelle and other new taxes in Normandy, which formerly had been exempt from the gabelle, triggered revolt. On the basis of an extensive collation of sources, Foisil makes her major contribution in the description of who participated in the revolt and who and what were the targets of the rebels. The participants were largely humble persons, but burgher-members of the local militias and the officials of local governments and royal courts reacted slowly and unwillingly to suppress the popular movement. Beyond this, Foisil's argument, especially as concerns some of the urban revolts, is inconclusive. There are some hints of active participation in the urban revolts by burghers and even by nobles and officers; the antifiscal nature of the revolt suggests, she believes, a more sophisticated leadership than the humble

men who were so ferociously punished as leaders. But she cannot identify them.

The book's interest and value is limited by Foisil's failure to go beyond a reaction to Porchnev; she fails to place the revolt of the *nu-pieds* into broader comparative perspectives, such as those of Norman particularism, the connection between increased tax demands, repression, and the growth of absolutism, and the history of popular rebellion.

LOUISE A. TILLY
Princeton, New Jersey

JEAN SAREIL. *Les Tencin: Histoire d'une famille au dix-huitième siècle d'après de nombreux documents inédits.* (Histoire des idées et critique littéraire, Volume 102.) Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1969. Pp. 444.

This book is excellent both as a representative of a traditional historiographical genre and as a timely contribution to a current historiographical reassessment. As a life-and-times of *les Tencin* it is enormously informative, consistently interesting, often amusing, and extraordinarily well written. Professor Sareil spent seven years in laborious preparation of this study, which concerns itself primarily with the careers of Pierre and Claudine-Alexandrine de Tencin. Pierre, the youngest of four sons in a family of robe nobility, was placed in the Church for the greater glory and income of *les Tencin*. He apparently accepted the vocation thus thrust upon him, became *"un homme d'Eglise politique,"* proved himself an excellent administrator and political tactician, and rose after many vicissitudes to the rank of Cardinal-Archbishop of Lyon. His success, however, was due as much to the political and, shall we say, the social skills of his younger sister Claudine-Alexandrine. She, too, was forced into the religious life (at the age of eight), but she struggled against it, never accepted it, and, at the age of thirty (in 1712), she managed to escape it. Sareil writes: "Those years were a total loss; Mme. de Tencin never made them up, in spite of her prodigious activity." But she did the best she could. She quickly adapted herself to the secular world and employed her considerable talents very well throughout her *"aventures en haute compagnie."* She was a highly successful spy for Foreign Minister Torcy; during the Regency she was mistress to the redoubtable Cardinal-Minister Dubois, a role that confirmed her position among the great; she conducted for over thirty years one of the important salons in Paris. She even took some little time out to give birth to the future d'Alembert whom she promptly remitted to a foundling home and whose maternity she never admitted. But in all of their actions, brother and sister worked as much for their family as for themselves. Family and not individual egoism and ambition drove them on. *Les Tencin* played important roles in all of the affairs of the day excepting military matters—court intrigues, religious conflicts, financial affairs (they were partisans of John Law), literary quarrels, academy politics, judicial battles, and, especially for Claudine, love affairs.

Professor Sareil thus had an interesting family group as his subject. Partial to them but not uncritical, he has presented us a picture of their personalities, ambitions, careers, and failures and successes that can hardly be surpassed. But more important he has used *les Tencin* to cast light on that period of French history from 1700 to 1750, which was truly an age of equilibrium on the brink of an age of rapid transition. His work is a fine complement to the thesis recently advanced by Herbert Lüthy in a brilliant chapter, *"Contours du 'siècle de Louis XV,'"* in his massive study of *La banque protestante en France* (1961). For what both Sareil and Lüthy demonstrate is that at least until the 1760s France was a stable, prosperous regime in which the *parties prenantes* (including *les Tencin*) monopolized the power, prestige, and wealth of the country, regardless of wars, famines, and general economic trends. It was a world in which religion was more important than philosophy, in which landed and *rentier* wealth meant much more than commercial wealth, and in which politics was reduced to the level of personality and court intrigue. It was also a world in which the economic function of the *haute société* was to consume at the expense of the rest of French society.

Professor Sareil has thus presented us with both a vibrant family portrait and an insightful view of the social realities of what Alfred Cobban has called "the golden age of the *ancien régime.*" Works like Pierre Goubert's *Familles marchandes sous l'Ancien Régime* (1959) illustrate the changes that were slowly

taking place in France in the first half of the eighteenth century. Professor Sareil's excellent work demonstrates the deeply rooted continuities that we dismiss at our historiographical peril.

GERALD J. CAVANAUGH
University of California, Berkeley

MICHEL MOLLAT, prepared under the direction of. *Les origines de la navigation à vapeur.* (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Paris-Sorbonne. Series "Acta," Number 1.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1970. Pp. 206. 26 fr.

The eleven papers collected here were first presented in 1960 at a colloquium sponsored by the Comité de Documentation historique de la Marine. Given the nature of most such conferences, the book is, perhaps predictably, uneven; and yet it has its useful features, particularly for specialists in certain areas of economic history. The papers devote themselves largely to technological development, the organization and financing of early steamship companies, and to government assistance to such ventures from the early 1820s through the 1870s. Their focus is primarily upon France, with some attention paid to Great Britain and the United States. To the extent that there is an organizing principle, it is provided by the theme of technology; the papers are grouped into two general sections: "Invention de la technique" and "Diffusion de la technique." Much of the information offered thus deals with such matters as the development of the steam-driven propeller, improvements in shipbuilding techniques, or the transition from wooden to ironclad vessels.

All but avid specialists in French maritime and business history are liable, however, to find the book somewhat frustrating. The principal problem here, as with most books arising out of scholarly conferences, is the absence of any satisfactory synthesizing effort. André Reussner's introductory article does little more than establish the technological framework; Michel Mollat's conclusion simply summarizes the papers. The discussion periods, reprinted virtually in full, contain numerous tantalizing hints at connections with broader social and economic developments, but they are rarely elaborated. It is more common to find the conferees launching into extensive and spirited debate over such questions as, "A quel moment fut conçue l'idée de la chaudière aquatubulaire?"

The book's principal usefulness may well be as a guide to future research. Such knowledgeable participants as Bertrand Gille, Louis Girard, and C.-E. Labrousse are characteristically generous in their identification both of problems worthy of further investigation and of unexploited resource materials in various obscure archives. It is only unfortunate that this information has taken ten years to gain more general circulation.

GEORGE FASEL
University of Missouri

HARVEY G. SIMMONS. *French Socialists in Search of a Role, 1956–1967.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970. Pp. xi, 313. $9.75.

A reader who wishes to grasp the recent history of the French Socialist party in historical perspective may find fault with this study because it says little or nothing about the complex heritage of the SFIO over the past century. Yet, it must be said, the volume narrates remarkably well in brief compass the trials and vicissitudes of the beleaguered party in the dozen years or so since 1956. If ever a Socialist party suffered from the tribulations of exercising power, it was the SFIO under Guy Mollet's leadership in 1956–57, when the party labored under the double shadow of the Algerian crisis and the Suez episode. Surprisingly, it survived those years and even survived the early years of the Fifth Republic without excessive loss of strength even though a number of the purer spirits who had no stomach for Mollet's leadership seceded in anger and dismay. It was in the 1960s that the party saw itself, despite continuing local strength, reduced to a minor and increasingly impotent national role. A debate over doctrine and strategy took place against a growing national disillusionment with all political parties of the Left, a disillusionment dramatically indicated by the emergence of the new political "clubs." The study recounts the abortive political efforts of Gaston Defferre in 1965; the uneasy efforts, then and later, at reconciliation with the MRP, the Radicals, and the Communists; and the effort to create the Federation of the Democratic Socialist Left. The final episode goes somewhat beyond the scope of the

volume but is told in a postscript. After the waning fortunes of the party and of the noncommunist Left in the wake of the 1968 "événements," a convention in 1969 toppled the Mollet leadership, undertook a modest reappraisal and restatement of the party's fundamental doctrines, and even dropped the somewhat anachronistic SFIO title. But the Parti Socialiste de France, with Alain Savary as its new standard bearer, the writer concludes, is still "a party in search of a role," and all of the efforts at renewal represent only "an attempt to rekindle the dying flames of French socialism." In a number of appended tables the author, a political scientist, provides much valuable statistical information on voting patterns, membership strength, and the social and professional origins of the Socialist leaders.

JOEL COLTON
Duke University

DAVID R. RINGROSE. *Transportation and Economic Stagnation in Spain, 1750–1850.* Durham: Duke University Press. 1970. Pp. xxv, 171.

This compact volume illuminates a source of Spanish economic retardation in the nineteenth century that has been generally recognized but never so systematically treated: the crisis of transport supply in the interior provinces. This problem is set in the broader framework of the failure of the industrializing efforts of the eighteenth-century Bourbon rulers to issue, after 1800, in a sustained industrial advance. Although their Colbertian labors had fostered a promising economic and demographic upsurge between about 1750 and 1800, the ultimate outcome was not a Rostovian "take-off" but fifty years of stagnation.

While taking account, perhaps too briefly, of a variety of regressive and mutually reinforcing factors in Spanish economic life, Professor Ringrose has sought to deal with transportation as a relatively independent variable and to demonstrate its causal role in the economic lag of the nineteenth century. The Castilian carting industry—the various demands upon it, its technology, routes, seasonal patterns, and institutional arrangements—is described in detail. The thesis is advanced that as early as the 1790s, with the situation becoming critical by 1800, the traditional supply of transport in Castile had begun to reach an upper limit that it was beyond the powers of the government to extend and that imposed an immutable ceiling on economic development. This transportation bottleneck is described as a primary cause of Spain's political and economic immobility, and it is stressed that the country's primitive economy also precluded use of the more advanced transportation technology of Europe. Thus the movement of goods in the interior remained based on a carting industry that could neither be enlarged nor made more available for the general economic life of Castile.

The compelling obstacles to the expansion of transport ranged from the excessive consumption needs of Madrid and the requirements of Castile's subsistence economy to such things as aridity, population growth, the enclosure movement, and capital shortage. These factors are analyzed with great persuasiveness but with perhaps an overtone of determinism. The argument inclines toward a kind of fatality: the impossibility—mostly for economic, geographical, or climatic reasons—of increasing the number of men, beasts, and carts involved in transport activities. The element of political volition—as in the Spanish Bourbons' tendency to aggrandize Madrid at the expense of the interior economy or to build highways and canals of such French-inspired monumentality that they could rarely be completed—has been somewhat minimized.

The focus of the study is almost exclusively on Castile, but this seems a legitimate limitation, since the Bourbons' developmental efforts were concentrated here, and their failure to awaken Castile spelled the stagnation of Spain. Professor Ringrose has competently set forth a thesis that will not fail to arouse the interest of those concerned with the problem of Spanish "decadence" and one that may be capable of application to other developing countries.

GERALD H. MEAKER
San Fernando Valley State College

ANTOINE DE LUSY. *Le journal d'un bourgeois de Mons, 1505–1536.* Edited by ARMAND LOUANT. Brussels: Académie Royale de Belgique, Commission Royale d'Histoire. 1969. Pp. cxvi, 484.

The fires, floods, plagues, and executions reported by the anonymous bourgeois of Paris between 1515 and 1536 were familiar preoccupations of the inhabitants of Mons during the same

years. The bourgeois of Mons was not cut off from European affairs either. Life in the capital of Hainaut was livelier and more international than might have been expected since various Habsburgs and their entourages passed through the town frequently. What was lacking Antoine de Lusy found in his diplomatic missions to Germany, France, Spain, and England.

The Duchy of Burgundy still existed for Lusy and was his great love. This fact provides a different view of the familiar events connecting Philip the Fair, Charles v, Ferdinand of Aragon, Louis xi, Francis i, Henry vii, and Henry viii. In addition, the functioning of the provincial estates of Hainaut and the problems of inflation are recurring themes in his journal.

The editor's introduction of 116 pages is competent, though he exaggerates in his attempt to make Lusy the first Belgian journalist. The index is thorough, and a useful glossary and six plates of the manuscript are included. It should be noted that, despite the title, the journal is very sketchy until 1513.

Lusy was not a Pierre de L'Estoile, but he does provide the reader with a feeling for life in the Southern Lowlands. This is especially true from 1518 onward when he seems to have settled into life in Mons after his years of European service. Bit by bit he forgot Europe and concentrated more on his family, local politics, and day-to-day life. He noticed the arrival of the Lutherans and the continued threat of the French, but as sickness brought his end nearer, the deaths of his friends and acquaintances became his preoccupation.

J. MICHAEL HAYDEN
University of Saskatchewan

De Vrije Kunstenaar *1941–1945: Facsimilé herdruk van alle tijdens de bezetting verschenen afleveringen.* Introduction: L. P. J. BRAAT. Amsterdam: B. R. Grüner N.V.; John Benjamins N.V. 1970. Pp. xlviii, 242.

De Vrije Kunstenaar (The Free Artist) was a Dutch underground publication that made its appearance in 1942. Almost thirty issues were produced before the end of the occupation. Although circulation remained small (at most, one thousand copies per issue) *De Vrije Kunstenaar* played an important part in the Resistance because of its intellectual sophistication and its focus on artists and the arts. Its political orientation was toward the Left, but it owed no allegiance to any political party. As with many other clandestine publications, the editors were active in other Resistance organizations. The guiding spirit of *De Vrije Kunstenaar,* the sculptor Gerrit van der Veen, was also a leader in the Council of Resistance (R.v.V.) and the founder of an important service that produced forged identity papers. He was arrested during an attempt to liberate Dutch patriots from a German prison and was executed in 1944. Proceeds from the sale of the present work are to be used for a monument to be erected in Amsterdam to his memory.

The present volume contains a complete set of facsimile reproductions of all clandestine editions of *De Vrije Kunstenaar.* This main part is preceded by a summary of the contents of each issue and by historical comments by L. P. J. Braat, the editor since 1943. The summaries and comments are also translated into English. The volume concludes with an English translation of the most important articles that appeared in the journal.

The emphasis of *De Vrije Kunstenaar* shifted over the years, as it did in many underground papers, although the focus on art remained constant and distinctive. In 1942 the stress was on noncooperation with the Dutch Nazis and the Germans, particularly with the official *Kultuurkamer.* By 1943 more general resistance problems, such as the forced labor draft and the question of violence and assassinations, came to the fore. In 1944–45 increasing attention was paid to postwar issues, and many articles dealt with the substance and formal organization of postwar artistic life.

True to its provenance (the general editor is a sculptor) the present volume is handsomely designed and produced. The English translation of the most significant material in the book makes it particularly attractive for the American reader who wants to gain an understanding of Dutch underground publications during the Second World War.

WERNER WARMBRUNN
Pitzer College

WERNER SCHOCHOW. *Deutsch-jüdische Geschichtswissenschaft: Eine Geschichte ihrer Organisationsformen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Fachbibliographie.* With an introduction by GUIDO KISCH. (Einzelveröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin beim Friedrich-Meinecke-Institut der Freien Universität Berlin, Number 3.) Berlin: Colloquium Verlag. 1969. Pp. x, 327. DM 68.

Books and periodicals on German Jewish history can fill a specialized library. From the early nineteenth century to the time of Hitler, almost every facet of Jewry's existence in Germany was the object of a study, and after the community was destroyed documents and memoirs were picked up again to produce more treatises in retrospect. By this time an overview of this literature could well be as valuable as any single item in it, but unfortunately we do not have such a guide today, for Schochow's attempt has failed.

In his introduction the author promises much, and the promise seems all the more weighty because he conceives of his task, somewhat imperialistically, as covering the writing about Jews in the whole of German-speaking Europe. Four large chapters make up the body of the work and two indexes conclude it, one with names and subjects for the text and the other containing authors' names only for the footnotes at the bottom of the pages.

The reading is difficult because Schochow uses paragraphs where sentences would do and sentences when he needs only an adjective. The organization is occasionally confusing, for although it is basically chronological he has not always separated what historians wrote at a particular time from what historians wrote about that time. Most troublesome, however, is the question of whether this monograph was intended to be a representative catalogue or an incisive commentary. It is obviously neither.

As a catalogue the book suffers from too many important omissions. There is no mention, for example, of Felix Theilhaber's classic study of German Jewry's demographic decline, published in 1911; no entry of Arthur Ruppin's standard volumes on Jewish sociology, which appeared in German at the close of the Weimar regime; no notice of Hans Lamm, whose mimeographed dissertation on the life of German Jewry under the Nazis is the only definitive statement of this whole subject between two covers; no awareness of the principal Nazi work on Jewish economic power in pre-Nazi Germany—a large book by H. Höfler printed in Vienna in 1944 and not circulated in the trade. A recently published collection of original essays, Josef Fraenkel's *The Jews of Austria* (1967) is also missing.

Schochow does include several hundred titles, but he does not distinguish between major and minor contributions, except for praising some more than others. He writes about Jewish authors, editors, and institutes with uncritical acceptance. His description of the Yad Vashem Institute in Israel is an advertisement; he lauds it for training another generation of historians —one of the many tasks it is not accomplishing.

With all of his faults, Schochow is meticulous. Periodicals are listed with their dates of issue and authors with profession, year of birth, and, when possible, year of death. The footnotes appear to be complete. Not every library needs this book, but it should certainly take its place in an appropriate bibliography of bibliographies.

RAUL HILBERG
University of Vermont

KLAUS WERNECKE. *Der Wille zur Weltgeltung: Aussenpolitik und Öffentlichkeit im Kaiserreich am Vorabend des Ersten Weltkrieges.* Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1970. Pp. 339. DM 26.80.

Since Fritz Fischer's fundamental article in the *Historische Zeitschrift* ("Deutsche Kriegsziele, Revolutionerung und Separatfrieden im Osten, 1914–1918," 188 [1959]: 249–310), notable scholarship on the War of 1914–18 and on the ten or twenty years earlier has appeared in many countries. Much important work is under way. No contributions have outweighed Fischer's. His recent *Krieg der Illusionen* referred to several dissertations by his students. This book was one of them.

With clippings from 1911 to 1914 from the German foreign office, including secret records, Wernecke has carefully surveyed newspapers and magazines in order to discover the outlook of leading political groups on German foreign policy. Using entire issues, he covered twice as many periodicals as E. Malcolm Carroll cited in the relevant section of the pathbreaking *Germany and the Great Powers* (1938) or, including those checked selectively, a total of

112. By good use of the previously exploited Potsdam and Merseburg archives (for example, in Kurt Stenkewitz's *Gegen Bajonett und Dividende* [1960]), he ties down many points, such as the foreign secretary's unleashing of Heinrich Class of the Alldeutscher Verband in April 1911.

With unrivaled detail, Wernecke documents how most publicists for dominant groups of *Bildung und Besitz* claimed territory and resources in Europe and elsewhere in the world as they sought German hegemony in Europe. After a brief sketch of the political affiliations of the press, Wernecke analyzes government publicity and the stimulated and independent responses during the second Moroccan crisis, showing how Kiderlen's encouragement of demands for compensations from France stirred up nationalist passions that neither he nor the government could control. After a brief section on Germany and England, the publicity for the expanded army and navy and especially the stimulation of antagonisms against Russia in the spring of 1914 indicate rousing chauvinism and spiritual preparation for a coming war.

I do not believe that this useful and richly informative study removes the need to consider Carroll and Oron J. Hale's *Publicity and Diplomacy* (1940). The latter's preface mentioned that the recency of appearance prevented benefiting from the former's conclusions. Confrontation of the three studies should now be useful. It is impossible in a brief review.

D. E. EMERSON
University of Washington

SUSANNE MILLER, compiler, with the collaboration of HEINRICH POTTHOFF. *Die Regierung der Volksbeauftragten 1918/19*. In two volumes. Introduction by ERICH MATTHIAS. (Quellen zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien. First Series, Von der konstitutionellen Monarchie zur parlamentarischen Republik, Number 6, Volumes 1 and 2.) Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1969. Pp. cxcviii, 399; x, 408. DM 138 the set.

The most recent publication of the *Quellen zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien* documents the brief period of Germany's revolutionary government of the People's Representatives from November 1918 to February 1919. In a detailed, analytical introduction to the document collection the editor outlines the events as well as some historiographical and archival problems stemming from the nature of the sources.

The editor observes that the study of the German revolution, "of which no one really dares to say whether it actually was [a revolution]," has experienced a renaissance during the recent past, not only in the two Germanies but also among Anglo-American historians. Consequently the publication of this key source material will be indispensable to further research. Mr. Matthias briefly evaluates some of the problems involved in the study of the German revolution. He divides the revolution into three stages: Max von Baden's parliamentarization; the transitional government of the Council of People's Representatives; and the first Weimar coalition government under Scheidemann. While an earlier publication in this series, *Die Regierung des Prinzen Max von Baden* (1962), also edited by Erich Matthias, treated the first stage, the current work is devoted to the second.

The editor pays particular attention in his introductory essay and in the documentary selection to the political process by which the government was transferred from Prince Max to Ebert, and he analyzes some of the constitutional questions involved in this unorthodox parliamentary transaction. Ebert was deeply concerned with the legality of his position and viewed his administration as a transitional, caretaker government. For him "the new state began not with the revolution, but with the convening of the National Assembly." The conflict with the USPD resulting from this view of the revolution is given due attention. The assumption and exercise of power by the Social Democrats is divided by the editor into three distinct phases, each with its own problems of constitutional legitimacy: the transfer of power to Ebert; the negotiations for a coalition between the two major socialist parties; and the process by which this new government legitimized and exercised its power within the revolutionary and transitional situation. Maintenance of legal continuity between the outgoing and incoming governments is illustrated by the retention of the old order's entire civil bureaucracy and military establishment. This, combined with the political inexperience and timidity of the socialists, made it difficult, if not impossible, for them to execute sweeping political and social reforms. Such changes, in the eyes of the majority Social-

ists, could only be authorized by a democratically elected national assembly and not by revolutionary action. The editor expresses some criticism of this reluctance, blaming it on the narrow partisan political and class-oriented mentality of the socialists. Both socialist parties continued to function within the political and mental framework of their prewar parliamentary concepts, which had denied them political responsibility and experience. As a result they never attempted to exploit, and possibly never even recognized, the deep desire for democratization and social and economic reforms that had been released among the German people by the military defeat and the collapse of the old order.

The bulk of this two-volume work is comprised by the documents, which illuminate in detail the topics and problems discussed in the introductory essay. The selected documents, most of which have never been published before, pertain to the creation and the constitutional and actual powers of the Council of People's Representatives and to its operations. The main body of documents includes the minutes of the Council and cabinet meetings and of other meetings involving Council members and various revolutionary and governmental bodies. Their extent ranges from brief notes reporting the topics and decisions of meetings to stenographic records of the discussions.

The editor has annotated and cross referenced his introduction and the documentary selections in such a manner that the work serves not only as a source of primary information but also as an excellent reference work and bibliographic study. Reference is made to unresolved differences caused by conflicting or lacking sources. In some instances the editor was unable to discover official minutes of meetings and only occasionally could such gaps be filled by the use of memoirs and press accounts. He points out, however, that the memoirs and personal papers of the chief actors are in most cases inadequate and in some instances totally lacking either because no memoirs were written or because the personal papers, as in the case of Ebert's, did not survive. The documentary material presented here comes from archives in both parts of Germany as well as from private and non-German archives.

FREDERICK DUMIN
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HSI-HUEY LIANG. *The Berlin Police Force in the Weimar Republic.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1970. Pp. xviii, 252. $8.95.

How and where does a democratic government in a period of social and political turmoil find the means to preserve order without becoming either repressive or paralyzed by its democratic principles? In analyzing the Berlin police from 1918 to 1933, Hsi-huey Liang addresses himself to this problem in a solid, well-written, and sometimes provocative monograph. Mr. Liang contends that the task of rebuilding a police force along reliable democratic lines after 1918 was crippled from the outset. Clinging to traditions and values inherited from an earlier era, the Prussian and Berlin police declared their neutrality in the revolution; the situation would be repeated fourteen years later.

The major part of the book is an analysis of the two main branches of the Berlin police, the uniformed security police (*Schutzpolizei* or *Schupo*) and the numerically smaller criminal police (or *Kripo*). The book is also strongest in dealing with the internal organization, attitudes, and social composition of the police and weakest at the level of political explanation and interpretation. The author makes it clear that his concern is with the police in action in the streets. Yet one might have hoped for a more satisfactory integration of this local history with Prussian or national political developments, which are given a cursory and somewhat pedestrian treatment.

The lukewarm republicanism of the *Schupo,* in whose hands lay the critical task of preserving public order, was related to its social composition. Recruits came mainly from rural Prussia and, in the early years, from odds and ends of Freikorps units with no political questions asked. Neither that problem nor the small but growing minority of National Socialists and their sympathizers within the *Schupo* rank-and-file were in themselves fatal, however. More serious was the failure to inculcate a democratic spirit in the police, a task quite beyond the good intentions of Social Democratic political and police authorities. By 1932 the *Schupo* was literally exhausted after constantly battling both Communists and National Socialists, a fight in which the police rarely held the initiative. They

saw little reason to make further sacrifices for a cause they did not really understand.

On the whole the Berlin police served the Weimar Republic with sometimes surprising loyalty, at least between 1920 and 1932. But they did not do so out of political conviction, as the author stresses, and the point is crucial. In the end they simply stood aside for the Nazis, whose scruples in this matter were far less tender than those of their predecessors.

THOMAS A. KNAPP
Loyola University, Chicago

HELMUT GÄTSCH. *Die Freien Gewerkschaften in Bremen 1919–1933.* (Bremer Veröffentlichungen zur Zeitgeschichte, Number 4.) Bremen: Carl Schünemann Verlag. 1969. Pp. 180.

Making extensive use of materials available in the Bremen Staatsarchiv as well as newspapers and annual reports—the party and union archives were destroyed by the Nazis in 1933—Helmut Gätsch paints a richly detailed picture marked by an atmosphere of constant crisis and tragic inevitability. Himself a product of the labor movement in Bremen, Gätsch is consistently sympathetic to the plight of the unions, attributing their failures to economic conditions; to the chasm between the classes, which he judges to have been unbridgeable as early as 1924; and to the machinations of the Communists, whom he castigates for having exploited Germany's economic miseries for their own political ends.

Although Gätsch's study must certainly be considered a welcome addition to the increasing number of local histories of the German Left, it suffers from a number of significant failings. Gätsch's anticommunism appears to have reinforced a remarkably uncritical attitude toward the Social Democratic leaders of the Bremen unions. Moreover, the reader who expects to be offered striking new insights into the character of the German labor movement will be disappointed. Although Gätsch does relate his material to developments on the national level, he obviously did not conceive of his work as a case study, and his background information therefore tends to be superficial. Even his treatment of developments in Bremen is largely descriptive rather than analytical. This is particularly disappointing in view of the eccentricity that was frequently exhibited by the Left in Bremen. Gätsch has, in short, produced a narrative that provides an abundance of information but contributes little to our understanding of why the tragedy he so effectively describes took place.

KENNETH R. CALKINS
Kent State University

SERGIO PISTONE. *Federico Meinecke e la crisi dello stato nazionale tedesco.* (Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di Scienze Politiche dell'Università di Torino, Volume 20.) Turin: Edizioni Giappichelli. 1969. Pp. 517. L. 6,000.

Now that an English translation of *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat* (1970) has finally become available, we may expect an even broader diffusion of Meinecke scholarship. It is noteworthy that although Italians had an Italian translation of this work in 1930, it was only after the close of the Fascist era that this German historian found interpreters in Italy. Today Pistone can cite quite a few Italian studies of Meinecke, many by Germans of course, but few, if any, by English-speaking writers. Anglo-American impatience with systematic political philosophy has something to do with this paucity, but Pistone has neglected not only R. W. Sterling's *Ethics in a World of Power* (1958) but also Leonard Krieger's *German Idea of History* (1957) and George Iggers' *German Conception of History* (1968). While an Italian scholar can hardly be expected to note doctoral dissertations, it is interesting that a University of Wisconsin dissertation in 1965 (Robert A. Pois, "Friedrich Meinecke and German Politics in the Twentieth Century") dealt precisely with Pistone's topic. Pistone has made it a good deal easier to sympathize and share with Meinecke in his brave effort to remain relevant as a thinker and historian by returning Meinecke to his political milieu. By stressing German political and constitutional history, Pistone succeeds in locating Meinecke's intellectual and spiritual evolution from a critical statist in the nineties to a sincere, undoctrinaire democrat whose breadth of vision surpassed that of a *Mussrepublikaner* like Stresemann.

For Pistone Meinecke has elements of the Promethean hero, who delivered at least twice to the Germans a precious truth wrenched in

severe struggles with his own times: the necessity for Wilhelmine Germany to share its largess and grandeur with the common man if it was to expand into a world power; and the necessity for Weimar Germany to come to terms with the plurality of human interests in order to share in the world's bounty and the world's tasks. The author is rigorously fair; Meinecke's *German Catastrophe* is justly criticized for its unsubstantial analysis, and we are never permitted to confuse sympathy and admiration for the man Meinecke with the temporal limitations of the man's mind. Pistone is less original, though highly successful, in placing Meinecke in the historiographical and philosophical context of Kant, Hegel, and Ranke. These great universalists had to be "transcended" in Bismarckian Germany, but the Prussian school in which Meinecke learned history was far too parochial to serve as more than antithesis for the brilliant young theorist. Seizing upon the "objective idealism" of Hegel and incorporating it into a Rankean historicism, Meinecke was able to place German statism into an evolutionary framework far more sophisticated than the Darwinian Treitschke's. Naumann's social imperialism was similarly the raw material out of which Meinecke's subtle mind wove a rationalization for *Weltmacht*, only to discover in the Ludendorff dictatorship and the Revolution the shortcomings of all purely state-centered power calculuses. Meinecke, like most historians, found himself rationalizing the status quo, but in the great pietist-North German tradition he would not remain content with the contradictions. Although not so much a Protestant as an ecumenical, Meinecke lived up to the finest traditions of scholarly responsibility.

ROBERT KOEHL
University of Wisconsin, Madison

GEORGE SCHWAB. *The Challenge of the Exception: An Introduction to the Political Ideas of Carl Schmitt between 1921 and 1936*. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot. 1970. Pp. 174.

This study presents the political ideas of Carl Schmitt and shows how he applied these ideas to the analysis of the Weimar Constitution, to the crisis of the last years of the republic, and to the Nazi regime.

Schmitt, who was hostile to the divisive, multiparty aspect of the Weimar system, attached importance to the powers of the president, particularly the emergency powers provided in Article 48. In "a state of exception," Schmitt held, the president legally becomes a "commissarial dictator," that is, he holds a commission to deal with crisis and to restore order. He even acquires a kind of sovereignty under these conditions in that he is not bound by norms deriving from legal bodies but decides what is to be done on the basis of the concrete situation ("decisionism").

When the parliamentary and economic crisis deepened after 1929 and the "state of exception" became almost the rule, Schmitt espoused a presidential system. He now argued that emergency measures had the force of laws and that the president might bypass the *pouvoir constitué* (the ineffective Reichstag) and rest his authority on the *pouvoir constituant* (the mass of the people who had elected him). He interpreted the Enabling Act and popular support as proper sanction for Hitler to assume dictatorial powers and became a member of the party and its self-appointed "crown-jurist."

Professor Schwab declares that his study is neither "a demonological inquisition nor an ideological snooping." I concur in this judgment and applaud the author for adding to the small but growing collection of books on recent Germany that are written with some objectivity. Overall the book gives the impression of being a mild apologia for Schmitt, who is seen as centrally concerned with finding protection for the nation in a time of turmoil. Schwab regards Schmitt's doctrine of "decisionism" as motivated by the desire to sustain rather than to subvert the Weimar Constitution and his call for a stronger presidential system "a sound alternative for a conservative thinker." While he does not gloss over Schmitt's conversion to National Socialism, Schwab asserts that Schmitt never conceded total power to the Führer.

The reader who does wish to indulge in ideological snooping should turn to Fijalkowski's *Die Wendung zum Führerstaat* (1958). Those who seek a clear and concise exposition of Schmitt's ideas will be well rewarded by turning to Schwab's study.

ROBERT LOUGEE
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Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik, 1918–1945, aus dem Archiv des deutschen Auswärtigen Amts. Series D: *1937–1941.* Volume 12, *Die Kriegsjahre.* Part 1, *1. Februar bis 5. April 1941*; Part 2, *6. April bis 22. Juni 1941.* Series E: *1941–1945.* Volume 1, *12. Dezember 1941 bis 28. Februar 1942.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1969. Pp. lxxvii, 395; 397–966; lviii, 611. DM 38; DM 33; DM 48.

As I indicated in this journal in July 1967 (*AHR*, 72 [1966–67]: 1426–27) and as Professor Stewart A. Stehlin explained in more detail in the June 1968 number of *Central European History* (1: 193–99), publication of the German diplomatic documents for the period 1918 to 1945 is being continued in German but —after the conclusion of series C (1933–37) and D (1937–41)—not in English.

Volume 12 of series D, covering late winter to summer 1941, is the parallel German edition to the next to last volume of the completed Anglo-American series. The documents in the two editions are the same, but footnotes in the German edition give full names of persons who are mentioned only by title in the documents, whereas footnotes in the English edition do not; the biographical index is far more extensive than the "List of Principal Persons" (without page references) in the English edition; the brief summaries in the analytical list of documents are occasionally more detailed than in the Anglo-American edition; and the German footnotes more often than the English include extensive verbatim extracts of material cited in the text of documents, and they also cite a number of key documents available only since 1962 (one is published as the first of five appendixes). Added or amplified notes are identified with asterisks, enabling users to appreciate not only the extent to which the 1969 German edition supersedes the 1962 American edition, but also the extent to which the former confirms the abiding validity of the latter, which will continue to be used for reference and instruction even though the more recent edition in the original language is definitive for scholarly purposes.

Volume 1 of series E (1941–45), covering the third winter of the war, starts in December 1941, immediately after the American entry into the conflict and the beginning of the Soviet counterattack before Moscow. How appalling conditions on the eastern front had become by early December was skillfully revealed through a thin veil of National Socialist rhetoric in a detailed report from a foreign ministry representative with one of the field commands (doc. no. 122). In long year-end letters to Mussolini, Horthy, and Antonescu, Hitler rather discounted the grave military crisis (nos. 62–64), but the record of Göring's conference with Mussolini in January 1942, despite its euphemistic tone, reflects very perceptive concern about the situation in the Mediterranean as well as in Russia (no. 181). Hitler was relatively candid during Marshal Antonescu's February visit to Berlin, calling on him to redouble his country's already substantial contribution to the war. When the Romanian dictator commented that he hoped for victory before the following winter in view of the extreme difficulty of sustaining so intense a war effort, Hitler, far from reassuring him, made it clear that he was preparing for yet another winter campaign (no. 244). Antonescu's only consolation was the prospect that, in compensation for depletion of oil resources during the emergency, Romania could expect, after the final victory, to receive substantial concessions in the Caucasus (nos. 98, 241). Tentative plans were also developed in Berlin for the postwar partition of Africa largely among Germany, Italy, France, and Spain, but possibly also the Jews, for whom Madagascar was considered (no. 153). The Madagascar plan was soon abandoned, however, in favor of the comprehensive "final solution" (*Endlösung*) recorded in the protocol of the infamous Wannsee Conference of January 20, 1942 (nos. 150, 227). With additional material on the "Jewish question," as well as important coverage of German relations with Japan (over 25 documents) and the situation in Yugoslavia (no. 277)—to note only two of the many other areas touched on by the 298 documents—this volume is an excellent beginning for series E.

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HERMANN WEBER. *Von der SBZ zur DDR, 1945–1968.* [Hanover:] Verlag für Literatur und Zeitgeschehen. 1968. Pp. 381.

"The Soviet zone," "East Germany," "Middle Germany," and "the so-called 'German Demo-

cratic Republic,' " are all titles commonly used in the West by those who prefer to deny verbal recognition to the Communist segment of Germany. Mr. Weber uses all of these terms of reference, but he uses them interchangeably with that state's official title, the Deutsche Demokratische Republik, thus attempting to demonstrate his objectivity on an extremely controversial subject.

Most of his book is a relatively brief and straightforward narrative of the development of the East German state, based on both East and West German printed sources. Because statistics, names, and dates predominate over analysis, the author avoids cold war rhetoric. Yet he makes no attempt to hide his conclusions: "It would be a mistake to contrast the 'democracy' of the Federal Republic in black-white terms with the 'dictatorship' of the DDR. . . . [But] the DDR is no 'workers' and peasants' state.' The contradiction between its written constitution and reality is pronounced; the DDR is a politically undemocratic regime under the dictatorial domination of the SED [Communist party]" (p. 223). "Stalinism without Stalin" has persisted in East Germany, Weber argues. But since the construction of the wall in 1961 the DDR has been stabilized, and its leaders have begun to feel increasingly secure. The use of overt and "potential" terror as a method of social control, he maintains, has decreased. In spite of vigorous propaganda campaigns, the majority of the population have been "neutralized" and have been allowed to enjoy the fruits of a rising standard of living as unpolitical Germans. The party functionaries are held together by strict discipline and Marxist ideology with its optimistic belief in the ultimate triumph of the cause. These bureaucrats, relatively independent of the USSR as long as they do not offend her interests, firmly control the country. Opposition, so far as it exists, comes not from the right but from idealistic, "democratic" Communists such as Wolfgang Harich and Robert Havemann.

Roughly one-third of the book is devoted to notes and bibliography, selections from documents, biographical sketches, a chronology, and a statistical summary. Weber's contribution is a useful introduction to a much-neglected subject.

GORDON R. MORK
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LINO MARINI. *Il Mezzogiorno d'Italia di fronte a Vienne e a Roma: E altri studi di storia meridionale.* Bologna: Casa Editrice Prof. Riccardo Pàtron. 1970. Pp. viii, 318. L. 4,700.

For over twenty years Lino Marini has given his attention largely to the assertion of ducal or viceregal power in Savoy and Naples against the claims of the Church and other divisive elements from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Marini's treatment of the same theme in Neapolitan history from 1646 to 1734 in this volume of essays and reviews published from 1953 to 1967 in Italian journals will interest students of European political and intellectual history in general. But Marini has at the same time given us five probing and thoroughly documented studies of Neapolitan civil, legal, and intellectual history for which the specialist can be grateful.

The opening and title essay examines the dual dependence of Naples on Rome and Vienna from 1707 to 1734, a period that saw the continuation of the exploitation of the South that Italian historians now contend characterized the period of Spanish rule. Neapolitan opposition fought efforts of Vienna to naturalize *stranieri* (and thus make them eligible for offices reserved to natives), and the attempts of Rome to give foreign clerics the enjoyment of Neapolitan benefices. Also at issue were Rome's efforts to extend to Naples the power of the excluded Holy Office, her attempt to censure Giannone's *Istoria civile* and, underlying all else, the feudal tie that since Norman times had linked Naples to Rome. Neapolitan anticurialism had its roots in the intellectual renewal that began around 1650 and that, during the period of Austrian dominion, was joined by the first traces in Naples of Masonry, Jansenism, and quietism. Marini demonstrates that this was primarily a political and not a religious conflict by pointing to ecclesiastics who joined the men of law and bourgeois intellectuals who were its major Neapolitan protagonists.

The other essays in this collection are devoted to the roots, content, and consequences of this clash. In the second essay, Marini examines the complex responses of such Neapolitans as the D'Andrea brothers, Pietro Di Fusco, Niccoló Caravita, and Giuseppe Valletta to Roman pressure in the second half of the seventeenth century. Drawing on the recent work of

Italian scholars, Marini suggests that the ideals of the men whom Nicola Badaloni has called the *nuova classe dirigente colta* were lay but not irreligious, dissatisfied but by no means revolutionary, and monarchical but hardly devoted to Spanish rule.

After two short review articles, Marini concludes with an illuminating essay on the efforts of Rome to put its hands on Giannone from 1723 to 1735. Marini delights in exposing the repeatedly inept yet undaunted efforts of the Holy Office and papal nuncios who, it seems, knew last of all where the object of their enmity was. But persevere they did, and they denied him haven in Vienna and in Venice and a score of other Italian cities. All they could not deny Giannone—and this is symbolized, as Marini notes, by the failure of the Holy Office to get his papers—was the conquest of Europe's best spirits. Gibbon and Voltaire would both boast of being *giannonisti,* and Montesquieu would soon call for a "civil history" of France. An appendix of documents supports this essay.

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SALVO MASTELLONE. *Francesco d'Andrea, Politico e Giurista (1648–1698): L'Ascesa del Ceto Civile.* ("Il pensiero politico" Biblioteca, Number 1.) Florence: Casa Editrice Leo S. Olschki. 1969. Pp. 207. L. 3,000.

After 1815 the liberals of the Italian south were in a difficult position. Among other things they wanted to curb Bourbon absolutism, but they also wanted the Bourbon monarchy, on its part, to curb the power and privileges of the barons. And coming largely from the ranks of the lawyers of the south, many of them served (until they were dismissed as revolutionaries) in the Bourbon administration and magistracy.

Focusing on the Neapolitan advocate Francesco d'Andrea, the author of this book seeks to trace the rise of a class of public officials in the south under the Spaniards in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Besides wishing to limit the power of the barons in the interests of building up absolute power, the Spanish had an additional reason to crush the barons. Following the revolt of Messina in 1674, a French party among the barons called for Louis XIV to liberate Sicily and Naples from Spanish "despoliation and tyranny" and to supply them with a prince of his house; and, occupying Messina, Louis seemed ready to oblige them. As the barons—whose power in the south was enormous—resisted levies in money made upon them to meet the crisis, the Spanish moved to replace them in governmental and administrative posts with men from the "free profession" of law. D'Andrea, a leading lawyer of Naples, rose to defend the Spaniards against the Sun King, asking how he could represent "liberty" to the barons. He also emerged as the spokesman of the new class of public servants against baronial privileges.

This book is heavy on law, and the career of d'Andrea is not nearly adequately delineated. But there is much of interest in it. D'Andrea was, while a champion of monarchical power, also a champion of natural law and the rule of ability. A line runs, therefore, from him to figures of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment in the south.

DONALD A. LIMOLI
University of California, Santa Barbara

ANDREA CAIZZI. *Terra, vigneto e uomini nelle colline novaresi durante l'ultimo secolo.* ("Studi," Number 7.) Turin: Fondazione Luigi Einaudi. 1969. Pp. 202. L. 2,500.

This is an economic history of thirteen hill villages near Novara, Piedmont, from 1765 to date. It is an area of poor soils and small owner-operated holdings where the production of grapes for winemaking is the main source of farm income.

In the nineteenth century the small farmers of the area, lacking adequate technical and financial assistance as well as a strong cooperative movement, derived no benefit from the enlargement of their market brought about by the gradual unification of Italy. At the same time, like grape growers in other parts of Europe, the farmers were hard hit by the emergence of new diseases and parasites of grapevines. Nor were circumstances more favorable in the first half of this century.

Today the villages are witnessing a steady decline in the labor force as young people move to the cities and find work in nearby factories. The holdings survive, for the time being, as

small part-time farms without fully sharing in Italy's economic growth.

Mr. Caizzi has assembled with great skill an extraordinary amount of social and economic data on the area. He analyzes all available information with scholarly objectivity and with a keen understanding of the culture of rural societies. His work is a significant contribution not only to the history of Italian agriculture but also to our knowledge of the impact of change on small farm holdings.

VICTOR B. SULLAM
Washington, D.C.

B. R. LOPUKHOV. *Fashizm i rabochee dvizhenie v Italii, 1919–1929 gg.* [Fascism and the Working-Class Movement in Italy, 1919–1929]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1968. Pp. 413.

Few historians of Italian Fascism will read Lopukhov's book. This is a pity. Not because Lopukhov's volume contains any new information or interpretations not readily available in other recent Italian accounts of Fascism and the working-class movement. The student of these questions will learn immeasurably more in reading Roberto Vivarelli, Renzo de Felice, and Paolo Spriano, who approach the topic with a deeper knowledge of the sources and a greater flexibility of mind. But for historians who are acquainted with these works, Lopukhov's book will offer fascinating reading, in part because it represents a welcome effort at synthesis in a field that still escapes the all-encompassing grasp of the minds of the best historians. But even more so because it is fascinating to watch an intelligent and well-informed Soviet historian struggling to cram Fascism into his ready-made framework of historical explanation. It is something like a fat man trying to cram himself into a pair of slimly cut trousers. No matter how he tries there is always something bulging out, and one has the impression that the material is going to burst at any time.

Lopukhov's favorite word is "complicated." Everything he tells his readers—the social composition of Fascism, Mussolini's ideological stance, the internal situation in the Communist party, the relations of Fascism with the Church and the industrial bourgeoisie, the attitude of Croce toward the fascist regime—is more complicated than they thought. Lopukhov's conclusion takes the form of a tortured attempt to reconcile these complications with Marxist-Leninist theory. Fascism, he writes, though basically an attempt on the part of the middle and lower sectors of the bourgeoisie to seize control of the government and become the ruling class, had the "objective" result of strengthening the domination of "powerful monopolistic capital." On the other hand, in the process of delivering this not very convincing verdict, the author manages to suggest that the long-range historical significance of Fascism was the repudiation of the democratic values given birth to by the French Revolution. I should add that Lopukhov's narrative is followed by an interesting bibliographical essay, which ends with a brief survey of Soviet writings about Fascism.

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S. B. VESELOVSKII. *Issledovaniia po istorii klassa sluzhilykh zemlevladel'tseev* [Researches on the History of the Class of State-Serving Landowners]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Otdelenie Istorii, Arkhiv an SSSR.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1969. Pp. 582.

S. B. Veselovskii, the greatest expert on the history of feudalism in Russia, prepared this material in the 1930s. The author reached some unorthodox conclusions, which probably accounts for the delay in their publication.

Veselovskii contends that the boyar class had a progressive significance in Russian history. The prince of Moscow, because of the loyalty of his boyars, was able to become grand prince and to win out over the appanaged princes. The boyars were loyal to the prince of Moscow because of the system of *mestnichestvo,* which, Veselovskii contends, also had progressive significance. Each boyar family, as long as it remained personally loyal to the prince, had a secure place in the state administration and a landed estate. The author holds that from the fourteenth century on it was impossible for a boyar to continue to hold a landed estate (*votchina*) if he left the service of the prince. "Exit" was considered treachery and severely punished. Veselovskii declares that since there was no sense of fatherland before the sixteenth century, all

government had to be based on the personal, man-to-man tie between the prince and his servants. A talented boyar was not held back by slow promotion, but acquired the necessary military experience and ability to conform to the legitimate demands of his fellow boyars. Veselovskii bases these conclusions in large part on the study of the histories of twenty-eight boyar families. This work is probably the first significant contribution to the history of Russian feudalism since the work of N. P. Pavlov-Silvanskii at the turn of the century.

MARY KILBOURNE MATOSSIAN
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JOHN D. BERGAMINI. *The Tragic Dynasty: A History of the Romanovs.* New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1969. Pp. 512. $10.00.

Professor John Bergamini's book, consisting of an introduction and twenty chapters, contains personal characteristics and detailed biographies of Russian tsars, emperors, and grand dukes since 1613, with short glances at the contemporary political and cultural conditions. Chapter 10 describes St. Petersburg and its surroundings, and pages 20–27 give a description of the Moscow Kremlin. There are sixteen pages of illustrations, mostly portraits. A detailed genealogical table of the Romanovs follows the notes and a bibliography that contains neither primary nor secondary sources in Russian.

The author presents numerous quotations, but his manner of reference is as follows: "a distinguished Russian historian put it . . ." (p. 40); "a French visitor reported . . ." (p. 343); "as one astute observer realized . . ." (p. 353); "an ambassador declared . . ." (p. 394); and so on. The author's predilection for anonymity goes so far that he tells his readers that "one celebrated philosopher closely connected with the court committed suicide in politically motivated despair" under Nicholas I (p. 325). But who this "celebrated" philosopher was is not disclosed.

Being so secretive, the author can be very communicative in reporting love stories of the Romanovs and their hobbies; thus Grand Duke Vladimir Alexandrovich "was a dedicated gourmet who kept an immense collection of signed and annotated menus" (p. 374). In chapters 8–12 the author tells countless stories about "scandalous" female rulers in the eighteenth century. I am not inclined to present the two Catherines, Elizabeth, and Anna as models of virtue, but one should keep in mind that many stories concerning these ladies are based on reports of foreign diplomats who, especially in the eighteenth century, tended to include in their dispatches all kinds of rumors and anecdotes. Professor Bergamini pays especially close attention to Catherine II's "animal desires" and discusses eleven of her twenty lovers, but then admits: "Catherine's favorites were an essential part of her life but were really not an important factor of her reign" (p. 238). Indeed, only two persons on that eccentric list were historically important: Stanislaus Poniatowski, the future king of Poland, and Grigori Potemkin, the successful chief administrator and colonizer of the vast, newly acquired southern steppes. Most of the rest were merely Catherine's two-legged pets, kept for her amusement together with her four-legged pets in the back rooms of her palace.

Of equally trivial historic significance are the details of the various clans of the vast Romanov family given in chapters 12 and 13, where we learn who was whose first cousin, second cousin, or collateral cousin, and how they married, divorced, and arranged various love affairs.

The story of Nicholas, Alexandra, and Rasputin is told in chapters 18–20 as it has been told countless times already. I found in this book about a dozen factual errors—perhaps not over the average number encountered in other surveys of Russian history.

The book does have its positive features. Its narrative is clear and vivid, and the author does not share the view that "East minus West equals Zero." He recognizes that in the second half of the nineteenth and in the beginning of the twentieth century Russia revealed an intensive (even "fantastic") creativity in literature, the arts, and the sciences, and he finds both talented and competent people among the Romanovs. In general, however, the contents of the book and the author's method of handling historical sources would hardly satisfy serious students of Russian history.

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New Haven, Connecticut

PRINCE M. M. SHCHERBATOV. *On the Corruption of Morals in Russia.* Edited and translated with an introduction and notes by A. LENTIN. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1969. Pp. xi, 338. $16.50.

Prince Mikhail Mikhailovich Shcherbatov (1733–90)—aristocrat, historian, politician, poet, translator, philosopher, publicist, and moralist—was one of those fascinating transitional figures between old Muscovy and the new Russia. His life-work of seven volumes, the *Russian History from Ancient Times* (1770–91), was unsuccessful, and no less a critic than Catherine the Great concluded that "his head was not fit for this work." On the other hand, the secretly written *Corruption of Morals* is a major document of Russian conservatism and the leading statement of the ideology of the old nobility. Surveying the history of Russia since the age of Peter the Great, it chronicles the poor decisions and weaknesses that led to "the ruination of all good morals" and suggests a few reforms and a few simple characteristics of leadership by which "this evil may be eradicated." Needless to say, in Shcherbatov's rectified society the "nobles will serve in various offices with a zeal proper to their calling; merchants will cease to aspire to be officers and noblemen; each will keep to his own class."

The polemic was not to be published in Shcherbatov's lifetime, and tsarist censorship prevented the appearance of an adequate edition until the end of the nineteenth century. The publication of the established text marks a major event for Russian historians who have too long relied on Karamzin and Pobedonostsev as the sources of Russian conservatism. Lentin provides facing Russian and English texts, extensive biographical and explanatory notes, useful appendixes, and a high-quality introductory essay.

One can quibble. Since the vituperative and spiteful manuscript can be dated (1787), it is unfortunate that Lentin fails to link its composition closely either to Shcherbatov's biography or to Russia's political history at that date. Many will be surprised to read that Shcherbatov's *Land of Ophir* was "unique in Russian literature as the first and only example of the 'utopian' novel." Lentin's emphasis on Shcherbatov's French education does not explain why he introduces the polemic with a classical analogy. One wonders why Lentin cites various older editions of Solov'ev and Kliuchevskii in the footnotes and only the Soviet re-publications in the bibliography. Vrublevskii's edition of the *Corruption of Morals* (St. Petersburg, 1906) is missing from the history of the text. It is unfortunate that Lentin did not correlate his complete bibliography of Shcherbatov's writings with the listing in the *Svodnyi katalog russkoi knigi XVIII veka* since there are discrepancies.

But these are minor matters. The important thing is the publication of a competent edition of this important text. It should be made available rapidly in a less expensive paper-bound format, for it would surely be adopted widely in Russian intellectual history courses.

MAX J. OKENFUSS
Washington University

TAMARA TALBOT RICE. *Elizabeth, Empress of Russia.* New York: Praeger Publishers. 1970. Pp. xvi, 231. $8.50.

Known for works in art history, Mrs. Talbot Rice has undertaken a primarily political biography. Her volume is valuable for drawing attention to a long-neglected period and personality. She has consulted some unpublished diplomatic dispatches, and thirty-six illustrations decorate her largely narrative account.

Despite these virtues, her book is seriously deficient in scholarship and presentation. Its prose is repetitive and, at times, sloppy. Its bibliography is pathetically sparse, the backnotes even more so. Significant studies in Russian by V. A. Bil'basov, B. N. Menshutkin, E. N. Shchepkin, and S. M. Troitskii are ignored, as are those in English by Herbert Kaplan, L. Jay Oliva, Hans Rogger, and Alexander Vucinich—to name only the obvious ones. The book is essentially a rehash of Kasimir M. Waliszewski and R. Nisbet Bain, the well-worn memoirs of Catherine II and of C. H. von Manstein, spiced with a dash of British and French diplomatic reports. Although the court intrigues and diplomatic maneuvers are sometimes retold with spirit, the reader remains ignorant of the social context in which Elizabeth lived. Indeed, the

chapter on "Living Conditions in Elizabeth's Russia" is the worst in the book: full of undigested information, some of it erroneous (for example, that the nobility comprised seven per cent of the population, that Elizabeth "introduced" a poll tax), much of it clichés or lame deductions. The narrative is oddly structured, so that Elizabeth's last years receive only cursory examination. In fact the empress does not dominate her own biography. One gets little sense of her development and no comprehensive analysis of her personality. With the exception of Grand Duchess Catherine, the other figures of the story do not assume lifelike proportions either. Even the two chapters on the arts are skimpy. Several pictures and buildings discussed at length in the text are not illustrated, whereas other minor works are. Petty oversights abound: for example, Andrey Chernyshev is identified as one of Catherine's early Russian friends, while the "Biographical Notes" omit him but do mention Count Zakhari (*sic*) Chernyshev who, though absent in the text, is introduced here as "a rather better general than many of his contemporaries had supposed." Finally, the book is permeated by naively defensive pro-Russian, anti-French, and anti-German biases.

JOHN T. ALEXANDER
University of Kansas

ALAN W. FISHER. *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea, 1772–1783*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1970. Pp. xv, 179. $9.50.

The successor states of the Golden Horde have played an important role in Russian history. For a century Kazan was a thorn in Russia's flesh. The conquest of that Khanate and the subsequent acquisition of Astrakhan brought the entire course of the Volga under Muscovite dominion and opened the road to Sibir and beyond. The Crimea was another long-standing source of trouble. Founded in 1441, the Crimean Khanate posed a threat to southern Russia, forcing Moscow to maintain garrisons and fortified positions along a line south of the Oka. Later in the fifteenth century the Crimea became a vassal of the mighty Ottoman Empire, thus gaining protection against foreign foes and becoming even more of a danger to Russia.

The Crimea, unlike Kazan, Astrakhan, or Sibir, could not be conquered without attracting immediate hostile attention of other powers. Neither Ivan the Terrible nor his successors until Sofia would try to solve the Crimean question. Peter the Great realized that this issue would be settled elsewhere. Indeed, had it not been for his defeat on the Pruth, the Crimea might have been annexed in 1711 or shortly thereafter.

The Crimean problem was seen by Catherine II and her advisers in its larger Black Sea context. It was the gradual loss of power by the Ottomans that permitted Russia to impose upon Turkey in the Küçük-Kaynarca Treaty provisions granting "independence" to the Crimea. It was that same Ottoman weakness that permitted Russia to take over the peninsula and abolish the Khanate.

Alan W. Fisher's study is a welcome contribution to a growing literature on the history of the Russian Empire. The author has done impressive research in Russian sources and worked in Turkish archives as well. It is his command of Turkish, a language unknown to most Russian historians, that gives his work its distinctive character. Most histories of Russian expansion have been written by Russians or by foreigners working essentially from Russian sources. In the case of Kazan this may be inevitable, but not in the case of the Crimea, as Professor Fisher has demonstrated. He traces the stages of the conflict from the establishment of a puppet native regime to outright annexation of the peninsula. The most enlightening and valuable chapters are those dealing with internal developments, especially the brutal and incompetent rule of Şahin Giray, the rebellions against him, and the relations between the Crimeans and their former overlord Turkey. Fisher's contention that it was a mistake for Prozorovskii and Nolde to accept Şahin's argument concerning losses of revenue due to the emigration of the Christians is not convincing, however. Though Şahin had equalized taxes for Christians and non-Christians, he apparently continued to extract large amounts of cash from the former, causing the clergy to complain to the Russians (p. 102).

The work bears the marks of its origin in a Ph.D. dissertation. It is too short to deal

adequately with such an important theme. One wishes for more information, more detail, and more color. This only proves, however, that Professor Fisher has done an impressive piece of work. Perhaps he will some day return to this subject and produce a full-scale history of the annexation of the Crimea.

FIRUZ KAZEMZADEH
Yale University

MARGARETE WOLTERS. *Aussenpolitische Fragen vor der Vierten Duma: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des russischen Parteiwesens in der konstitutionellen Monarchie, insbesondere der Stellung zur Aussenpolitik während des Ersten Weltkrieges.* (Hamburger historische Studien, Number 1.) Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag. 1969. Pp. 253.

This study suggests that the Duma, contrary to the opinion held by many Russian history specialists, actually did have some influence over the conduct of Russian foreign policy. As might be expected, the Duma influenced foreign policy particularly at those times when the position of the government was weakened by setbacks at home or abroad, as during the internal unrest from 1905 to 1907, the Bosnian crisis of 1908–09, and the difficult and disappointing first year and a half of World War I. I. V. Bestuzhev first argued this point in a study published in 1961 concerning the period of Stolypin, when Russia's internal weakness and diplomatic and military impotence induced the government to seek support for its foreign policy from various groups in the Duma that represented the bourgeoisie, the professional intelligentsia, and liberal or nationalistic landowners. A similar situation arose during the first years of World War I, the period emphasized by Margarete Wolters in her study of foreign policy questions before the Fourth Duma.

The author brings out very well how the government's need of a broad basis of popular support in educated society led early in the war to the adoption of a line of foreign and nationality policy that satisfied the Kadets, Octobrists, and moderate nationalists rather than the rightists and right-wing nationalists in the Duma. Unfortunately, the usefulness of her study is impaired by its lack of focus on any one theme and by its rather light documentation. It is especially deficient in its use of newspapers, *Novoe Vremia* being the only one that is cited. This is a work, nonetheless, that illuminates the history of constitutional monarchy in Russia and even the political origins of the Russian Revolution. In consequence it can be read profitably together with the first volume of George Katkov's *Russia, 1917*.

EDWARD C. THADEN
University of Illinois, Chicago

LIONEL KOCHAN, editor. *The Jews in Soviet Russia since 1917*. New York: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Jewish Affairs, London. 1970. Pp. ix, 357. $7.95.

G. P. MAKAROVA. *Osushchestvlenie Leninskoi Natsional'noi Politiki v Pervye Gody Sovetskoi Vlasti (1917–1920 gg.)* [The Implementation of Leninist Minority Policy in the First Years of Soviet Rule (1917–1920)]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii SSSR.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1969. Pp. 266.

The history of Soviet nationality policy is one of the least understood and most contentious subjects in a generally murky and controversial field. Feelings on the subject run high, and the polemical literature greatly outnumbers the scholarly, though the former is often presented in the guise of the latter. Both books under review are markedly less polemical than most other works on the related subjects of Soviet Jews and Soviet nationality policy.

Not since the publication of Solomon Schwarz's monograph in the early 1950s has a book been published in English that treats the complex question of Soviet Jewry in as balanced, informative, and scholarly a way as *The Jews in Soviet Russia since 1917*, edited by Lionel Kochan. Fifteen chapters, written by scholars in the United Kingdom, Israel, and the United States, adequately cover all the major topics relevant to Soviet Jewry. The introduction by Leonard Schapiro identifies the factors that cause the Jews to be regarded as a special case among Soviet nationalities: the impact of antireligious and anti-Zionist propaganda, both of which have a "spillover" effect into anti-Semitism; the strong drive toward education exhibited by most Soviet Jews, which clashes with the regime's desire to prevent any

nationality, except perhaps the Russian, from achieving disproportionate representation in higher education and in various elites; the "trauma resulting from the Nazi Holocaust" and the Soviet practice of denigrating or ignoring this searing historical and psychological experience. Schapiro argues that "the plight of the Jew is less the result of deliberate antisemitism, and more a consequence of general Soviet arbitrariness," though much of the evidence adduced by other authors in the book indicates that Jews do not enjoy the same rights as other Soviet nationalities. Schapiro's premise leads him to the conclusion that the position of the Jews in the USSR cannot improve unless there occurs a system-wide democratization, as in Yugoslavia or Czechoslovakia. This conclusion seems unwarranted, for it is possible to conceive of incremental ameliorative measures being taken by a Soviet regime while the political system as a whole remains fundamentally unchanged.

Shmuel Ettinger's superb essay on Jewish political and social life at the outbreak of the Revolution provides a vivid insight into the vitality and potential of the Russian Jewish community and places the present situation in meaningful perspective. The essays by Jack Miller and William Korey are valuable in explaining the status of Jews and Judaism in Bolshevik ideology and in Soviet law. Perhaps the most objective and original contribution is the extensive discussion of demographic trends and occupational patterns by Alec Nove and J. A. Newth. Statistics have been used by those who accuse the Soviet regime of anti-Semitism as well as by official Soviet spokesmen who stoutly deny the charge. In a restrained, sober, and generally very cautious examination of an impressive amount of the available evidence, Nove and Newth show where conscious discrimination does seem to exist but caution that "discrimination in various forms undoubtedly makes life difficult for many Jews in many walks of life, but its existence cannot be proved by any of the official statistics to which we have access." A nice balance to the dispassionate discussion of cold statistics is achieved by the inclusion of Chone Shmeruk's unsentimental, scholarly, but moving and revealing discussion of Yiddish literature in the USSR. Instead of merely treating this literature and its creators from a political perspective, Shmeruk pays them their due with a brilliant analysis of the literature per se. The undeniable element of tragedy in Soviet Jewish history is dramatically illustrated by Yehoshua Gilboa's discussion of Hebrew literature in the Soviet Union. As Hebrew is the only language officially proscribed in the USSR, the lot of Hebrew writers was persecution and suffering. As Abraham Kariv wrote, "Time passed and I never saw a printed Hebrew line. . . . Sometimes, when I was alone, writing a Hebrew poem, a strange doubt crept into my mind: 'am I not the man who invented this language out of his imagination?"

As in any anthology, the essays are of varying quality, but only a few of them, notably the contributions of S. Levenberg and Bernard Weinryb, serve no apparent purpose and would have strengthened this generally fine book by their omission.

One of the aspects of Soviet Jewish policy is indirectly illustrated by G. P. Makarova's monograph on Leninist nationality policy in the first three years of the Soviet regime. While the book is based largely on secondary works, Makarova is unable to cite even a single article on Soviet Jews in the period discussed. She conscientiously cites articles on the Turkestan, Lithuanian, and "Musulman" nationality commissariats established in 1918–19, but no article on the Jewish commissariat has been published in the USSR since the 1930s.

In general, this book is something of a puzzle. Published by "Nauka," which specializes in scholarly works, the book is based largely on recent secondary works—all Soviet—and collections of documents, with a few citations to archival material. The format is a sequential listing of facts and decrees concerning Lenin's position on the nationality question, the establishment of Soviet rule in the border regions, and military, economic, and cultural relations between the Russian republic on the one hand and the Baltic areas, Belorussia, the Ukraine, Transcaucasia, and Central Asia on the other. Although the reader may find some new and interesting facts, the picture is flat and one-dimensional. Issues, personalities, and conflict are ignored, and one gets no sense at all

of the kaleidoscope of nationality issues and the actors who fought over them in this formative period of the Soviet state. People like Stepan Shaumian or Mykola Skrypnyk remain mere names on lists of Bolsheviks active in nationality politics. It would seen then that the intended audience is not the popular one; but in the absence of much original research it is difficult to believe that the book is addressed to scholars. One interesting aspect of Makarova's work is her even-handed condemnation of "bourgeois nationalism" and "Great Russian chauvinism." She cites many examples of "errors, difficulties, and shortcomings" in the early years of Soviet Russia, particularly those connected with attempts to ignore national cultures and legal rights. Aside from the obligatory paeans to Lenin, the book is relatively free of cant. Its main use would seem to be as a convenient compilation of a selected variety of facts about the beginnings of Soviet nationality policy.

ZVI GITELMAN
University of Michigan

P. I. ERSHOV *et al.*, editors. *Dokumenty vneshnei politiki SSSR* [Documents on the Foreign Policy of the USSR]. Volume 14, *1 ianvaria–31 dekabria 1931 G.* [January 1–December 31, 1931]. (Ministerstvo Inostrannykh Del SSSR, Komissiia po Izdaniiu Diplomaticheskikh Dokumentov pri MID SSSR.] Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Politicheskoi Literatury. 1968. Pp. 871.

Scholars working in the area of Soviet diplomatic history will welcome this volume. It is a comprehensive, though incomplete, collection of Soviet foreign office documents for 1931. It was not the most pivotal year in the annals of Soviet foreign policy, but it was a significant year. Russia was moving toward the end of the first five-year plan. The economy of the USSR was beginning to burgeon in industrial production. Soviet foreign trade was expanding. This Soviet economic expansion was juxtaposed with a decline in the international economy of the outside world. On May 11, 1931, the Austrian banking firm of Credit-Anstalt was threatened with insolvency. This triggered a number of events in the world banking system. President Hoover proposed a one-year moratorium on intergovernmental debts. These international economic events had an indirect bearing on Soviet foreign policy. They helped to start a chain of events that contributed to bringing the relations of the West closer to the USSR.

A few months before the beginning of 1931 Maxim Litvinov took over the post of commissar of foreign affairs, a position he held for almost ten years. As 1931 was the year of the rise of the aggressors—notably Japan's invasion of Manchuria—Russia was much concerned about her stake in Asia and her relations with Japan. Moscow was also concerned with her relations with Poland—the treaty of 1932 was being negotiated. Moscow's relations with the Weimar Republic continued to receive much attention, though the Comintern was beginning to undermine this relationship by promoting a war on the German Social Democrats. German relations take as much share in this volume as the relations with any country. Documents on the relations with Poland, France, and Japan are almost equally as extensive. Most of the documents stress economic relations, although political relations are also widely treated. Unfortunately this volume does not publish archival materials of the Comintern. If it did we would have more insight into the dualism of Soviet foreign policy in 1931.

Four hundred and two documents are published in this volume, as well as statistical data on the foreign trade of the USSR for 1930 and 1931; it also contains an extensive appendix of footnotes and an index to the documents with cross references. Several of the documents have appeared in other publications like *Izvestiya,* but most of them are published here for the first time in a chronological order. Diplomatic notes from and to the Soviet foreign office and telegrams and other communications to and from Soviet diplomatic representatives abroad are conveniently presented. The documents are arranged in time sequence and are therefore helpful to scholars as reference points. The most helpful aspect of the volume to scholars is the extensive subject-matter indexes.

WILLIAM B. BALLIS
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NEAR EAST

IRA M. LAPIDUS, editor. *Middle Eastern Cities: A Symposium on Ancient, Islamic, and Contemporary Middle Eastern Urbanism.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1969. Pp. xi, 206. $6.00.

Each of the seven papers published in this volume was presented in draft form at a conference on the problems of Middle Eastern urbanism held at Berkeley in 1966. Each was subsequently revised for publication in the light of the comments made by a panel of scholarly experts at the conference. The present volume is an exceptionally well-articulated symposium; appended to each paper are excerpts from the discussion that it prompted, and rounding them off are some concluding reflections by a member of the panel, Robert Adams.

The papers themselves are grouped chronologically into three parts, each prefaced by helpful introductory remarks from the editor. Part 1, "The Ancient Middle Eastern City" consists of a single paper by A. L. Oppenheim, who summarizes the findings made through the transliteration of some 1600 tablets from the Babylonian city of Sippar, dating from the nineteenth, eighteenth, and seventeenth centuries B.C. They concern legal and administrative matters affecting the economic interests of the upper middle class of the city and introduce the leitmotiv of this volume—the nature of urban-rural relations in the Middle East.

Part 2, "The Traditional Muslim City," includes three papers by scholars, who, coming from different disciplines, utilized different sources. Oleg Grabar's archeological study focuses on the evolution of the mosque and concludes that a radical change in urban life began about 1100. Instead of a few mosques, even in large cities, the number of mosques and other religious structures rapidly proliferated, apparently reflecting the political breakdown in the Islamic world and the fragmentation of religious allegiances, especially with the multiplication of Sufi brotherhoods. The editor's own paper, drawing on literary evidence, studies the period of radical change and concludes that traditional concepts of urban and rural societies as separate and antagonistic worlds require drastic revision. "Many 'cities' had rural components and villages had 'urban' features or were in fact small towns in all but name" (p. 67). S. D. Goitein, drawing on documents from the Cairo Geniza, offers an informative case study of details of life in the mixed Jewish, Muslim, and Coptic mercantile community of Old Cairo (Fustat) during the same period. He surmises that the inhabitants were devoted to free enterprise, for they had nothing resembling guild organizations. He also notes that the prevalence of ruined structures in the city probably resulted from a combination of low rents, high labor costs, and minutely subdivided ownership.

Part 3, "Contemporary Middle Eastern Cities," begins with an essay by Charles Issawi, pointing out that in the nineteenth century the cities expanding under the stimulus of Westernization were the ports rather than the inland centers, whereas since 1920 the latter have experienced the greatest growth in population, particularly capitals like Cairo, Tehran, and Baghdad. The result has been "over-urbanization," with the pace of growth of the big cities outstripping that of industrial development, a phenomenon that may be attributed to "administrative centralization and bureaucratization" (p. 117). John Gulick returns to the theme of city-village relationships, which he examines particularly in the light of his own anthropological studies of a village and of the city of Tripoli in Lebanon. Vigorously rejecting the idea of urban-rural polarization, he points out that, except for the urban elite, the two societies show many common features in kinship structure, size of household, predisposition to factionalism, attitudes toward religion and women, and the like. Janet Abu-Lughod examines twentieth-century Cairo particularly on the basis of census reports and takes issue with the notion that its "modern" citizens were born there, while their tradition-bound neighbors were immigrants from the provinces. There is, she argues, a strong traditionalist element among native Cairenes, perpetuated by the survival of preindustrial crafts. In the conclusion Professor Adams notes that another recurrent theme of the papers, in addition to the relations of city and countryside, is "the relatively weak development of unifying institutions

within the fabric of urban society" (p. 189), coupled with the sharp differentiations within Islamic cities "along ethnic, religious, social, or professional lines" (p. 188).

The problems facing the historian of Middle Eastern urbanism are complex: as Professor Grabar observes, the information available is "interdisciplinary to an almost frightening extent: archeology, epigraphy, traditional philology, art history, and virtually all branches of the social sciences are involved in its formulation" (p. 27). The authors of the seven papers have all applied their special skills to the resolution of the problems; in my judgment those who have succeeded best are Professors Grabar, Goitein, and Abu-Lughod.

JOHN B. CHRISTOPHER
University of Rochester

AFRICA

JOHN WATERBURY. *The Commander of the Faithful: The Moroccan Political Elite—A Study in Segmented Politics.* (The Modern Middle East Series, Volume 2. Sponsored by the Middle East Institute, Columbia University, New York.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1970. Pp. xvii, 367. $10.00.

This second volume in the Modern Middle East Series sponsored by the Middle East Institute of Columbia University is an informative and thoughtful study. Bearing the traces of a revised doctoral dissertation, the book nevertheless contains excellent insight into the sociopolitical machine of developing independent Morocco, and it is a worthy successor to Douglas Ashford's *Political Change in Morocco* (1961). It updates our knowledge, is loaded—perhaps overloaded—with detail, and in the end raises some serious questions as to what will happen to the third generation of the Moroccan elite and to Morocco itself, stuck in economic stagnation with its schools vomiting out more and more trained, restless people.

After a fairly traditional introductory examination of Morocco's two recent legacies, the Makhzan and the protectorate, the study picks up momentum and reader interest as Waterbury describes and analyzes the elite and its role. Particularly fascinating is the relationship between Hassan II and the various institutions in which the elite have a vital interest. Thus far, though not always with the maturity and technique of his beloved father, Muhammed V, Hassan II has held tightly onto the reins of almost absolute power, playing one sector of the elite against another.

If I interpret this serious monograph correctly, the next stage will be a difficult period in Morocco. In his final pages, Waterbury reaches out to suggest that this kind of research, which brings together the relationships of contemporary politics and social organization without becoming sidetracked on the structural-functional approach, could be used in studies of the Middle East. Like Jacques Berque, he is instantly aware of indigenous political behavior.

This is a good solid work, most important to the research scholar but usable in a more general context for the teacher of undergraduates and for those great masses in the universities at this time, ninety per cent of whom might be hard put to define the Maghrib or locate Morocco on the map.

RICHARD M. BRACE
Oakland University

NEHEMIA LEVTZION. *Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa: A Study of Islam in the Middle Volta Basin in the Pre-Colonial Period.* (Oxford Studies in African Affairs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1969. Pp. xxvi, 228. $7.00.

Among the several considerable contributions to our knowledge of West African Islam contained in this book, perhaps the most notable is Dr. Levtzion's portrayal of the diverse manner in which Islam has manifested itself in one small geographical area. The factors affecting the expression of Islam in any given place and time were manifold, ranging from the nature of the introduction of the religion to the sociopolitical structure of the host society. Islam was carried into the lands of the Middle Volta basin by alien merchants, by conquerors, and even by the companions of conquerors. The proponents of Islam found widely varying roles in the societies in which they lived. In Gonja, where Muslims participated in the founding of the state, they were fully integrated into the society, although relegated to a specific class, or estate according to Levtzion's terminology. In Mossiland

the ruling estate for centuries staunchly resisted the influx of Islam on the official government level, primarily because of its animosity toward its long-time enemy to the north; the Muslim state of Songhai; yet the Mossi welcomed the Muslim Mande merchants, whose religious influence slowly penetrated Mossi social and political structures. The Ashanti would not allow the Muslim Hausa traders to enter their domains, yet Muslim scholars and teachers were to be found in Kumasi, even as retainers at court.

These and other of the various arrangements in which Muslims and non-Muslims lived and worked together were made possible by what Levtzion calls a "spirit of compromise." Muslims were willing to overlook practices that were not in accord with the tenets of their faith, while traditionalists either tolerated or absorbed aspects of the alien religion when it suited their needs or seemed useful to do so. In other words, in the examples here studied the puritanism of Islam and the exclusivism of traditional African religions were subsumed to the more tolerant and inclusive tendencies within both religious belief-systems. Levtzion, however, does not attribute these relatively tolerant religious attitudes to the teachings of religious leaders so much as to sociopolitical conditions that rendered cooperation and compromise beneficial to all parties. The spirit of compromise allowed Islam to spread. And that same spirit in part explains why in the dozen or so societies Levtzion discusses, he finds a dozen or so different forms or expressions of Islam—or perhaps, to be more precise, forms of religious expression. It is Levtzion's attention to local sociopolitical conditions and religious practices that distinguishes this book, for now most generalizations about Islam in West Africa are thrown into question, save those that emphasize its diversity and flexibility.

LOUIS BRENNER
Boston University

J. B. WEBSTER and A. A. BOAHEN, with a contribution by H. O. IDOWU. *History of West Africa: The Revolutionary Years—1815 to Independence*. New York: Praeger Publishers. 1970. Pp. xv, 333. Cloth $9.00, paper $3.50.

This is a first-class book, sensibly organized, clearly written, based on the latest scholarship, equipped with an up-to-date bibliography, properly focused on the West African peoples themselves, and lavishly and effectively illustrated with maps and photographs. Along with Michael Crowder's scholarly *West Africa under Colonial Rule* it provides evidence of the new kind of broad, mature synthesis that is taking place in modern West African history. The authors—a Canadian and two West Africans—are all active in the field as teachers and scholars.

The book deals with the revolutionary years in West Africa—1815 to independence. Why 1815 was selected, at least in the subtitle, as the start of this era is not at all clear. The authors do, however, correctly point to the major revolutionary influences: the jihadic and Muslim conquest movements throughout most of the nineteenth century that resulted in the widespread establishment of Islamic political and social institutions in the western Sudan; the change-over in the coastal states from an economy based on the slave trade to one based on such agricultural products as palm oil and later on cocoa; and the establishment of European colonial rule, which led to widespread though uncoordinated African resistance, and which stimulated African nationalism, leading ultimately to African independence. In discussing the rise of West African nationalism, the authors correctly point to the not negligible impact of black men and their Pan-African ideas from the Americas. But while taking into account external influences, the authors have steadfastly held West Africans at the center of the historical stage.

Understandably, the text is not entirely free from factual and other minor errors. The errors most frequently occur when the authors seek to incorporate relevant materials dealing with the Americas. Thus on page 70 we are told that "if the British Government did not free the [West Indian] slaves by decree [in 1834], they would soon seize their freedom by force." An admirable sentiment, but the evidence for it is hardly strong. On the same page we get the unhelpful statement that in Latin America "slavery was a preparation for becoming a full member of society. . . ." On page 280 we are told, wrongly, that "the first coloured American to achieve real prominence

in the United States was an educator, Booker T. Washington." Page 32 contains an example of an unexplained statement—we are told that succession disputes were few in Bornu, but we are not told why.

But enough of carping. This is basically an excellent book for which teachers and students of modern West African history ought to be grateful.

HOLLIS R. LYNCH
Columbia University

OBARO IKIMẸ. *Niger Delta Rivalry: Itsẹkiri-Urhobo Relations and the European Presence 1884–1936.* (Ibadan History Series.) [New York:] Humanities Press. 1969. Pp. xxi, 301. $10.00.

This is the third of Ibadan University's Ph.D. theses to be published in the Ibadan History Series, and like the others it can only reinforce the impression of the very high standard of the research being conducted at that institution.

Dr. Ikimẹ's study fills an important gap in our knowledge of the history of southern Nigeria. The fascinating ramifications of the political, commercial, and social history of the Niger delta peoples were first unveiled, and brilliantly so, by Kenneth Dike in his now famous *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta* (1956), and G. I. Jones's *Trading States of the Oil Rivers* (1963) added additional layers of complexity to Dike's pioneering study. Both these writers, and others including myself who have elaborated upon their ideas, tended to view the Niger delta almost exclusively from its eastern side, seeing the story as that of the relationships between Ijo, Ibibio, and Efik middlemen and the Ibo heartland behind them. Benin to the west has always fascinated historians, but it has never seemed to be quite a part of the Niger delta, mainly because in the nineteenth century the Itsẹkiri secured control of Benin's outlets to the sea.

The Itsẹkiri people occupy a coastal position analogous to that of the Ijo or Efik on the eastern delta and like them were at first fishermen, salt-panners, and traders in the mangrove area. Behind them, instead of the masses of the Ibo in the east, were the much smaller Urhobo agriculturalists, living in the shadow of Benin. The study of Itsẹkiri-Urhobo relations is a study of tension between mutually dependent groups, tension that became serious with the development of the slave trade and was greatly complicated by the imposition of British power after 1884.

The Itsẹkiri, like the Ijo and Efik, "knew" the British much better than their hinterland cousins, and their kings in the nineteenth century held the somewhat anomalous title "Governor of the River" after the arrival of British consuls. With the development of the British protectorate after 1884, Nana Olomu, the Itsẹkiri chief, played a role of legalistic resistance to British overlordship strikingly similar to that of King Ja Ja of Opobo in the east. In 1894 Nana was deposed by force and exiled, like Ja Ja before him, as a monopolist and enemy to progress. Thereafter the Itsẹkiri accepted their fate and became allies of the British in the "opening up" and administration of Urhoboland. After 1900, as British policy became increasingly wedded to indirect rule ideas, the Itsẹkiri began to be used extensively in Urhoboland as "native" court justices, court clerks, and then as warrant chiefs. The studies under way of the warrant chief system in Iboland have shown the vast unwisdom of those policies when Ibo was allowed to exploit Ibo; in Urhoboland the tensions were compounded by traditional hostilities and rivalries overlaid by new grounds for "tribal" hatreds.

In the 1930s, as they had done in the eastern area, the British began to see the folly of their ways and to introduce large-scale reforms of local administration based on much closer inquiry into the realities of African life and tradition. At the same time the growing fleet of motor-driven trucks and vans destroyed the transport monopoly of the coastal peoples. In the process the Itsẹkiri slowly lost their hold on the Urhobo. The tensions between the two peoples, however, did not cease with their separation and indeed became more formal and politically organized.

Dr. Ikimẹ is in fact a member of one of the two ethnic groups that he writes about, and it is a compliment to him that few readers will be able to guess which. At the time this book was written Nigeria was passing through the agony of the struggle with Biafra as ethnic loyalty erupted into bloody group warfare. The

kind of study that Dr. Ikime has produced is timely, and the depth and span that he brings to it give hope that Nigerians can solve their problems. History is, after all, the most "relevant" of all the muses.

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JOHN PETERSON. *Province of Freedom: A History of Sierra Leone, 1787–1870.* Evanston: Northwestern University Press. 1969. Pp. 354. $11.00.

JOHNSON U. J. ASIEGBU. *Slavery and the Politics of Liberation 1787–1861: A Study of Liberated African Emigration and British Anti-Slavery Policy.* [New York:] Africana Publishing Corporation. 1969. Pp. xvi, 321. $9.50.

The debate continues as to the relative balance of philanthropy and self-interest in the British campaign against the slave trade and slavery. The new books by members of the history department of Fourah Bay College step aside from this debate to discuss a related theme of what the British did with the blacks emancipated as a result of the campaign.

Both authors—Peterson more systematically than Asiegbu—go over familiar gound in tracing the evolution of British policy toward the black settlers of Sierra Leone. First in the process was the grandiose dream of Granville Sharp to create a "Province of Freedom" for them. Next came the futile efforts of the Sierra Leone Company to organize the Nova Scotians and the Maroons into a commercially productive settlement. These steps were followed by the chronic inability of the colonial administration to provide adequately for the welfare of the growing number of liberated Africans.

This failure can be explained in various ways. Asiegbu by implication questions the will of the administrators to tackle the problem: the British government, under pressure from West Indian interests and critical taxpayers, was often more ready to take away emancipated blacks as soldiers or indentured laborers to the West Indies than to provide for their welfare in Sierra Leone. He gives the first detailed account of the various schemes to make Sierra Leone and other depots of liberated Africans satisfy the labor shortage created in the West Indies by the Emancipation Act after 1838. He shows that the emigration schemes, which lasted from 1838 to 1861, were more important, more persistent, and more relevant to West African history than has so far been realized. By tracing in detail the arguments for and against the schemes and the extent to which the government was willing to ignore its antislavery principles to satisfy the West Indian lobby on this matter, Dr. Asiegbu has shown once again that the conventional view of the British antislavery movement needs to be revised. The dedication of a few leaders to the antislavery cause notwithstanding, the involvement of the British ruling class as a whole can, at best, be described as only halfhearted.

Professor John Peterson stresses among other causes of this failure the high rate of mortality and the consequent lack of continuity in the personnel and the policies of the colonial administration. The only time that a coherent policy emerged and something was achieved was under Governor MacCarthy, who had the unusual distinction of surviving as governor of Sierra Leone for ten years. He was generously supported by the British Treasury. The Church Missionary Society contracted to provide missionary personnel necessary for the paternal theocratic administration of the liberated African villages as outlined by MacCarthy. It is doubtful whether even at its best such an administration would have provided a virile, flourishing colony. In MacCarthy's days, most village superintendents were unable to give the required quality of leadership. After MacCarthy the system collapsed, and no adequate alternative was provided other than increasing pressure for enlistment, apprenticeship, and emigration.

Peterson argues persuasively that it was this very failure of the colonial administration to provide adequately for the welfare of the black settlers that threw them on their own resources and saved them from the cultural suffocation of MacCarthyite theocracy. The settlers organized themselves into ethnic unions under headmen appointed for qualities of leadership and operating as village elders in the traditional political systems. In this way they maintained law and order more effectively than the colonial system could have done. And to resolve intraethnic conflicts, they set up

councils of the various headmen. They revived traditional mutual aid organizations, secret societies, and other economic and cultural associations. They created for themselves, in their own way, their "Province of Freedom." The colonial administration was basically hostile, particularly to the non-Christian elements and the insubordination inherent in these manifestations of independence. Yet they welcomed the tremendous contribution of these organizations to the maintenance of law and order and consequent economic progress. They came officially to recognize and to some extent to regulate them. Thus, the liberated Africans emerged as organized Afro-European communities with a distinctive language and culture of their own, partly assimilated to European culture, but well rooted in the African culture of the towns and villages from which they originated. His analysis of the African roots of this Creole culture can be sharpened here and there, but he has written an excellent introduction to the social history of Sierra Leone.

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RICHARD GRAY and DAVID BIRMINGHAM, editors. *Pre-Colonial African Trade: Essays on Trade in Central and Eastern Africa before 1900.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. 308. $7.00.

This very interesting collection of essays markedly increases our knowledge of precolonial African economic history, and it raises enough questions of fact or theory to keep occupied a generation of graduate students. The introduction by Gray and Birmingham takes issue with previously accepted views, especially Jan Vansina's rigid twofold classification of African economic systems as local subsistence economies or market economies based on long-distance trade. The editors suggest instead a continuum of which one end is a subsistence economy based on kinship ties with no real economic decision making or innovation; then come various intermediate stages of specialization, markets, and trading, with international trade and a complete market economy at the other end. The essays here provide much evidence of the varieties of economic activity existing in precolonial times. Joseph Miller destroys at least one cliché of African history—the necessary association of centralized political control with long-distance trading—in pointing out that the growth of Cokwe trade in ivory and slaves in the nineteenth-century Congo destroyed the Lunda empire.

John Lamphear writing on the Kamba and Andrew Roberts on the Nyamwesi emphasize the important role played by tribal groups in the interior in developing long-distance trade to the coast; in these two instances, among others, it is clearly not coastal groups or Europeans who take the initiative but interior peoples trying to move outside their own restricted regions. The pre-eminence of slaves and ivory as trading commodities is challenged, and the trade in iron and salt is emphasized instead. The vital importance of manpower is also stressed.

The papers cover a very wide range, Brian Fagan using archeological evidence from Zambia and M. Abir covering a period of centuries in southern Ethiopia; it is thus difficult to compare their findings very rigorously or to reach definitive conclusions. Nor, indeed, do the papers restrict themselves to economic questions; the concern of most of the authors is essentially social history. Much of their evidence comes from well-known sources reevaluated, and several accounts are models of the way in which the diaries of explorers and missionaries can yield new and unusual material. The papers lead to speculation on many topics: the role of women in trading, here documented among the Kamba; the importance in modernizing the economy of an all-purpose currency; the uses to which economic surplus was put, and whether it did have any real effect on standards of living; and the tantalizing problem of discovering what gave some societies the first impetus to move toward a market economy. It is hoped that this volume marks the first step in much more extensive and serious work in precolonial African economic history.

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ASIA AND THE EAST

PARSHOTAM MEHRA. *The Younghusband Expedition: An Interpretation.* With a foreword by SIR OLAF CAROE. New York: Asia Publishing House. 1968. Pp. xxi, 408. $14.00.

DOROTHY WOODMAN. *Himalayan Frontiers: A Political Review of British, Chinese, Indian and Russian Rivalries.* New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1969. Pp. xii, 423. $12.50.

It should be said at the outset that the two volumes here reviewed complement each other quite well. Dr. Mehra's detailed and meticulous study of the background of the controversial Younghusband expedition to Tibet in 1903 and 1904 provides important background to a crucial portion of the Sino-Indian conflict over the Himalayan borders that led to overt fighting between India and China in 1962. Dorothy Woodman's study, by contrast, focuses attention on the Simla Conference of 1913–14 and its even more controversial convention by which the McMahon Line was created and on the development of the rivalry over the Himalayan borders since that date. Mrs. Woodman's volume has not only a more contemporary emphasis than does Dr. Mehra's study, but also it is more wide ranging and broadly based. Dr. Mehra is concerned with explication of the events that led up to Younghusband's incursion into Tibet, whereas *Himalayan Frontiers* examines all aspects of India's northern border from the Hindu Kush far to the East to Rima, near the Burmese border. Finally, Dr. Mehra's study is eminently the work of the professional historian and is an excellent historical study, while Mrs. Woodman's volume shows the hallmarks of the geopolitical approach of a political geographer.

One of the special virtues of the historical study given us by Dr. Mehra is his careful explication of the personality, outlook, policy preferences, and prejudices of the major actors: Curzon, Younghusband, Lord George Hamilton, Broderick, and others. Moreover, he has shown how Curzon elaborated his imperialist view of India's frontier policy in respect of Persia and Afghanistan even before he turned his imperious attention to Tibet. He also places the issue of Curzon's Tibetan policy squarely in the larger, but essential, context of British foreign policy and imperial interests on the broad world canvas. His only failure in this respect would seem to me to be that he neglects to pay sufficient attention to the concurrent efforts that the cabinet had initiated for an understanding and settlement with Russia after 1901 but before Younghusband and his expedition entered Tibet. One of the reasons for cabinet opposition to Younghusband's behavior after his arrival in Lhasa, apart from the fact that he disobeyed their instructions, was that accord with Russia was on foot and did not need to be upset by rash actions in one corner of the far-flung imperial frontiers.

Mehra is at his best in his explication of the views and objectives of the major actors; Miss Woodman excels in laying out the strategic, geographical, and political considerations that led to controversies over borders and passes and, finally, in 1962 to military operations of no mean character. In this connection her evaluation of the role of the late Prime Minister Nehru in formulating and implementing a policy to protect India's northern borders is not at all commendatory. In her view, Nehru was dangerously unrealistic and idealistic in his dealings with China and was inept in his strategy as well. She does, however, make very clear the fact that major portions of the Himalayan boundry regions claimed by India after 1947 had been only fitfully and inadequately claimed, occupied, and/or administered by the Raj prior to 1947. Given the nature of the terrain, this should come as no surprise.

Both volumes are based upon solid and careful research and both are very well documented. Both have useful appendixes and valuable bibliographies. Several of the maps in Mrs. Woodman's book are, I regret to say, not at all easy to read; they have been too much reduced in photocopying. Nonetheless, it is a pleasure to recommend both volumes as important studies of India's border regions.

ROBERT I. CRANE
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MILTON E. OSBORNE. *The French Presence in Cochinchina and Cambodia: Rule and Response (1859–1905).* Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1969. Pp. xvi, 379. $9.50.

Using a wide range of English, French, Cambodian, and Vietnamese archival materials, supplemented by personal interviews, Osborne

describes the beginnings of French rule and native response in Cochin China and Cambodia. His work is more than a history of conquest; it is an analysis of the French impact on southern Indochina in all its political, economic, and cultural ramifications and therefore is of interest to political scientists and sociologists as well as historians.

A long section of the book deals with the establishment of colonial administration and the attempt at cultural assimilation in Cochin China. Perhaps the most significant theme of these chapters on Cochin China is the contradiction in French goals. The achievement of political predominance, which required the subordination of the Vietnamese to the French, was incompatible with, and thus prejudiced, assimilation, the logical end of which would have been equality of the Vietnamese with the French. By 1905 the French had established a firm and permanent control of Cochin China but had assimilated only a very small minority of Vietnamese, many of whom embraced French ways simply for personal, material reasons.

Another major part of the book is devoted to a study of the protectorate in Cambodia. Here the French recognized that preservation of the traditional monarchical system enabled them to maintain a political predominance in the country without having to conquer and administer it themselves. To achieve the subservience of the monarchy, however, was exceedingly difficult because of the independent ways of King Norodom. The king, who had a long reign of forty years, much to the dismay of the French, shrewdly tried to trade his support of the French for concessions that would have permitted him to retain some independence in domestic affairs. Osborne suggests that the French handled Norodom very well. Aware that Norodom needed their protection from Siam and Vietnam, his predatory neighbors, as well as from jealous and ambitious rivals at home, the French refused to bargain with him. They gradually deprived him of the substance of power, and by the end of his reign in 1904 he was no more than a figurehead sovereign. But in allowing him the appearance of authority, which they considered a sufficient compensation to him for his allegiance to them, the French strengthened the symbolism of the monarchy, assuring its survival into the twentieth century and its ability to continue to serve the interests of France.

A final section of the book contains the author's conclusions, which are mostly summary and recapitulation of descriptive detail presented abundantly in the earlier sections. His statement that "the ultimate failure of France to live up to its own proclaimed standards led to the reaction of bitter opposition to French rule" is a disappointing answer to the central question that his study has raised: did the protectorate in Cambodia, where traditional forms were preserved, cause less native friction with and antagonism toward the French than the administrative apparatus in Cochin China where there was an attempt to force cultural change?

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DONALD C. LORD. *Mo Bradley and Thailand.* (Christian World Mission Book.) Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. 1969. Pp. 227. $3.95.

DAVID K. WYATT. *The Politics of Reform in Thailand: Education in the Reign of King Chulalongkorn.* (Yale Southeast Asia Studies, Number 4.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1969. Pp. xix, 425. $11.00.

That Dan Beach Bradley was called "mo," the Thai word for medical doctor, is a clear indication of the nonreligious nature of the success of the Christian missions in Thailand, Catholic and Protestant alike. A sympathetic portrait of Bradley, the influential missionary responsible for so many "firsts" in nineteenth-century Thailand, emerges from Donald C. Lord's examination of numerous mission records and private papers, but judging even from the bits of the Bradley journals quoted in his work one has the impression that the good missionary was a man of more complex character than Lord allows. The almost superhuman standard the missionaries set for their public as well as private lives, their tactlessness in expressing the superiority of their beliefs—for example, that Buddha is in hell—must have made them very difficult guests at times, and as the author points out, the Thais deserved much credit for getting as much, and only as much, as they wanted out of such a fiery group of teachers.

A much larger work, *The Politics of Reform in Thailand: Education in the Reign of King Chulalongkorn*, also endorses the view that in spite of the presence of a large number of Western "advisers," the final policy-making decisions during this critical period of Thai history remained with the Thais. Professor Wyatt is the first Western scholar to have made full use of Thai archival materials, and his exhaustive bibliography of works published in Thai will prove a gold mine for any serious student of nineteenth-century Thailand. Educational reform was the clearest illustration of modernization imposed upon the country from above and indicative of King Chulalongkorn's reform policy as a whole. The problems of internal politics, which resulted in the uneven tempo of reform measures, are carefully worked out, and Professor Wyatt's analysis supports King Chulalongkorn's explanations of this uneven pace—lack of trained men and fear of loosing Thai-ness in the rapid process of modernization. It is a pity that with the vast materials at his disposal and his remarkable knowledge of politics and personalities of the period the author has not given his view on another theory that has been advanced as a reason for the slack period between 1875, when the king attained his majority and came into full control of his inheritance, and the late 1890s when the reform movement picked up new life. Members of the former Young Siam party, which had helped wrest power from the old regent in the early 1870s, accused the king, in language of deceptive humility as demanded by the court, of sitting pretty once his objective —the consolidation of the power of the monarchy—had been obtained. Wyatt merely describes this challenge from a group of young princes and officials to whom the king had given his two explanations as "treasonable." The history of the educational reform, which gained momentum only after years of indecisiveness when the king decided to take a more personal interest in 1898, would lend support to these hotheads' argument that the key to the reform movement rested entirely with the king.

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AMERICAS

PHILIP L. BARBOUR. *Pocahontas and Her World: A Chronicle of America's First Settlement, in which Is Related the Story of the Indians and the Englishmen—Particularly Captain John Smith, Captain Samuel Argall, and Master John Rolfe.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1970. Pp. xx, 320. $6.95.

Pocahontas, John Smith's "savior" and John Rolfe's wife, whose life spanned the formative period of the Jamestown colony, died in London in 1617 when she was perhaps twenty-one. Barbour, an authority on Jamestown's limited sources, has diligently utilized them and uncovered new bits of information to round out our understanding of this English plantation. The three white men in Pocahontas' life—Smith, Rolfe, and Argall—are perceptively depicted; and the author's characterization of less well-known Captain Samuel Argall, who contrived to capture Pocahontas, is particularly informative.

Barbour's *raison-d'être* for his book "is an attempt to present the Pocahontas of history" and to consider her "as a child of the forest." He has set himself a formidable task, because the information on young Pocahontas is scanty. Though Barbour draws on anthropological studies, he has not used these as effectively as his other sources. He maintains, perhaps correctly, that Powhatan's ambition and the Europeans' appearance in the Chesapeake Bay were responsible for formation of the Powhatan Confederacy. This ignores Nancy Lurie's equally plausible thesis that this Confederacy came into being to protect the Virginia Algonquins from Indians west of the fall line. Whether Powhatan was more intimidated by the several hundred, frequently starving, white adults in Virginia during Pocahontas' lifetime or by Indian neighbors, numbering in the thousands, is yet unresolved. The more fundamental difficulty in putting Pocahontas into historical perspective is whether Powhatan considered her marriage the heart of the English alliance, and whether he was more attached to Pocahontas than to his presumably numerous other daughters.

But Barbour has written a valuable book. From the vantage point of the major participants the reader gets lively vignettes of early Jamestown. Barbour describes the cosmopolitan

nature of this colony better than anyone else. Woodward's recent work on Pocahontas portrays her more realistically as an Indian, but when dealing with the early voyages, international rivalries, and the Indian "princess'" visit to England Barbour's mature scholarship is at its best. Despite the author's considerable efforts, however, Pocahontas remains obscure, and until the archeologists and ethnohistorians come to the rescue, this is likely to be her fate.

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MAYNARD GEIGER, O.F.M. *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California, 1769–1848: A Biographical Dictionary.* San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library. 1969. Pp. xiv, 304. $12.50.

Until recently historians diagnosed the violent abdominal seizures suffered by Fathers Carnicer, Ciprés, and Martín as poisoning by Indians. Newly discovered evidence shows that they poisoned themselves quite unintentionally on that December day in 1800. The real culprit was the rotgut mescal they drank from a copper pot.

This relatively minor revelation points up two of the book's truly major contributions. First, the wealth of new material, and second, the author's success in rendering California's much fabled padres as flesh-and-blood human beings. For a quarter century Father Maynard, archivist at Mission Santa Barbara and chief historical detective for the Serra cause, has traveled, gathered data, and written on behalf of his Franciscan predecessors. His present work, a fitting bicentennial tribute, brings together his own findings and politely updates those of Bancroft, Engelhardt, and others.

One hundred forty-two resident missionaries and nine visitors, from the dogged forty-four-year veteran Abella to the resourceful grape grower Zalvidea, pass in review. Their biographies vary in length from a paragraph (Solá) to eight pages (González Rubio). "All tried," says Father Maynard, "and a few failed." He makes no effort to gloss over the failures. About Pedro de la Cueva he writes: "less edifying than his hospitality and devotion to duty . . . from 1804 until 1808, drink was his consuming vice." The few included mental cases (Catalán, Gilí, Merino, Rubí), hypochondriacs (Baldomero López), and in the trying years of the nineteenth century alleged fornicators (Ordaz, the Suárez del Real brothers, Vázquez del Mercado). Some hated California, its fog, its earthquakes, its people. Hilario Torrent wept. Father Espí made everyone around him miserable, yet when transferred to Cuba earned local fame as a saint.

A handy twelve-page listing of all the friars with their vital statistics and a glossary are appended. Because so much significant information cuts across the biographies—for example, the friars' varied reactions to Mexican loyalty oaths—an index should have been provided.

The author is first to admit that this is not the last word. Rather it is a challenge, "a starting point": here is a research tool, now use it, build upon it. It is more. As California staggers under today's burdens, Father Maynard has struck a blow for the "relevance" of the Hispanic past. Governor Reagan, in fact, might well ponder the advice of Father Vázquez—do not advertise, lest immigrants overrun the country!

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MARTIN H. BUSH. *Revolutionary Enigma: A Re-Appraisal of General Philip Schuyler of New York.* (Empire State Historical Publications Series, Number 80.) Port Washington, N. Y.: Ira J. Friedman. 1969. Pp. xiv, 205. $8.75.

Philip Schuyler's contributions to the American Revolution have long been ignored or misunderstood by historians. The neglect is difficult to understand. As a leading member of the New York aristocracy, a tenant landlord, merchant, political figure, and operator of a large estate, his social and economic position was secure. When the war began in 1775 the Second Continental Congress commissioned him a major general and assigned him command of the northern department. In that capacity he directed the abortive invasion of Canada in 1775, held off the British invasion in 1776, and ably conducted the Saratoga campaign until Congress replaced him with Horatio Gates on August 19, 1777. In addition, Schuyler was Indian commissioner, delegate to Congress, and the driving force behind a large and effective logistical organization.

If Mr. Bush had confined his research and writing to telling the story from the documents, this could have been a significant and useful book. Instead, he has tried to write a revisionist account without clearly stating the errors and misconceptions that he is trying to correct. Statements such as "historians say" are meaningless. Furthermore, in an effort to add spice to the story, he has relied on the gossip of William Smith, an admitted Tory, to state that Schuyler was a "fainthearted patriot."

Although Mr. Bush's bibliography looks impressive on paper, he has not used it well. For example, he cites the New York Public Library letter book only to July 3, 1777, but it does not end until 1778. This makes impossible a realistic presentation of the Burgoyne invasion and the battle of Oriskany. Furthermore, he cites materials from the American Antiquarian Society but does not refer to the key Schuyler letter book in that collection. These shortcomings are difficult to understand, because in 1961–62 Mr. Bush collected copies of the twenty-two thousand Schuyler documents that I am editing for publication. More careful use of the manuscripts, instead of secondary accounts, would have given Mr. Bush a better case for his interpretation of Schuyler.

For attempting to tell the Schuyler story, Mr. Bush is to be commended, but his sometimes bombastic approach, uncritical use of sources, and lack of perspective in relating Schuyler to the over-all scene should make the reader or researcher wary of the book.

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GEORGE ATHAN BILLIAS, editor. *George Washington's Opponents: British Generals and Admirals in the American Revolution.* (Apollo Editions.) New York: William Morrow and Company. 1969. Pp. xxvii, 362. $2.95.

This book was conceived as a companion volume to *George Washington's Generals,* also edited by Mr. Billias, and contains ten essays of commendably high quality. Of the ten, six are about generals—Gage, Howe, Clinton, Carleton, Burgoyne, and Cornwallis—and four are about admirals—Lord Howe, Arbuthnot, Gambier, Thomas Graves, Hood, and Rodney. While we already know a great deal about these officers and only little that is original appears, there is a certain amount of revisionism, some important insight, and significant confirmation of earlier judgments. Moreover, though specific campaigns and battles associated with the subjects are given due attention, the essays are also concerned with political and strategic questions, problems of logistics and communication, and analyses of personality and character. Extensive footnotes together with brief, annotated bibliographies are given with each essay.

These essays underscore factors important to an understanding of what happened and why. One factor of general agreement among the essayists is that the British military and naval leaders did not appreciate the nature of the war. Nor did the ministry itself, which was responsible for their selection. In the beginning, before loyalties became too deeply and irrevocably committed, the prompt and intelligent application of military force might have terminated the rebellion. Certainly, as Maldwyn A. Jones points out in his essay on Howe, there were opportunities to capture or destroy American armies—at Long Island, White Plains, and in New Jersey in 1776. Mismanagement, leisurely movement, and conventional military attitudes helped save the American cause.

A second factor, amply demonstrated, especially in John Shy's essay on Gage, Mr. Jones's on Howe, Paul H. Smith's on Carleton, and William B. Willcox's single essay on Arbuthnot, Gambier, and Graves, was the extreme conservatism of most of these British military leaders. They conducted war well within the conventions of their age, preferring not to take risks: for example, Carleton not chancing the siege of Ticonderoga, Howe refusing to press the attack on the defeated American army at Brooklyn Heights, Arbuthnot declining to help Clinton seize Rhode Island again before de Ternay and Rochambeau arrived, Graves employing conventional tactics when de Grasse's ships were streaming in poor order out of the Chesapeake to engage him. The one admiral consistently aggressive, Hood, was kept in a subordinate role, while generals who showed dash and imagination, such as Burgoyne and Cornwallis, became victims in part of their own misjudgment and of misunder-

standings and differences with their superiors. The essays by Mr. Willcox and Mr. Smith are remarkably perceptive on this factor of conservatism.

A third factor, lucidly illustrated in the editor's essay on Burgoyne and Mr. Willcox's essays on Clinton and his naval trio, was the large amount of strategic confusion and difficulty in cooperation. The British had no clear, over-all strategy for winning the war; their commanders were often at odds, and, except for the period of the Howe brothers, cooperation between army and navy was scarcely harmonious or effective.

A fourth factor—and here the Cornwallis essay by Hugh F. Rankin is very discerning—was the British reliance on Loyalist support, which was greatly overestimated in advance. This was especially true of the Southern campaigns. Loyalists were too intimidated or too apathetic to turn out, particularly following the King's Mountain disaster.

All of these factors were serious enough before France entered the war; afterward they were almost insuperable obstacles to a British victory. But, as Mr. Billias observes in his introduction, it was not British mistakes alone but the American ability to take advantage of them as well that enabled the patriots to remain in the field until French assistance arrived.

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ROBERT J. TAYLOR, editor. *The Susquehannah Company Papers.* Volume 7, *1776–1784;* Volume 8, *1784–1786;* Volume 9, *1787–1788.* (Sheldon Reynolds Memorial Publications.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press for Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. 1969; 1969; 1970. Pp. xxxix, 481; xxxix, 451; xlv, 570. $15.00; $15.00; $20.00.

These three volumes are a further step toward the completion of the ambitious project of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, which will produce twelve volumes of the papers and records of the Susquehannah Company. These papers and records are the sources for the history of that Connecticut-based land and settlement company and its sponsorship of a large-scale migration of New Englanders into northeastern Pennsylvania to occupy lands claimed under Connecticut's original charter. The project was initiated when Julian P. Boyd, director of the society at Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, recognized the value of these papers as an unusually full record of a land company's directed plan for westward expansion in colonial days. Four volumes were edited by Dr. Boyd and contained material covering the period from 1750 through 1772. Publication of the series was resumed, much to the credit of the society for persevering in so ambitious a project, and with the aid of a grant from the National Historical Publications Commission, under the editorship of Dr. Robert Taylor, associate professor of history at Tufts University. The history was picked up in 1772 and with volume 9 is continued through 1788.

It may be worth repeating the point I made in an earlier review of the preceding two volumes. This entire project is most unusual for a local historical society because it is an enterprise of such scope and deals with what a few decades ago many historians probably would have dismissed as local history. It does, of course, represent in the eyes of historians of today much more than local history. The project explains the organization and operations of a major early land company and is a chapter in early westward expansion. In addition it provides information on a boundary dispute that early challenged Congress to seek a national solution to such problems. The society deserves great praise for supporting such a project at considerable expense. Cornell University Press should be congratulated for undertaking publication and producing a series of excellent volumes of source material.

The three volumes here under consideration are as well edited as those that preceded them. The content is the usual mixture of key documents and significant correspondence. The seventh volume covers the period of the American Revolution and will be of great interest to researchers and writers dealing with that era during the forthcoming bicentennial. It includes the story of the battle of Wyoming and the early dispute over the Connecticut claims. In volume 8 the story is carried forward another two years, to 1786, and the relationship of the Susquehannah Company claim to the larger question of land cessions made to the

new United States is documented. One of many fascinating letters is the offer of none other than Ethan Allen to "speedily repair to Wyoming with a small detachment of Green Mountain Boys" to vindicate the Connecticut claims. This was late in 1785 and points up how a limited civil war could have been a product of the dispute over land claims. Indeed there was local war going on in this beautiful valley, and it demanded restraint by the new national government.

The events reviewed in volume 8 assume a greater significance when one sees them in the context of contemporary arguments for and against establishing a sound base for a stronger central government. Volume 9 (1787–88), one of the largest in the series, continues the story of the boundary conflict. It deals mainly with the efforts of Timothy Pickering to persuade the Connecticut settlers to accept Pennsylvania government along with the confirmation of their land titles, which were a very important part of the boundary settlement. The threat of further violence and separatism is brought out in the recording of the somewhat conspiratorial operations of the opponents of Pickering, who were accused of plotting the creation of a new state in defiance of Congress. They were led by John Franklin, who spent several months in solitary confinement in irons in a Philadelphia prison for his efforts. This is a neglected chapter in the history of the early struggles to form "a more perfect union" and should in itself direct the attention of any historian of the era to this particular volume and the one that precedes it.

S. K. STEVENS
Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission

PAUL S. CLARKSON and R. SAMUEL JETT. *Luther Martin of Maryland.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1970. Pp. ix, 336. $12.00.

At a moment in our history when a Supreme Court justice has again come under threat of impeachment by the congressional leadership of a political party, this biography of Luther Martin has, among other qualities, a certain timeliness. It is more than likely, however, that timing figured little in the publication plans of the authors, whose work appears after an investment of twenty-five years in research on their subject. Indeed they might fairly describe their book as a labor of love rather than a tract for the times. Certainly they deserve credit for producing the first comprehensive account of a fascinating personage who during his life surfaced to major national concerns three times: first as delegate from Maryland to the Constitutional Convention, then as counsel for the defense in a pair of the most famous trials in our early history—the Aaron Burr treason case and the impeachment of Supreme Court Justice Samuel Chase.

Quite properly the authors have allocated the most space—twelve out of twenty-seven chapters—to these three episodes. Aside from their importance as pages in our national history, the documentation for them is fullest and Martin's role in each most clearly delineated. For other years of his career the kind of evidence biographers ideally desire is scarce enough that the few who have been tempted to write the full life have given up the job. Never as methodical as lawyers are thought to be, Martin left no cache of personal papers that reveal the man and the workings of his mind. Accordingly the authors have leaned on his apologia, *Modern Gratitude,* for personal touches and on the public records for the rest. The lack of ready and plentiful sources means that Martin presents difficulties as a biographical victim, difficulties that are compounded by a political career of forty years in the unexciting post of attorney general of Maryland. Lawsuits hold few thrills, even those as significant as the Calvert entail and the British debt cases.

Happily, then, the authors have elected to write a straightforward, factual account without resorting to elaborate psychoanalysis. But it is a pity that, in obvious admiration for their subject, they have felt compelled to explain away Martin's inconsistencies and to traduce his opponents. This special pleading contributes little to the reader's understanding and in the discussion of the Logan-Cresap affair becomes positively misleading. There is room for a range of interpretations of this complex, enigmatic personality who was a bundle of incongruous characteristics: learned, lovable, forceful, drunken, at times gamey, at others passionate, and occasionally cranky. On

the authors' showing, Martin had an indefinable genius, not of the first order as a Hamilton or Marshall but of a kind that moved Chief Justice Taney to place him first among the great men of the bar and impelled Justice Story to warn a friend, "You should hear of Luther Martin's fame from those who have known him long and intimately, but you should not see him."

As to his "principles"—such would have been the expression in his day—Martin himself had something to say, particularly about his shift from articulate opponent of the Constitution to outspoken Federalist. His statement sounds a note common to utterances of public men as they sorted themselves into congenial groupings within the new national political context. His exact words ("I *am now* and I *unchangeably have been*, a friend to liberty; but—") might have fallen from the lips of half a dozen contemporaries. Actually Martin appears the maverick rather than the turncoat, rocking the boat with deviant views at the Constitutional Convention but still voicing radical doctrine at the Burr trial, long after his political reorientation. Similarly in his law cases one encounters difficulties in discerning a thrust or direction in the assortment. It would be rash to label Martin an opportunist; it is difficult to maintain that he acted consistently on principle. There is no doubt whatever about his passionate attachment to causes that excited his sympathies.

Lawyers and historians have traditionally mistrusted the methods and aims of each other. Historians will think Jefferson, and only less so Madison, somewhat unfairly dealt with by Clarkson and Jett, both distinguished lawyers. They have conceived their task, and rightly so, as viewing the times from the standpoint of Luther Martin, who was not only a lawyer but a polemicist after the swinging manner of the eighteenth century. Whether by intent or not, they have given historians an object lesson in the truth of Justice Holmes's dictum that the life of the law has not been logic but experience, for part 2 is a commentary on the role of resolute personalities and strongly held prejudices in a formative period of American jurisprudence.

Given the character of Luther Martin and the state of the evidence on his career, writing his biography is a tour de force. That the authors have been able to gather the scattered evidence into a full and clear account, and in retrospect a moving one, is gratifying. For historians, accustomed to their own modes of analysis, it will be a useful document.

AUBREY C. LAND
University of Georgia

CHARLES A. MILLER. *The Supreme Court and the Uses of History*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1969. Pp. viii, 234. $6.95.

RICHARD CLAUDE. *The Supreme Court and the Electoral Process*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1970. Pp. xv, 296. $10.00.

"History," the legal realist Jerome Frank once wrote, "liberates from the fetters of the present, for it suggests that there were other ways of doing things than those we now employ." Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, however, looked forward to a time "when the part played by history in the explanation of dogma shall be very small, and instead of ingenious research, we shall spend our energy on the ends sought to be attained and the reasons for desiring them." The concern of bench and bar over the use of history has been a theme running through past and recent considerations of proper legal adjudication. As modern scholars especially have come to acknowledge, judges are political instruments, and consciously so. Their opinions are a form of public communication; to be accepted, they must make sense to the people to whom they are addressed. This means almost instinctively going beyond sheer legal logic and justifying constitutional interpretation with a variety of kinds of supporting evidence. To cynics this means constructing reasoning for conclusions after having reached them. Yet such a view ignores the fact that to be persuasive, the opinion must be accompanied by coherent argument reflecting convincing judicial reasoning. The trials and tribulations of the recent Supreme Court, as both these works make clear, are attributable, in various instances, to the failure to convince the public that conclusions reached are reasonable projections of either the constitutional text, valid legal doctrine, and precedent, or of

history, either internal to the law or external to it.

Charles A. Miller's work is a particularly suggestive probe into both the American mind and its evaluation of the proper use of history generally and the proper judicial use of it. Exploring in general ways both the role and limitations of history as a tool of legal adjudication, Miller then sets up a series of case studies to demonstrate differing use in specific areas—the contract clause, the presidential removal power, political expression, civil rights, and reapportionment—and in turn evaluates the success and impact of such use. He is concerned particularly with the justices' constituencies and the response of those constituencies to judicial reliance upon differing types of materials. In evaluating conscious and unconscious judicial uses of the past and the types of history on which judges have relied, he makes cogent observations of his own as to the merits, or lack of them, of a number of recent works in constitutional history. If Miller's study has weaknesses, they stem more from its selective quality than from its finely reasoned nature. If it seems at points overly sophistic and infused with a legal realist viewpoint regarding judicial behavior, it nonetheless clearly recognizes that in reaching sociopolitical conclusions the judges are cognizant of the complexity of the task and the many forces operating upon them with which they must contend.

Richard Claude's book, while also acknowledging the Court as a political agency acting especially to give legal expression to prior shifts in the political resources of racial minorities and urban majorities, is generally less satisfying. Proposing to explore the influence Court decisions have had on the extension and standardization of election laws and practices over the last hundred years, it consistently drifts away from that focus, becoming through long sections a somewhat routine recitation of familiar historical developments, from the enactment of the Civil War amendments and enforcing statutes, through state restrictions on voting by blacks, to the development of federal remedies in the civil rights acts of the 1950s and 1960s, on through a careful but not particularly original discussion of reapportionment, finally throwing in a discussion of the electoral college dispute. That the Court was a prime mover in shaping this broad range of electoral processes is not made convincingly clear. Nor is its precise role ever positively explicated. Thus the volume has a catchall character that detracts from its thesis. While the reader may find it convenient to have a body of diverse material surrounding the electoral process brought together in one volume, he will be disturbed by the unevenness of treatment of the different topics included. For the historian this is particularly true of the chapters on nineteenth-century activity, where the volume is not only cursory at many points, but erroneous at others, particularly in its discussion of Reconstruction developments.

The two books are both refreshing, however, in what they take for granted. By rejecting outright any suggestion that the judicial process is more than the use of the law by fallible men to attain their own concept of a just life between living human beings here and now, they present a reality regarding judicial-political behavior that previous generations were neither willing to come to terms with nor even in some cases to acknowledge.

PAUL L. MURPHY
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GERALD STOURZH. *Alexander Hamilton and the Idea of Republican Government.* Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1970. Pp. viii, 278. $8.50.

This is a very important book, part of a general reassessment of the origins and nature of the ideas of the founding fathers now taking place in American historiography. Gerald Stourzh, professor of history at the University of Vienna, anticipated this recent development a decade and a half ago with his unfortunately neglected *Benjamin Franklin and American Foreign Policy.* As in the case of the Franklin book, this study of Alexander Hamilton's thought uses the man mainly as a peg on which to hang an extended and subtle analysis of a broad range of late eighteenth-century ideas. In five topical chapters conveniently subdivided into short sections Stourzh deals with various aspects of Hamilton's thinking: his notions of political obligation; his indebtedness to various thinkers, including Machiavelli, Blackstone, and Hume; his interpretation

of the meaning of republican government and of its sources in the interests and passions of men; his belief in the interdependence between forms of government and the conduct of foreign policy; and finally his pursuit of fame and greatness. Rarely has anyone—except perhaps Arthur O. Lovejoy, whose work, curiously, is ignored by Stourzh—so carefully related the psychological assumptions of this premodern but knowledgeable age to the founders' political thought. While the book, in good presociological "Hamiltonian" terms, generally neglects the social exigencies and circumstances impinging on and shaping Hamilton's thinking, it does succeed superbly in connecting Hamilton's ideas one to another in a contextual scheme of remarkable distinctiveness. Yet Stourzh always makes clear that Hamilton, however much some of his ideas differed from those of his contemporaries, was very much a man of his own time—very much an eighteenth-century man.

Indeed, in reading this book one is more than ever convinced of our general failure to appreciate the differentness of the eighteenth-century world of the founding fathers. Too often, as Stourzh emphasizes time and again, we have approached the Revolutionary era unhistorically, ignoring the irretrievability of the period in order to impose on it modern assumptions and categories of thought. Douglass Adair would have liked this book, for he understood better than most historians the peculiarities of the intellectual world of the late eighteenth century. It is thus especially fitting that this book, with its fine sense of the history of that period, is dedicated to his memory.

GORDON S. WOOD
Brown University

LINDA K. KERBER. *Federalists in Dissent: Imagery and Ideology in Jeffersonian America.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1970. Pp. xii, 233. $7.50.

In this study of "articulate Federalists," Mrs. Kerber argues that the distinction between Federalists and Jeffersonians was as much cultural as political. Finding that the Revolution had not produced the anticipated golden age, Jeffersonians redefined the terms of the goal, while Federalists clung to the dream. Federalists were bitter after 1800 not solely because they had lost power but because America appeared to be developing a civilization of which they did not approve. To the Federalists, Jeffersonians were committed to an abstract impracticality that would destroy the cultural fabric of the new nation. They saw the repeal of the judiciary act of 1801 as evidence of Republican hostility to the institutions of social order. They were concerned about the Jeffersonian willingness to embark on projects as unpredictable as the acquisition of Louisiana. They stood aghast at the movement to drop Latin and Greek from the curricula of schools and colleges. They disliked not merely Jefferson the politician but Jefferson the inventor, anthropologist, and president of the American Philosophical Society. Jefferson's association with the Philadelphia society, which encouraged the study of natural history, gave political dimension to its differences with the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in Boston, where mathematical and astronomical studies were stressed. Federalists saw a disturbing pattern: "astronomers replaced by roving natural historians, aimlessly searching for curiosities," the study of the classics replaced by a vocational curriculum, respect for learning giving way to respect for crasser forms of success.

Mrs. Kerber also examines the antislavery content of Federalist dissent. Northern Federalists and southern Republicans were permitted to speak for their respective parties on the subject, she argues; and, while admitting that Federalists used the issue for political purposes, she credits them with beginning to develop a political antislavery case that their sons would carry forward.

The "articulate Federalists," who are the focus of this study, are seen as "representing an intellectual rather than a sociological stratum." They were "often lawyers and politicians with literary talents," we are told, but the group is not clearly defined; and there is little effort to explore differences within the group. This allows considerable latitude in selecting spokesmen of the Federalist mind. The well-documented study is based on a wide reading of contemporary pamphlets, newspapers, and correspondence, but it would have been

strengthened by a clearer definition of scope and a sharper delineation of conclusions.

NOBLE E. CUNNINGHAM, JR.
University of Missouri, Columbia

MERRILL D. PETERSON. *Thomas Jefferson and the New Nation: A Biography*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. ix, 1072. $15.00.

The publication of a full-length biography of Jefferson is an important event. Fortunately, this is a major work. Merrill Peterson had already passed his qualifying examination by an earlier study of Jefferson's significance, and he now fulfills the promise of that work. His biography combines scholarship with sound judgment and good prose.

The new *Thomas Jefferson* replaces all of the previous one-volume biographies. The only comparable work, by Dumas Malone, already extends to three volumes and presumably will reach five or six. Peterson disclaims any attempt to compete with Malone, intending not a definitive history but "a basic narrative of Jefferson's life," stressing its political and intellectual aspects. But this is no mere sketch: it extends to over a thousand pages and touches every part of Jefferson's career. Nor has Peterson simply written a new interpretation based upon the Virginia statesman's papers. He has consulted a variety of sources, including recent monographs and articles, and he does not hesitate to express an opinion on the many controversial questions that the Jefferson scholar must answer.

Peterson, like most biographers of Jefferson —and most historians—ends with a high regard for the great Virginian. Yet his assessment is usually balanced. He shares the general enthusiasm for Jefferson's role as revolutionary statesman, though he makes clear that the revolutionist was no radical: "even his most progressive reforms were streaked with conservatism." He finds much to admire in Jefferson's governorship, while acknowledging that it "could not be reckoned brilliant or even successful." He considers Jefferson a successful president, even a good administrator, with the sole exception of the embargo question, where he failed at the start fully to inform the public of his objectives and at the end refused to act vigorously. If at times Peterson becomes too defensive of Jefferson, he compensates by willingness to criticize. Only in a few passages does the reader feel that Jefferson's faults have been minimized. Peterson guesses that Peter Carr fathered Sally Heming's children. Of the evidence in favor of Jefferson's paternity he states only that it is "highly circumstantial." Such a "miscegenous relationship" he finds "badly out of character"; it "revolted his whole being." Why a relationship between a healthy, kindly, charming widower and an attractive mulatto should be "difficult to imagine" the reader does not know. Would Sally prefer Peter Carr to Jefferson? Again, Peterson attributes Jefferson's financial problems to various misfortunes while minimizing his financial irresponsibility: thus while trying to sell land to pay debts he was buying land, Peterson explains, "to round-out his holdings"!

The more important interpretations concern the character of Hamilton, John Adams, and the two parties. As one might expect, admirers of Hamilton will object to Peterson's treatment of the secretary, whose activities he terms "treacherous" and whose viewpoint Peterson considers antidemocratic. He finds little good in Jay's Treaty. Most students of Adams' presidency will feel the present account one-sided, and indeed the chapter seems the least satisfactory in the book. Peterson draws no distinction between various species of Federalist, and finds no difference between the programs of Hamilton and Adams in 1798. He does not clearly describe the nature and genius of the two parties, for example stating that the Republicans in 1800 "had no clearly defined principles and objectives" apart from Jefferson's own convictions. The account, in short, contradicts or ignores several recent interpretations. But this bias, together with a few other questionable statements, does not destroy the general reliability of the whole.

The book contains few typographical or stylistic errors. Better editorial work should have changed the verbs "bottomed," "founded on," and "grounded" to words more familiar to the modern ear. Surely the British seized 3,000 hogsheads, not pounds of tobacco. A few pronouns follow the wrong antecedent, and in too many instances the reader cannot be sure whether an opinion is that of the author or someone else. Happily these minor flaws are

far outnumbered by striking sentences and metaphors. While the style, as a rule, lacks brilliance, it is smooth and unobtrusive.

Historians, if not the general reader, will resent the absence of footnotes. This is no popular biography, no brief sketch, but over a thousand solid pages of scholarship. Granted that detailed citations would burden most readers, yet the serious student deserves to know the sources for important statements and controversial interpretations, while scholars will miss historiographical comments. Footnotes of an explanatory nature would not greatly increase the length of the book and would exceed in value much of the detail.

Peterson's major contribution lies in his description of Jefferson's contribution to American politics and culture. His mastery of the period diminishes with the distance from his subject, though he excels most biographers in his background knowledge; and his discussion of economic and social history falls below his high standard. In general, however, this is a fine biography.

JACKSON TURNER MAIN
State University of New York, Stony Brook

IRVING BRANT. *The Fourth President: A Life of James Madison.* Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1970. Pp. 681. $12.95.

What multivolume historical biography can be crammed into a single volume with the loss of "virtually nothing of pertinence and importance"? Irving Brant contends that his six-volume *Life of James Madison* not only can be, but has been, so compressed in Brant's newest volume, *The Fourth President: A Life of James Madison.*

The truth of this statement depends on what Brant means by "pertinence and importance." If he means facts, most of them are there. An amazing amount of factual Madisoniana is presented in 647 large pages of text. But surely Brant cannot believe that facts represented the principal strength of his *Madison*. Brant's vivid style, his sometimes wild humor, and his pugnacious attacks on other historians are drastically reduced.

The vigor of Brant's support for Madison against earlier historians made his volumes a fascinating historiographical exercise—one aimed at Claude Van Tyne, another at George Dangerfield, and several at Henry Adams. Van Tyne and Adams still get their lumps in *The Fourth President.* Brant feels that Madison can be safely entrusted to a single volume now because he no longer needs protection from neo-Federalist historians' "misappraisals" of Madison and neo-Jeffersonians' insistence that Madison was Jefferson's flunky. Brant devoted six volumes—now seven—to the correction of these canards.

Few biographers retain sufficient interest and energy to distill multivolume works into one. Thus Brant could establish his own precedents. He wisely decided to deal with essentials rather than merely concoct a précis of the larger work. Although the sections correspond to his original volumes—with the exception of two sections, which are devoted to the immense *Commander in Chief: 1812–1836*—Brant concentrates chiefly on Madison's political career. In seven pages, for instance, he leaps "From Cradle to College." Aside from four footnotes his annotation consists of two pages telling where to look in the big *Madison* for sources of material in the present volume. His rather skimpy index is divided into three sections—names, subjects, and War of 1812.

As Brant concludes his seventh, and presumably last, major volume of Madison biography he exemplifies a remark made in 1784 that Madison must be studied "for a long time in order to make a fair appraisal of him." Brant started to write a one-volume biography of Madison in 1938. Thirty-two years later he finally finished it.

DONALD O. DEWEY
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JOHN W. CHRISTIE and DWIGHT L. DUMOND. *George Bourne and* The Book and Slavery Irreconcilable. Wilmington: Historical Society of Delaware; Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society. 1969. Pp. xi, 206. $5.00.

STEPHEN B. OATES. *To Purge This Land with Blood: A Biography of John Brown.* New York: Harper and Row. 1970. Pp. xii, 434. $10.00.

George Bourne and John Brown made quite different but complementary contributions to the antislavery movement in the United States

Each significantly abetted major shifts in the direction of abolitionism: Bourne to a recognition of the sinfulness of "man-stealing" and the need for immediate emancipation, Brown to the substitution of violent for peaceful solutions to the controversy over slavery. Historians will therefore thank the Reverend Mr. Christie and Professor Dumond for the first full-scale study of Bourne (to which is appended his most influential and hitherto rare work) and will welcome Stephen B. Oates's major new biography of John Brown.

To George Bourne, his biographers insist, and not to William Lloyd Garrison, properly belongs "the distinction of having been the first immediate abolitionist in America," the first to denounce bondage as sin. Fifteen years before the *Liberator* appeared, Bourne had publicly condemned slavery as a form of theft and had developed immediatist notions that would transform the antislavery crusade. Bourne's tract *The Book and Slavery Irreconcilable,* published in 1816 as part of his fight with the Presbyterian Church, singlehandedly converted Garrison from gradualism to immediatism. From it Garrison took not only his antislavery principles but pungent phrases, telling illustrations and quotations, and the vituperative, sanctimonious tone that made his editorials famous.

So, at least, Christie and Dumond contend. And, although the authors accuse him of shameful negligence in acknowledging his debt to Bourne, Garrison once confessed that next to the Bible, Bourne's work had most shaped his views of slavery. Yet, as is perhaps inevitable in a biographical rescue mission of this sort, Christie and Dumond somewhat inflate Bourne's claims to pre-eminence—and unfairly belittle Garrison's. Not only do they overlook the larger social and intellectual forces that underlay the rejection of gradualism on both sides of the Atlantic, but they make too much of Bourne's prior espousal of immediatist doctrines. Bourne helped to transmit powerful new ideas, and it is well to be reminded of his contributions. But it was Garrison and not Bourne, whose wooden, contorted prose even his champions admit makes for "heavy reading," who more than any man turned such notions into a driving movement.

Neither Bourne nor Garrison (at least before Harpers Ferry) ever found in the sinfulness of slavery justification for the use of violent measures to uproot it, although the "retaliatory doctrine" that Bourne discovered in Obadiah ("As thou hast done, it shall be done unto thee; thy reward shall return upon thine own head") seemed to point that way. But the cry of "sinner!" with which they and other abolitionists went after the slaveholder helped to tighten Southern defenses of the "peculiar institution" to the point where a man like John Brown, justifying himself with Biblical phrases familiar to Bourne, could conclude that only "by the shedding of blood" might the slave be set free.

Brown's life is a hard one for a biographer to catch, colored as it is by the controversial deeds of his last years, clouded by myth and the man's own occasional deviousness, chronicled in sources of varying reliability. To his credit, Professor Oates has surmounted most of these difficulties and produced a dispassionate, engagingly written biography that helps us to understand an extraordinarily enigmatic man. The Brown who emerges from these pages is neither the charlatan and horsethief of James Malin and Robert Penn Warren nor the selfless hero of his earliest biographers. Rather, he stands as a well-meaning but erratic and often irascible man whose hostility to slavery was deep and long standing and whose commitment to violence arose from a curious mixture of realism and irrationality—an awareness of slavery's entrenched position and a messianic belief that a vengeful God had elected him to purge the land with blood.

Oates offers nothing strikingly new either in fact—though his research has been exhaustive—or in method. He easily (perhaps too easily) resists the temptation to put his subject on the couch. And some will still find occasion to consult Villard's more compendious study of Brown (1910). But for its attention to Brown's pre-Kansas years and his Calvinistic background, as well as for its judicious interpretation of such events as the Pottawatomie Massacre and the question of Brown's sanity, Oates's biography merits careful consideration by all students of the struggle for freedom in America.

RICHARD H. SEWELL
University of Wisconsin, Madison

CARLETON MABEE. *Black Freedom: The Nonviolent Abolitionists from 1830 through the Civil War.* [New York:] Macmillan Company. 1970. Pp. ix, 435. $9.95.

DAVID BRION DAVIS. *The Slave Power Conspiracy and the Paranoid Style.* (The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History, Louisiana State University.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University. 1969. Pp. ix, 97. $4.00.

LEONARD L. RICHARDS. *"Gentlemen of Property and Standing": Anti-Abolition Mobs in Jacksonian America.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. ix, 196. $6.50.

Pacific and disruptive, saintly and abrasive, tradition-oriented and innovative, agreeing on goals but squabbling over means, ante-bellum abolitionists challenged a skittish North and a defensive South. In turn they were attacked both verbally and physically by Northerners whose tranquil communities they disrupted and by Southerners whose institutions they threatened.

The ante-bellum period, therefore, seems in part not unlike the present, fraught with violence, thoughts of conspiracy, and a paranoid unease. Historians have been intrigued with the parallels. Carleton Mabee, with the world of Martin Luther King in mind, examines the nonviolent tradition in antislavery. A nonviolent activist himself, he unmercifully presses all of antislavery into the same mold. Having described a tripartite distinction among total nonresistants such as the Garrisonians and the Quakers, and among partial nonresistants like the Tappanites—distinctions filled with an apparent importance never clearly adduced—he narrates in endless, repetitive, and highly unreadable prose the nonviolent struggle against discrimination and the nonviolent war against slavery.

It may be that the general reader will be inspired, but he will also crave closer analysis. Nowhere is there a theory of nonviolence. Consequently there is no fundamental distinction made between the absolute pacifism of Samuel J. May, for example, who questioned even emancipation through civil war, and the action of, say, Henry Highland Garnet, who in his Address to the Slaves urged insurrection. Nor is there consideration of the problems raised by the ostensible nonresistance that Stephen Foster preached in such a manner as to provoke widespread violence in response. The descriptions are all in Mabee's account; but the contradictions, the paradoxes, the puzzles are never resolved. In short, there is no effective conceptualization.

Distressingly, Mabee leaves one with an empty husk, a story without insight, a tale without perception. For these one must look to David Davis and Leonard Richards. Davis' theme is familiar; one has encountered its substance in the early essays of Avery Craven and its techniques in the more recent studies of Richard Hofstadter, as well as in previous essays by Davis himself. Still and all, if one comes new to the field, it is stimulating.

Confronted with and beset by changing times and values, many ante-bellum Americans drifted in eddies and currents they no longer fathomed. To reorient themselves they embraced a form of role playing, attempting to rephrase the drama, the better to cast themselves in it. Collectively these beset Americans were a team, eager to achieve their agreed-upon goals. And the team, precisely because it was a team, had—and Davis quotes Erving Goffman—"something of the character of a secret society" and therefore "something of the sweet guilt" of conspiracy.

Once they had thus established the machinery by which to reorient themselves and be "right," these Americans needed to create an enemy to fulfill the antagonist's role of being "wrong." "The image of an expansive, subversive force," writes Davis, "was a means of articulating individual and communal anxieties over being duped and slipping behind." Thus the paranoid style. North and South, antiabolitionists perceived their opponents as subverters of traditional and established institutions, secretly in league with foreign powers. In turn those appalled by slavery reacted against a slave power conspiracy.

On the one hand it is Davis' contention that conspiracies of slaveholders or of abolitionists were few and small. On the other hand he is making the far more important point that the delineation of conspiracy lies in the mind of the believer. In the larger sense there are three victims of the paranoid vision. Two of them he deals with directly—the Southerner who saw an antislavery conspiracy and the abolitionist who saw a slave power conspiracy. But there

is also a third victim—the historian, who in the present as in the past succumbs to the temptations of paranoid role-playing. It is in this concern with the perception of the past that Davis indirectly makes the telling point of his Fleming Lectures.

Finally, Leonard Richards has combined in his book the best techniques of both analysis and data gathering. He has concentrated on what Davis might have analyzed as a paranoid group—the antiabolitionist mob—dissecting its actions, its structure, its personnel, and its internal variations. In the process he has told us a good deal about antiabolitionist mobs in particular and has contributed a brief but pointed essay to the growing literature about the mob in general. Focusing explicitly on the period 1834–37 and upon the riots in Cincinnati, Utica, New York City, and Alton, Illinois; Richards defines two basic mob types —the antiabolitionist mob that attacked whites and the overtly racist mob whose principal target was blacks. The former group was dominated by upper-middle-class professional people of old American stock—bankers and traders, believers in traditional values and the status quo, men who feared being edged out by a new antislavery leadership more recently American but less exalted in socioeconomic rank and less tradition-bound. The latter group was composed chiefly of artisans and laborers, men who lived near blacks in mixed neighborhoods and who feared not the theory of antislavery amalgamation but the practice. The differences were marked, yet there were similarities as well. Nowhere in either type of mob did the "rabble" prevail, nowhere were the mobs formless or capricious. Always they had clear leadership—frequently from ranking citizens of the community; always they were planned to achieve well-defined goals.

Richards carefully assembles data about every known participant in the mobs and summarizes the courses of mob action. He rigorously eschews, however, broad speculative theory. Instead he draws so precise a picture that one is forced to ponder its larger implications. Here are the frustration, fear, and dismay that Davis describes—the very stuff of which paranoid dreams are made.

The combined strengths of these books would bespeak a historical masterpiece—Davis' provocative hypothesis, the meticulous probing of Richards' case study, Mabee's gargantuan narrative assemblage. Davis remains primarily speculative. Mabee is superficial and imperceptive. But only Richards provides both significant theory and analysis, idea and substance in a book whose dimensions are small but whose importance is large.

WILLIAM H. PEASE
University of Maine

HENRY D. SHAPIRO and ZANE L. MILLER, edited with introductions by. *Physician to the West: Selected Writings of Daniel Drake on Science & Society*. [Lexington:] University Press of Kentucky. 1970. Pp. xxxviii, 418. $12.50.

Any publication that enlarges our acquaintance with Daniel Drake deserves a warm welcome. His fame justly rests on his massive *Systematic Treatise . . . on the Principal Diseases of the Interior Valley of North America,* but, like a number of physicians of the nineteenth century, he wrote prolifically and by no means exclusively on medical subjects. Readers, as the editors acknowledge, may take exception to the principles that have guided the editors in their selections. The *Systematic Treatise* is readily available in complete and abridged editions. Drake's *Discourse on the History, Character, and Prospects of the West* has appeared in facsimile with an introduction by Perry Miller. Space given in the present book to extensive passages from these works might better have been devoted to a fuller presentation of Drake's views on natural history and particularly on medicine. Here Drake made his greatest contributions, and his stress on the relations of the physical and social environment to disease strikes quite a modern note.

The editors wish to present Drake, however, not as the remarkable and unique individual he was, but as representative of the society of the West and of American society as a whole struggling with the tensions of rapid development, democratization, and industrialization. Even this principle of selection does not obscure Drake's commanding scientific and descriptive accomplishments. Each editor has contributed an illuminating essay in keeping with the representative theme. Shapiro offers a synthesis of Drake's medical and sociopolitical thought and activity. Miller's contribution is

exclusively concerned with Drake's social thought. The editors have compiled a bibliography of the writings of Daniel Drake, the usefulness of which is slightly marred by the omission of all twentieth-century reprints. Nevertheless, we can only be grateful to have before us a much broader spectrum of the work of Daniel Drake than has been available.

ROBERT W. MCCLUGGAGE
Loyola University, Chicago

HARRY E. KELSEY, JR. *Frontier Capitalist: The Life of John Evans.* [Denver:] State Historical Society of Colorado; [Boulder:] Pruett Publishing Company. 1969. Pp. xiv, 371. $12.50.

John Evans in many respects typified much that was nineteenth-century America, with its mixed selfish ambition and social consciousness. Born in a log cabin in Ohio on March 9, 1814, he died a wealthy man, in Colorado, on July 3, 1897. Acquiring such medical education as was then available, he practiced in several small towns before moving to Chicago, where he invested heavily and shrewdly in real estate and soon became independently wealthy and gave up his medical practice. In 1862 Evans was appointed territorial governor of Colorado, a post he held until 1866, when public reaction to the unfortunate Sand Creek Massacre—no fault of his—forced his resignation. He remained in Denver, where he was active in various financial enterprises, especially railroad promotion and real estate, and increased his already considerable fortune by several fold.

Even while serving his own interests, Evans was constantly involved in public service and beneficences. He was the moving spirit behind the establishment of the Indiana Hospital for the Insane and was one of the first members of the Rush Medical College faculty, to which he selflessly devoted a portion of his time. He helped establish several medical societies, founded two medical journals, wrote a number of articles on medical techniques, and invented but did not patent an advanced obstetrical instrument. He was also one of the principal founders of Evanston, Illinois, and of Northwestern University. In Colorado he made heavy contributions to churches of all denominations and to other charities, but his major effort was the founding of the University of Denver, which he endowed with an amount equal to his gifts to Northwestern.

While this book will probably win no literary prizes, its great charm is its wealth of detail, which undoubtedly gave the author problems of organization, here and there apparent but not effectively detracting from the merit of the book. It is thoroughly documented, has an extensive bibliography, and contains excellent illustrations. It is, moreover, a handsome book, artfully designed.

SEYMOUR V. CONNOR
Texas Tech University

JOHN F. STOVER. *The Life and Decline of the American Railroad.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. xi, 324. $7.50.

Published without footnotes indicating the author's sources and without a formal bibliography pointing to authorities, this volume boldly suggests that the reader simply accept as true the things the writer has to say. Fortunately the reader can. Professor Stover gets better with each new book. This one distills into a small and intriguing package the understanding and insight of a mature scholar looking back over his work; it is the calm judgment of the savant at his leisure.

There is not much here particularly startling to the student of America's railroads, yet the book still packs a wallop. Professor Stover corrects in straightforward prose—but urbane, graceful, and sometimes witty—many widely held misconceptions concerning the operations of railroads. If instructors in survey courses on the history of the United States would only read the book, there would be fewer unconscious classroom canards concerning railroads.

Obviously a lover of iron horses and steel rails, Stover neither overstates the virtues of the system of connecting tracks that once filled the nation's major transportation needs nor does he write off as anachronistic the freight-hauling Goliaths of the present day. A certain sense of nostalgia creeps into his review of the development of the railway network; but when he writes of the twentieth century, he is neither apologetic for the industry's record nor unrealistic about its future.

Stover's work would be important if it were only a brief and judicious account of the rise

and fall of the railroad as the nation's primary transportation agency. But it is more. Skillfully woven into the history of the railroad system is a balanced commentary: Stover surveys the almost overpowering competition of trucks, buses, automobiles, pipelines, and airplanes; but he makes it clear that they have not challenged the efficiency of trains in hauling freight for long distances. And in spite of the railroad's relative decline, Stover concludes on a note of guarded optimism. He believes that management is more forward-looking, experimental, and innovative than in the past; and he thinks that mergers, diversification, and improved commuter service brighten the industry's prospects.

ROBERT L. PETERSON
University of Montana

GEORGE W. KNEPPER. *New Lamps for Old: One Hundred Years of Urban Higher Education at the University of Akron.* (Centennial Publication.) [Akron: University of Akron.] 1970. Pp. 407.

ROBERT N. MANLEY. *Centennial History of the University of Nebraska.* Volume 1, *Frontier University (1869–1919).* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1969. Pp. xii, 331. $5.95.

MANUEL P. SERVÍN and IRIS HIGBIE WILSON. *Southern California and Its University: A History of USC, 1880–1964.* [Los Angeles:] Ward Ritchie Press. 1969. Pp. xix, 319. $10.00.

W. WAYNE DEDMAN. *Cherishing This Heritage: The Centennial History of the State University College at Brockport, New York.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. 1969. Pp. xiv, 317. $7.95.

HOWARD D. WILLIAMS. *A History of Colgate University, 1819–1969.* New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company. 1969. Pp. 358. $6.95.

JOHN C. CRIGHTON. *Stephens: A Story of Educational Innovation.* Columbia, Mo.: American Press. 1970. Pp. xv, 432. $5.50 postpaid.

BURTON R. CLARK. *The Distinctive College: Antioch, Reed & Swarthmore.* Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company. 1970. Pp. vi, 280. $8.95.

Despite inherent limitations, official college histories remain indispensable to students of American education. The ideal study would combine a perceptive reconstruction of past educational experience with an assessment of social and cultural forces affecting institutional development. Such accounts are extraordinarily difficult to produce; frequently source materials are entirely inadequate. Here are six official histories, uneven in quality but typical of the recent output. Four describe institutional adaptation to public service and two the evolution of denominational colleges. A seventh volume by a Yale sociologist compares educational innovation since World War I at three celebrated undergraduate colleges. All point to a contemporary concern for academic excellence in institutions whose original character and purposes were entirely dissimilar. They may, however, be more significant in 1971 for revealing the sources and uses of institutional diversity and strategies for survival in times of crisis.

Professor Knepper's book is the best of the institutional histories. From archives, newspapers, and his own experiences as a student, professor, and former dean at Akron he presents, broadly rather than intensively, a balanced account of the administration, the faculty, and student life. Buchtel College, a Universalist institution founded in 1871, depended financially on Akron businessmen, especially the manufacturer for whom it was named, but was a self-contained rather than distinctively urban institution. Despite troubled terms of office, five clerical presidents recruited a strong teaching faculty. Facing financial crisis in 1913, President Park Kolbe converted Buchtel into a municipal university modeled on Cincinnati and Toledo. Akron's subsequent history is one of community service. Never wealthy and long without adequate facilities, it served earnest, self-supporting undergraduates. A pioneer graduate program developed in rubber chemistry. Strong presidents enjoyed stable tenure. In 1967 Akron "went State," which brought ampler resources and reduced autonomy.

Knepper's style is informal and genial. His vignettes of student life and appraisals of presidents are perceptive; informative comments on educational policy reflect his experiences as a dean. His book offers an excellent foundation for detailed interviewing by inquirers seeking to understand the development of modern urban universities.

Professor Manley treats only the first fifty years of the University of Nebraska; another author will complete this endowed history. Occasionally more vivid than Knepper's, his ac-

count is generally less satisfactory. Manley's central theme is sound: the dependence of the sole university in a large agricultural state on the confidence of the public and politicians. Nebraska was unchallenged by denominational colleges and united agricultural and liberal education in one institution; but its location in the state capital was an ambiguous blessing, and Omaha editors were long hostile. Until after 1900 the liberal arts, including graduate work, overshadowed the agricultural program, which secured the Morrill land grant and served the state's largest interest. Manley fully describes faculty contributions, the vicissitudes of six short-term chancellors, and (in a separate section) the experiences of a student body drawn from farms and small towns. He depends heavily on newspapers, necessarily, he states, because of the scarcity of other sources. Unfortunately these materials distort his conceptualization and have contributed to an excessively discursive narrative. From his own evidence, Nebraska at the turn of the century was a remarkable institution. Its chancellors, depicted almost entirely as Nebraska public figures with inadequate consideration of their inner personalities or assessment of their entire careers, included such conspicuous figures as James H. Canfield and E. Benjamin Andrews. The faculty, too, included remarkable individuals. Their impact on students is suggested in the achievements of Willa Cather, Alvin Johnson, and Roscoe Pound. Manley has not provided the clearly focused portrait that this community merits.

Like Akron and Nebraska, the University of Southern California, founded in 1880, has educated large numbers of students from its community. USC, however, is a private institution, dependent for years on tuition and football receipts, while serving an area inadequately provided until lately with public colleges. The school's quest for endowment and distinction is a recent phenomenon. Its rivalry with the University of California, nowhere explicitly stated in this history, is suggested by several biting passages (pp. 117–18, 213).

The Servín-Wilson volume is the poorest of these studies. Badly written, cluttered with lists of alumni celebrities, disproportionately concerned with athletics and student activities, its illustrations apparently were chosen as much for promotional as for historical purposes. Yet it does reflect the main themes of USC's history and provides impressive evidence of the school's role in educating such professionals as dentists and school administrators. Its authors candidly describe crises and deficiencies. It may not be altogether facetious to characterize their book as a reflection if not a parody of the artificial culture in which USC long struggled to survive.

Professor Dedman honors his rather unimportant school with a very readable history. The Baptist "Collegiate Institute" founded at Brockport, New York, in 1841 survived by becoming a state normal school in 1867. Promoted to a teachers college in 1942 and absorbed by the State University of New York in 1948, it has been transformed into a liberal arts college during the 1960s, its most important decade. Dedman's felicitous blend of institutional and local history is most appealing; his book is as much a sketch of the village of Brockport as of its college. He also offers useful information on the evolution of teacher-training courses.

Colgate in upstate New York and Stephens in Missouri, both founded by Baptists, have become successful private institutions. Professors Crighton and Williams write primarily for alumni, though both schools merit the attention of educational historians for their striking transformations and success in attracting more than a local constituency. Founded in 1819 as a theological seminary, Colgate gained support from New York City and Vermont and became a nursery of foreign missionaries. Barely surviving a removal crisis in 1847–50 when most of its faculty joined the new University of Rochester, it attained stability after the Civil War, supported by the soap manufacturing family whose name it assumed in 1890. Its subsequent history parallels that of other Eastern men's colleges. In treating the pre-1850 period, the subject of his Harvard doctoral dissertation, Williams only hints at the cultural contributions and social importance of the New York Baptists, topics whose adequate exploration would be extremely enlightening. His final chapters grow successively thinner. Half of Crighton's volume chronicles an impoverished Baptist female seminary founded in 1833. Modern Stephens was shaped by James Madison ("Daddy") Wood, president from 1912 to 1947. Popularly ridiculed as a " 'Progressive' finishing school," it regarded itself as experimental and innovative. Crighton

treats the Wood era in six diffuse topical chapters, making general assessment difficult, and offers no analysis of the alumni constituency. His most interesting chapter, which some will read as a caricature of educational progressivism, describes curricular reform in the 1920s. Stephens, however, cannot be dismissed by scoffers. It prospered between the wars while diverging from the academic mainstream; recently it has manifested greater intellectual emphasis.

Professor Clark describes three other instances of innovation in undergraduate education. Arthur Morgan, water control engineer and utopian, revived nearly defunct Antioch in the 1920s and 1930s. His college became known for a work-study program and for loyalty so strong that during the depression the senior faculty helped to subsidize junior members. Reed College, founded in 1911, retained its initial academic emphasis despite the difficulties of its presidents. Swarthmore, an established Quaker institution, was transformed between the wars by Rhodes Scholar Frank Aydelotte through an Oxonian honors program. Clark assesses the consequences of these reforms down to 1963 with a perception of the interdependence of various facets of institutional life seldom displayed in official histories. In conclusion he offers a model for colleges seeking distinctiveness. Here sociological jargon becomes poetic: a college's "role" may rise to a "mission," and in exceptional instances such as these three, to an "organizational saga." Yet Clark's narrative reveals tensions and conflicts strikingly similar to those recently evident across the country in consequence of increasing academic pressures and the self-consciousness or alienation of intellectuals. Perhaps, then, his model is less significant than his account of academicians pursuing excellence in an earlier age of innocence.

THEODORE R. CRANE
University of Denver

MERRILL J. MATTES. *The Great Platte River Road: The Covered Wagon Mainline via Fort Kearny to Fort Laramie.* (Nebraska State Historical Society Publications, Volume 25.) [Lincoln:] the Society. 1969. Pp. xv, 583. $7.95.

Between the Missouri River towns and Fort Laramie lay the Great Platte River Road, a six-hundred mile segment of the longer trails to California, Oregon, and other places that attracted emigrants before and during the Civil War. Merrill J. Mattes, a distinguished National Park Service historian, estimates that 350,000 travelers from 1841 to 1866 followed the Platte River and its northern tributary to Fort Laramie, the key to the Rockies and South Pass.

This book, sponsored by the Nebraska State Historical Society, is a soundly conceived and researched study. Mr. Mattes bases his volume upon more than seven-hundred narratives written by the emigrants while they were en route west or at a later time. Mr. Mattes estimates that he examined at least ninety per cent of the eight-hundred known "covered wagon testaments," leaving to others the task of compiling a definitive bibliography of the Platte River travel accounts. In an extremely useful bibliography, however, the author provides an excellent research tool; he locates the depository where the published and unpublished documents are available for those interested in studying the Platte route.

After 1841 emigrants gathered for twenty-five years from Council Bluffs to Independence along the Missouri River. They used six principal and many smaller roads to arrive at Fort Kearny, the funnel for most emigrants onto the Great Platte River Road. Each chapter describes, sometimes repetitiously, the experiences of the overland travelers as they encountered the physical hardships, epidemic diseases, and difficulties of terrain, and as they compensated for faulty preparations. The chapters recount the journeys of the emigrants as they moved beyond the "jumping-off places" on the Missouri River; toiled between the guarding military posts; viewed Ash Hollow, Court House Rock, Chimney Rock, Scott's Bluff; and finally reached Fort Laramie on their westward treks. The precise maps and excellent illustrations add clarity to the author's text, which occasionally is clouded by redundant detail and extended quotations. *The Great Platte River Road* will serve as an invaluable reference work for historians and collectors of Western Americana, because little information about sites, terrain, and available overland narratives is missing.

DONALD J. BERTHRONG
Purdue University

ERROL T. ELLIOTT. *Quakers on the American Frontier: A History of the Westward Migrations, Settlements, and Developments of Friends on the American Continent.* Richmond, Ind.: Friends United Press. 1969. Pp. 434. $6.50.

EDWIN B. BRONNER, editor. *An English View of American Quakerism: The Journal of Walter Robson (1842–1929) Written during the Fall of 1877, While Traveling among American Friends.* (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume 79.) Philadelphia: the Society. 1970. Pp. xviii, 162. $2.50.

Mr. Elliott's work is not what it purports to be, namely, a history of Quakerism as related to the westward movement (p. 14). Instead, he has compiled a mass of facts concerning Quakerism in general with special emphasis on the growth and consolidation of the evangelical-pastoral branch of Quakerism west of the Appalachians.

Commissioned by a national committee of the Friends, the book is addressed to fellow Friends rather than to students of history. It shows little understanding of the relation of Quaker history to the general history of the United States. It relegates revivalism and other directly connected historical phenomena to a bare appendix of historical parallels to Quaker history listed by date. The "American Frontier" intrudes only here and there: in two or three primitive allusions to Turner and Webb and in the purple prose of transitions from one Quaker frontier to the next: "Farther, farther west the wagons rolled. Their only foreknown boundary was the mighty Mississippi . . . ," and so on.

The first half of the book is unified by a relentless series of summaries of the foundings of all meetings worth noting and many not worth noting. Interspersed are lists of obscure leaders and obscurer followers and brief defensive accounts of the many separations, splits, and squabbles that took place from Wapakoneta to Newburg.

The second half is a variegated summary of Quaker activities and institutions that the West had supposedly created by the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The author leaves unexplained the turn from "orthodox" to evangelical-pastoral practices and institutions, except by his undocumented assertion of Western environmental influences. He offers laudatory descriptions of Quaker schools, Indian policy, music, retirement homes, and the like. The largest part of the second half is devoted to a history of the Five Years Meeting from its founding in 1902 to the present, including its activities in Africa, China, and other areas far removed from the theme of the Friends' frontier. This account is based almost solely on the minutes of the organization, in which the author has held high office.

The genre of official denominational history is usually unsatisfactory. But in this, as in so many other such works, the pious industry of an insider has made available a large amount of factual material not otherwise easily accessible. Elliott's book is thus a very useful point of reference for the more meaningful studies of modern Quakerism that ought to be written.

The other volume under review, Robson's journal, is packed with details of Quaker meetings and their leaders from the East Coast to Kansas. Though it covers only one year, that year came in the midst of a period of turmoil for modern Quakerism. The journal is not exciting reading, but Robson's English point of view, opposed as it was to all American forms of enthusiastic "groaning, or singing, or responding," is revealing of the changes that had taken place in American Quakerism and is, in fact, a good corrective to the pro-evangelical bias of Elliott. Mr. Bronner has done a thorough, balanced, and altogether excellent job of scholarly editing.

MARIO S. DE PILLIS
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

CONRAD WRIGHT. *The Liberal Christians: Essays on American Unitarian History.* Boston: Beacon Press. 1970. Pp. x, 147. $7.50.

DWIGHT W. HOOVER. *Henry James, Sr. and the Religion of Community.* Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. 1969. Pp. 152. $2.45.

CARL E. HATCH. *The Charles A. Briggs Heresy Trial: Prologue to Twentieth-Century Liberal Protestantism.* (Exposition-University Book.) New York: Exposition Press. 1969. Pp. 139. $6.00.

Historians of Protestantism in nineteenth-century America for many years devoted their energies so exclusively to the study of particular sects or individuals that they failed to

develop either a comprehensive overview of religion or an understanding of its relationship to the major movements in social and intellectual history. This oversight, which could be seen in most denominational histories, is now in the process of being corrected. The three books reviewed here, which examine different aspects of liberal Protestantism, illustrate the advantages and difficulties of trying to place American religious history in a larger perspective.

Conrad Wright's latest study of Unitarianism, a collection of six essays, is an excellent example of the insights that may be gained from the new approach. In a brilliant opening chapter on rational religion in the eighteenth century, Wright argues that deism—properly defined as a belief in natural religion as discerned by reason alone—attracted only a small following in America. Most of those men previously described as deists, Wright contends, believed that natural religion had to be supplemented by the revealed religion of the Bible. The Unitarians, then, were part of a larger movement, "Supernatural Rationalism," that cut across denominational and sectarian lines. Wright's second and third essays, which analyze the sources of William Ellery Channing's religious views and the origins of Emerson's Divinity School Address, are equally successful in shedding new light upon the nature of Unitarianism and its relationship to evangelical Protestantism and Transcendentalism. The remaining essays are more specialized; and, in some cases, such as the chapter on the involvement of Unitarian ministers in the antislavery crusade, they could have benefited from the use of recent scholarship.

If Wright's book demonstrates the usefulness of viewing religion from a broader perspective, Dwight Hoover's *Henry James, Sr. and the Religion of Community* illustrates the difficulties inherent in such an approach. Although Hoover declares that the purpose of his study is "to portray the religious thought of the elder Henry James in terms of its nineteenth-century setting," he adds little to our knowledge of the Calvinist, Unitarian, Transcendentalist, and Swedenborgian movements that he discusses. In a thorough, detailed, and sophisticated analysis of James's complicated religious views, Hoover argues that "James believed in the perfectibility of both man and society, and he therefore attempted to compromise between the perfectionism of his time which led to radical individualism and anti-institutionalism, and the perfectionism which led to a utopian socialism and the postulation of perfect institutions." The chief shortcoming of the book, outside of its ambiguous title, is its failure to use James to gain insights into the religion of the period. Hoover concludes simply that James shared the nineteenth-century faith "in the free individual's ability to live harmoniously in a society free from compulsion" and thus had "more in common with the thinkers of his age than either he or they suspected."

Even more specialized than Hoover's book is Carl E. Hatch's study of the 1891 heresy trial of the Presbyterian Biblical scholar, Charles A. Briggs. Using the scrapbooks and manuscript materials in the Union Theological Seminary Library, Hatch presents a detailed account of Briggs's early career, his interest in Biblical criticism, and the heresy trial itself. Although the book is well researched and well written, it is nevertheless disappointing because Hatch fails to get below the surface to the conflict of values that Briggs's heresy trial represented. Hatch pictures the trial as evidence of the intellectual watershed of the 1890s, but he misses the conflict of ideals that has recently been set forth so well in the books of Robert Wiebe and R. Jackson Wilson.

CLIFFORD E. CLARK, JR.
Carleton College

THOMAS L. KARNES. *William Gilpin: Western Nationalist.* Austin: University of Texas Press. 1970. Pp. 383. $7.50.

One might describe William Gilpin as a second-echelon leader in the westward movement. Born of well-to-do parents in the East in 1815, his adventurous spirit and pursuit of the "one big chance" made him a participant in many of the stirring events in nineteenth-century America. Yet in his varied career Gilpin was successful only once or twice. He finally did make a lot of money, but it was due more to his good luck than to any great ability on his part.

He also found time to lecture and write extensively about the Great West. Scholars "discovered" him about a generation ago; since then

estimates of his worth have varied. Bernard De Voto saw Gilpin as a nineteenth-century prophet of geo-politics; Henry Nash Smith viewed him as a booster of westward expansion leading to trade with the Orient; James C. Malin credited him with defending the value of the grasslands; and Wallace Stegner pictured him as an early example of the flamboyant Western booster who has harmed the West so much. Which of these estimates of the man are correct? Professor Karnes leaves the final judgment to the reader.

There has been a need for a good biography of Gilpin, and this study is entirely adequate. It is well researched, well organized, well written, and pleasantly impartial. Its weakness lies in the subject. Since Gilpin was a second-echelon participant in the events of the times, there is a paucity of reliable information available about him. Much extraneous material has been added, therefore, and the writer has been forced to use speculation and conjecture about many incidents in Gilpin's life. Yet, assuming the dearth of material, what else can a biographer do? Who is better qualified to draw speculative conclusions?

Gilpin emerges from this study as an eccentric, egotistical, prevaricating character who may or may not deserve a high place in the history of the westward movement. The statement credited to him that "he wanted to be buried on the highest summit of the Snowy [Sangre de Cristo] Range, on his back, with one eye pointed toward each ocean" (p. 307) reveals rather typically the distortions in his thinking.

This is, then, a solid biography of a not-so-solid man.

RICHARD A. BARTLETT
Florida State University

CLARK C. SPENCE. *Mining Engineers & the American West: The Lace-Boot Brigade, 1849–1933*. (Yale Western Americana Series, Number 22.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1970. Pp. xii, 407. $12.50.

Professional mining engineers were key figures in the development of the West. At first self-trained, many by the 1860s were educated at Freiburg or other European centers. Columbia University and the University of California by the 1890s were the foremost American schools of mining. To provide practical experience in the summers, a few conducted unpretentious field expeditions or owned a mine to practice on.

Some engineers worked primarily as consultants, most commonly assigned to evaluate a mine when change of ownership was contemplated. A reputable man thus staked his name only for fees that were worthwhile. Experience was valuable in making difficult appraisals, especially since attempts to deceive the expert for fraudulent purposes were common. Travel difficulties, inferior accommodations, and poor conditions within the mine often made the appraiser's fee hard-earned; abandoned properties were especially risky.

Most engineers at some time in their careers supervised a mine. A good manager systematically extracted all the profitable ore, not just the most valuable, as he went along, and he avoided erection of an expensive mill until he was sure that his property contained enough minerals to justify the expense. He was usually responsible for the entire operation of the property and handled a variety of tasks. Some especially well qualified engineers were expert witnesses in conflicting land title suits. Federal law gave the locator of a vein or lode the right to follow it, "with its dips, angles and variations," downward to any depth beyond the sidewalls, provided its top, or apex, was enclosed within the end lines of the location. This proviso spawned a great many suits. The expert witnesses found the work demanding but the fees high. Some engineers entered the field of metallurgy; some prospected; others leased or purchased their own mine; still others sold or promoted mineral property; a few became high executives in large companies. The average engineer, a physically tough man of some culture, was financially in the upper middle class. From 1890 to World War I there was a considerable demand abroad for American engineers. They were especially sought in Australia, South Africa, and Mexico; but also spread out to Asia, South America, and Russia.

This social and technological history covering a little explored field is a mosaic from a host of manuscript and printed primary sources. Exhaustively researched, logically

organized, and clearly written, it is a well-executed monograph.

WILLIAM S. GREEVER
University of Idaho

JAMES A. RAWLEY. *Race & Politics: "Bleeding Kansas" and the Coming of the Civil War.* (Critical Periods of History.) Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1969. Pp. xvi, 304. $5.95.

ERIC FONER. *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. xii, 353. $8.50.

These two studies—the first a succinct, well-paced account of the Kansas crisis, the second a meticulous examination of the ideology and composition of the Republican party in the 1850s—offer different explanations for the coming of the Civil War. Professor Rawley's interpretive point of departure in tracing the course of the Kansas imbroglio is the blundering generation thesis. His analysis abounds in revisionist tests of "statesmanship," "firmness," and "leadership," and he is particularly concerned with scoring the "executive failure" of Pierce and Buchanan. Yet the author is rightly dissatisfied with the revisionist explanation as failing finally to explain why a political generation blundered and, more specifically, why it was baffled by the challenge of Kansas. He finds his own answer in the pervasive race prejudice of the ante-bellum years, in the racism of the great majority of Americans in both sections of the country, which declared the permanent unfitness of the black race for democratic life and a determination to keep America a white man's country. In Rawley's reading of the Kansas crisis the Randall-Craven thesis takes on added dimension. "They were indeed blundering because they were a flawed generation—flawed by their belief in the African's innate inferiority." Thus "racialism," which the author documents with new but not surprising evidence, formed "the obdurate substratum of all political argument beyond which a blundering generation could not penetrate." A commonly shared conviction of white supremacy and the resulting failure to find viable alternatives to slavery were the fundamental causes, first of the Kansas fiasco and then of the disruption of the Union itself. "It was their deeply rooted race bias that caused men to become fanatical, to discard compromise, and to march blindly toward secession and a brother's war."

Despite his impressive evidence of well-nigh universal race prejudice, Rawley leaves the reader with a nagging question of his own. How was it that a generation of Northerners and Southerners sharing similar convictions about the incapacity of the black race nevertheless fell out over the question of extending slavery into the territories? The answer suggested in *Race and Politics* is tantalizingly brief. Northerners, the author concludes, came to fear the institution of slavery along with the blacks themselves because they intended to keep the country white, place the national government in hands friendly to their interests, and hopefully postpone the "dread questions" of emancipation and equality. Why then, we may ask, did Republicans in spite of their general agreement with Southerners on the dubious future of the black man nevertheless balk at the extension of slavery? The answer to this question, as Professor Foner's brilliant analysis of the Republican mind in the 1850s makes clear, lies in the realm of ideology.

To account for growing Republican intransigence, Foner argues persuasively, we cannot detach the question of race from the larger controlling Republican concept of "free labor" by which party members defined the nation's goals, measured the shortcomings of the South, and weighed the prospects of the black race. At the center of Republican ideology lay a passionate belief in the virtues of free labor of which racism was simply a negative expression. Unlike the Democrats' confused celebration of localism and squatter sovereignty, the free labor concept served the Republicans as a powerful social model—an ideal society, which they saw threatened by slavery. "Political antislavery," Foner proves conclusively, "was not merely a negative doctrine, an attack on southern slavery and the society built upon it; it was an affirmation of the superiority of the social system of the North—a dynamic, expanding capitalist society whose achievements and destiny were almost wholly the result of the dignity and opportunities which it offered the average laboring man." It was precisely this model

that Lincoln had in mind when he spoke of the "race of life" open to the country's "middling classes" in whom labor and capital were combined and for whom a bright entrepreneurial future beckoned, a race leading not to corporate capitalism and concentration but to the security of regional, small-town development and "republican simplicity."

Such in outline form was the social philosophy to which the various groups of Republicans contributed and from which they derived originally divergent but increasingly similar meanings: a relative handful of radicals, the view of the Union as only the means to ultimate freedom; former Whig moderates and conservatives, the ideal of Union as an end in itself; and ex-Democrats, an intense fear of Southern domination. While admitting the wide currency of racism and racial stereotypes in the period before the Civil War, Foner clearly distinguishes differences within the Republican coalition no less real for being subtle, differences not so much on basic rights as on questions of legal and political equality that made a workable consensus difficult to achieve. That fragile consensus nevertheless was stated by Lincoln on the eve of secession when he affirmed the essential humanity of the black man and his right to the livelihood promised him by the free labor doctrine. However ambiguous and incomplete its pledges to the blacks, the Republican ideology barring the spread of slavery was enough to drive the South out of the Union. Foner considers secession a "total and logical response by the South to the situation which confronted it in the election of Lincoln—logical in the sense that it was the only action consistent with its ideology." Similarly, the Republicans' commitment to the Union in 1861 was an inflexible synthesis of two views once considered opposites. "For the integrity of the Union, important as an end in itself, was also a prerequisite to the national greatness Republicans felt the United States was destined to achieve."

While Rawley's readable account of Bleeding Kansas calls needed attention to the pervasiveness of a generalized race prejudice in the decade before secession, Foner's analysis of the wide variety of prejudices and fears and their shifting connection with the controlling Republican vision of the good society places racism in clearer perspective as only one part of a larger ideological configuration, an understanding of which is essential for explaining the Civil War.

JOHN L. THOMAS
Brown University

J. CUTLER ANDREWS. *The South Reports the Civil War.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1970. Pp. xiii, 611. $15.00.

Fifteen years ago J. Cutler Andrews published his exhaustive study of Northern war reporting. Now he has given us a companion volume for the Confederacy.

In an early chapter the author provides a succinct introduction to the Confederate press, and in the last chapter he gives a useful summary of his findings. The rest of the book is mainly a narrative that describes the adventures of various reporters and that looks at the war through their eyes. Andrews has identified numerous hitherto nameless correspondents and has given richly deserved attention to such able observers as Peter W. Alexander and Felix Gregory de Fontaine.

Press coverage of the campaigns was very uneven. The two major armies received the lion's share of attention, and even there reporting was handicapped by hostile generals such as Bragg and J. E. Johnston and by problems of communication. Henry-Donelson, Seven Pines, Seven Days, the Kentucky invasion, Vicksburg, and Chickamauga were among the campaigns that were very poorly reported. The trans-Mississippi was almost wholly neglected. Even when news was obtained, military censorship often intervened. Indeed, Andrews remarks that in the South censorship preceded the war, and that the press was restrained by the shibboleths of a closed society: "Southern freedom of the press during the Civil War is another myth. . . ." Although only one newspaper—Brownlow's Knoxville *Whig*—was suppressed by state authority and none by the Confederate government, he maintains that others would have been "had not public pressure induced a change in editorial policy." This is faulty arguing. The absence of a Communist press in the United States today does not prove that the press is unfree. More

convincingly, Andrews, as have others before him, points to the damaging effects on the Confederate cause of the failure of public information, remarking that "President Davis had little understanding or appreciation of the press as a medium of public opinion." More attention could have been given to the feud between the press and the Confederate government.

The author believes that at its best Confederate war journalism was comparable to "the top performances of the North's leading reporters," but there was necessarily less of it and thus less readable copy. The plentiful quotations that enlivened Andrews' earlier book occupy far less space here. That fact and the somewhat excessive length have made for a story that is sometimes rather thin. Better too long than too short, however, for the book's comprehensiveness, combined with the quality of research, makes it the standard work on the subject.

LUDWELL H. JOHNSON, III
College of William and Mary

CAROL K. ROTHROCK BLESER. *The Promised Land: The History of the South Carolina Land Commission, 1869–1890.* (Tricentennial Studies, Number 1.) Columbia: University of South Carolina Press for the South Carolina Tricentennial Commission. 1969. Pp. xvi, 189. $6.95.

South Carolina has the distinction of being the only state during Reconstruction to establish a system of acquiring land for sale to the freedmen on reasonable terms. This monograph attributes the origins of that attempt to the Civil War experience of land distribution on the Sea Islands and the pressure from the large delegation of blacks in the constitutional convention of 1868. Receiving no encouragement for a federal program of this type, the convention instructed the legislature to create a state land commission empowered to purchase "improved and unimproved real estate" to be subdivided and sold to actual settlers.

The commission's record prior to 1877 falls into two distinct phases. Administrative inefficiency and gross frauds characterize its activities until 1872 when responsibility was transferred to the secretary of state. Land purchases proceeded "at a breath-taking rate, accompanied by bribe upon bribe and fraud upon fraud" (p. 57). The honest and conscientious administration by two black secretaries of state between 1872 and 1876 saved the program and stand in striking contrast to the misdeeds of the first two commissioners, one white and one black.

After 1877 the Redeemers altered the emphasis and direction of the program. In its effort to raise revenue, the commission frequently sold the remaining land in large blocks to whites, and during the 1880s more blacks were evicted than took up residence. Activities ended in 1890 when all salable land had been disposed of. Although existing records are incomplete, Bleser estimates that 14,000 black families participated in the program, receiving 44,579 acres, while whites purchased 68,355 acres (pp. 144, 158).

Although the book advances no major reinterpretations, it does treat in a concise, carefully documented, and reasonably well-written form a little known aspect of Southern and Reconstruction history. The author could have employed the limited number of pages to greater advantage by including more detail and analysis of the commission's work and by giving less attention to South Carolina's Reconstruction and Redeemer history in general.

ALLEN J. GOING
University of Houston

RICHARD J. WRIGHT. *Freshwater Whales: A History of the American Ship Building Company and Its Predecessors.* [Kent:] Kent State University Press. 1969. Pp. xiv, 299. $9.00.

The general purpose of this volume is to provide a history of "the steel-hulled bulk freighter" on the Great Lakes. Toward the end of the nineteenth century many influences converged to further the employment of this type of vessel. Fundamental was the discovery of the iron ranges along or beyond Lake Superior's shores and the construction of railroads to carry the ore to dockside at Duluth and elsewhere. The national government financed both the enlargement of locks at the Soo and the deepening of shallow channels along the route to more easterly points. The old bulk cargoes of lumber and grain began to give way in importance, and the wooden carriers were suddenly

obsolete and worn out. Vessels of iron, and later of steel, took their place. In the late eighties lake yards were launching the whale-backs; when loaded they looked "like a water-logged cigar." But they were longer and deeper vessels, and their topsides were a succession of adjacent hatchways to facilitate a rapid loading and unloading by mechanical means. As the punishing deflation of the panic of 1893 got under way, shippers and builders turned to these vessels to cut costs. These groups, inspired by promoters, also sought a business consolidation to still their competition and attain the economies of scale. The outcome was the American Ship Building Company, one of many fashionable New Jersey holding companies. In the second half of his book, the author focuses upon the growth of this giant corporation during two world wars as well as in intervals of more peaceful growth. Throughout, the author displays thorough research in the documents. He also has selected a large group of appropriate illustrations.

Most topics are competently covered. Wright describes the assemblage of managerial and manual skills from this country and from abroad, particularly Scotland. Yet the treatment of labor policy is rather bland. In any case, the author avoids drowning in a surfeit of anecdotage. Technology in construction and in operation gets commendable clarification. The one spot where I detect a slight deficiency is in the matter of finance. The Great Lakes fleet was a link in the integration of the fundamental industry of steel making. Enterprisers could not leave to chance the interrelations between railroads and mines and lake carriers. Investment in any one factor led to investment in the others. For instance the influence and control by the Hannas and the Hoyts and the Colbys is rather casually treated: the intrusion of the Rockefeller and the Carnegie interests is so offhand that it comes almost as a surprise to the reader. Toward the end of the volume the author cuts loose—comparatively speaking—from documentation and summarizes the developments with almost Rotarian cheer and complacency. The St. Lawrence Seaway, unmentioned by Wright, may be a portent as well as a promise to the builders of the fleets on the Great Lakes.

EDWARD C. KIRKLAND
Thetford, Vermont

WILLIAM J. POMEROY. *American Neo-Colonialism: Its Emergence in the Philippines and Asia.* New York: International Publishers. 1970. Pp. 255. Cloth $7.50, paper $2.85.

PAOLO E. COLETTA, edited with a prologue by. *Threshold to American Internationalism: Essays on the Foreign Policies of William McKinley.* (Exposition-University Book.) New York: Exposition Press. 1970. Pp. 334. $8.00.

Assuming the validity of Lenin's analysis of imperialism and its causes, William Pomeroy has undertaken to derive from the Philippine experience an explanation for the seemingly anomalous "rise of the United States to world imperialist supremacy with only a minimum participation in outright seizure of colonies." Briefly, he finds that Americans acquired the Philippines and destroyed an indigenous "agrarian revolution" in order to obtain a base for participating in the China market. The bitterness of the Filipino people, the racism of Americans living in the islands, and the selfish machinations of various industrial, agricultural, and labor interests at home precluded intensive exploitation of the islands as a colony; and when the China market failed to live up to expectations, possession of the Philippines seemed a risky burden amid the growing power rivalries of the Far East. Anticolonialists who had opposed governing the Philippines but approved of making Latin America financially and commercially tributary showed the way. Cuba became the model: actually dependent, but technically independent, it was a land to be exploited without cost. Here is the origin, in Pomeroy's view, of America's mid-century "neo-colonialism"—its wars of "aggression" in Korea and Vietnam, its suppression of national liberation movements throughout Asia, and its economic colonization of the third world.

The argument is stimulating but simplistic. Pomeroy has eliminated most of the variables in the Philippine-American encounter, starting with the Filipinos themselves. There is almost no treatment of the islands' nineteenth-century society, culture, or economy, apart from references to the inaccurate Regidor and Mason sketch of commerce and the unreliable observations of American consuls and boosters. Turn-of-the-century Filipinos emerge from this vacuum in stereotypes—agrarian revolutionaries and self-seeking capitalist collaborators—and the diver-

sity of their aspirations is permanently lost. In the ensuing account, there is no significant dialogue between Filipinos and Americans. The islanders are objects; the Americans are the movers. On the American side, something similar has occurred. Virtually all motivation and causality have been reduced to economics and racism, and for good measure imperialism has been cast as an actor in its own right: "American imperialism . . . felt that it had the means to overcome the new, liberated nations and that the risk and the cost were worth it" (p. 11). The resulting argument is characterized by bias in the evaluation of sources, omissions of inconvenient facts, and a tendency to assert something about one person or action and document it by reference to another.

Threshold to American Internationalism is another matter altogether: a book that is sound but predictable and apparently without sufficient reason for existience. Professor Coletta promises a collection of essays to compensate for the allegedly sparse existing coverage of McKinley's foreign policies. His conception of foreign relations is traditional, however, and most of the contributors have previously addressed themselves to their topics elsewhere: Julius Pratt and Coletta cover the Spanish-American War and the Treaty of Paris; Charles S. Campbell, the growing amicability of Anglo-American relations; William Braisted, China policy; and Whitney Perkins, the beginnings of a colonial policy. Essays by David Healy on "McKinley as Commander-in-Chief" and George Pope Atkins on "McKinley and Latin America" complete the volume. These individual essays are, of course, professionally competent and, for the most part, nicely crafted. They will be valuable in certain types of courses. But no one should expect many surprises.

PETER W. STANLEY
University of Illinois, Chicago Circle

JOHN J. CONDER. *A Formula of His Own: Henry Adams's Literary Experiment.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1970. Pp. xiv, 202. $7.95.

MELVIN LYON. *Symbol and Idea in Henry Adams.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1970. Pp. 326. $9.75.

John Conder and Melvin Lyon, both professors of English, eschew the historical and biographical approaches popular among previous Adams critics and bring a determinedly literary bias to their subject.

Conder's intention is the more clearly assessed: he relates the successive forms of Adams' work to Adams' subjective intellectual purposes. For example, *Democracy* and *Esther* are seen as experiments in liberation; fiction permitted Adams to explore the realm of feeling in ways not encouraged by the Rankean techniques of the *History*. And feeling was clearly a vital entry in the balance sheet of Adams' scientific bookkeeping. Sensory liberation was a necessary precursor of the work of the last phase, for *Chartres* and the *Education* have in common their fusion of the rational with the affective realms of experience to achieve a unified statement of the human condition. Thus the "personalized cultural history" of the late works, employing the arbitrary narratives of autobiography in the *Education* and travel book in *Chartres,* allowed theorizing "without the necessity of resorting to abstraction." Adams' effort to discover a new twentieth-century unity, founded in the revelations of science and succeeding the vastly differing unities of the twelfth and of the eighteenth centuries, is more accurately defined as art than as historical philosophy.

Conder's study is extended and enriched by Melvin Lyon's more intricate investigation of Adams' symbolism. Lyon pursues Adams through his identification with medieval anarchism to his search for consolidating and unifying impulses in nature on to his recognition that chaos and reality are one. Adams' devices for suggesting these ideas are meticulously examined by Lyon. He finds in Adams' use of water imagery, for example, the varying phases of his resignation to chaos and his spiritless surrender to the unholy Second Law of Thermodynamics. Finally, in the proliferation of esthetic symbols, Lyon locates a modified spiritual recovery. Adams, he argues, tentatively concedes to the polar forces of illusion and reason the capacity to deliver some measure of resistance to the senseless multiplicity and meaninglessness of nature.

Lyon's concluding evaluation of Adams pushes his significance beyond what Conder has seen as a primarily esthetic achievement: "Disinclined to action by temperament, provoked to action by background, led to thought by temperament and background, dissuaded

from too much reliance upon thought by both temperament and background, Adams ultimately combined these tendencies into works which provide a bridge between action and thought, between experience and its meaning, a bridge difficult to achieve in any age, but particularly so in our own complex and chaotic era." Lyon's appendixes and critical notes are important adjuncts to his far-ranging and sometimes overwrought analysis. They review with scholarly subtlety those unanswered questions that continue to beguile the confirmed student of Henry Adams.

ANNETTE K. BAXTER
Barnard College

DARNELL RUCKER. *The Chicago Pragmatists.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1969. Pp. ix, 200. $6.00.

Here is a modest book that will serve purposes far beyond those that the author had in mind. His object is to describe the origins and growth of the Chicago School of pragmatists at the turn of the century and to expound the central features of their philosophy. He has done this with such scholarly thoroughness and balance and with such a just understanding of the fundamental intellectual issues at stake, that he has written not only a definitive chapter in the history of American philosophy and higher education, but a first-rate introduction to pragmatic philosophy as represented by John Dewey and George Herbert Mead.

The story of the Chicago School is in itself fascinating. Who would have thought that the new University of Chicago, in such a short period, would become a major intellectual center? Mr. Rucker tells us that when the university was first contemplated, someone in the East remarked that Chicago was about as likely a place for a great university as the Fiji Islands. Moreover, its president, William Rainey Harper, was looking for men somewhat more religiously orthodox than Dewey or Mead. He tried hard to bring much stodgier people to Chicago and settled for Dewey only after being told, apparently, that the young philosopher, then at Michigan, was a churchgoing man.

But Dewey came; he brought Mead with him and was joined in his work by James H. Tufts, James R. Angell, and others. As William James remarked, Harvard had thought but no school, Yale had a school but no thought. Chicago had both. Working together under Dewey's leadership, the Chicago School of philosophers reached out and influenced their colleagues in education, social work, psychology, and the social sciences. They created a university that was a community. Mr. Rucker tells this story beautifully, but he never loses himself in it. He is aware that the Chicago School created an epoch in American thought as well, and he shows why. His book is first rate.

CHARLES FRANKEL
Columbia University

DONALD C. SWAIN. *Wilderness Defender: Horace M. Albright and Conservation.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1970. Pp. xii, 347. $10.75.

During his lifetime Horace M. Albright engaged in two disparate and, in some respects, antithetical professions—first as a government official and later as a business executive. Relying heavily upon the Albright papers and other manuscript sources, Donald C. Swain has written a lively and sympathetic account of Albright's two careers in which he clarifies the contributions of one man to conservation in the United States.

Albright's first career began in 1913 when he left his native California to become an administrative assistant in the Department of the Interior. Two years later he teamed with Stephen T. Mather to provide the neglected national park system with administrative unity. The Mather-Albright partnership remained intact for the next fourteen years, and through its skillful direction the National Park Service became a professionalized administrative agency capable of successfully resisting the sporadic forays of politicians and businessmen who coveted control of existing and potential park lands for exploitative purposes. When Mather departed from government employ in 1929, Albright carried on as director of the National Park Service and presided over a significant expansion of park holdings, including the creation of Grand Teton National Park, a project upon which Albright had labored since 1919. In 1933 Albright terminated a twenty-year association with the national parks to embark upon an equally successful, if not as eventful, career as

chief executive of United States Potash, a position he held until his retirement in 1956.

The bulk of Swain's study deals, and justly so, with Albright's public career. His achievements while with the National Park Service were significant ones, and he unquestionably deserves the plaudits given him as an expert administrator and pragmatic politician, whether operating on a local level as superintendent of Yellowstone Park or on a national level as director of the Park Service. Swain is, however, on much less firm ground in asserting that Albright was at heart an esthete who, as he matured as a conservationist, took a middle ground between the purists and the utilitarians for the sake of compromise and accommodation. Swain's cited evidence indicates, to me at least, that Albright always had the mind of an administrator and political opportunist who placed practical considerations above the ideal. It is difficult to believe that an esthete, purist or otherwise, would favorably recommend a proposed Grand Canyon cableway, even if that action were only a temporary aberration and even if one admits to the practical political connection between the volume of park use and congressional appropriations. It is equally improbable that a true esthete would pen wild animals and expand the bear pits (garbage dumps) at Yellowstone Park for the amusement of tourists.

Despite this criticism this is a valuable book and a welcome addition to the library of conservation history.

GEORGE T. MORGAN, JR.
University of Houston

DAVID M. KENNEDY. *Birth Control in America: The Career of Margaret Sanger.* New Haven: Yale University Press. 1970. Pp. xi, 320. $8.75.

EMILY TAFT DOUGLAS. *Margaret Sanger: Pioneer of the Future.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1970. Pp. viii, 274. $7.50.

In the brief span of 276 pages, David M. Kennedy has, in effect, given us three books: a biography of Margaret Sanger, an account of the birth-control movement down to about 1945, and an exploration of its ideological antecedents and implications. As biographer, Kennedy dwells on Mrs. Sanger's faults and failings, concluding that her megalomania, her simplistic approach to complex issues, and her intolerance of possible rivals seriously damaged her cause. He deplores her strident anti-Catholicism (the legacy of a free-thinking father) and her failure to seek allies in liberal Catholic circles. In tracing the movement's organizational history—mainly a story of wrangling among competing groups—he examines the responses of doctors, lawmakers, judges, and clergymen to the reform. His account of the medical profession's concern over lay involvement with an essentially "medical" issue is particularly sensitive.

In his "intellectual history" chapters, which seem to have engaged him somewhat more deeply, Kennedy relates Mrs. Sanger's outlook to late nineteenth-century notions about sex, marriage, and the family; he brilliantly traces the evolution of the birth-control ideology from the pre-1917 period, when it was a radical rallying cry and a red flag to the bourgeoisie, to the 1920s, when it was championed by racist-minded eugenicists and embraced by significant elements of the middle class as a weapon against the proliferating lower classes and, especially, as a means of rejuvenating the imperiled institution of marriage. In a provocative chapter entitled "Margaret Sanger, Sexuality and Feminism," he argues that Mrs. Sanger's feminism was a reactionary version rooted in the belief that "only in maternity and the cultivation of their sexuality" could women achieve fulfillment. The quotations with which he buttresses this point do not seem quite able to bear the ideological weight he places upon them, while Mrs. Sanger's own career might be offered as counterevidence to the contention that she saw the bedroom and the nursery as the outer bounds of woman's sphere. But, speaking more broadly, Kennedy documents well his concluding observation that "in many significant ways birth control has served conservative ends." His is a valuable addition to the studies of Lasch, Kraditor, O'Neill, and others who are so fruitfully exploring aspects of modern American feminism.

Emily Taft Douglas' sentimental and eulogistic biography of Mrs. Sanger exemplifies well the hagiographic approach against which Kennedy has reacted. Yet, taken on its own terms, it is a highly readable narrative, adding flesh and blood to the rather abstract figure

Kennedy delineates. This is particularly true of its treatment of Mrs. Sanger's early years, her two marriages, and her relations—cerebral and otherwise—with Havelock Ellis and H. G. Wells. Though in too uncritical a fashion, Mrs. Douglas does remind us that Margaret Sanger was, after all, a figure of world-wide influence, a woman whose final achievement was to secure from a sympathetic benefactor the funds that financed development of "the pill"—potentially one of the landmark events of our age.

PAUL S. BOYER
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

PAOLO E. COLETTA. *William Jennings Bryan.* Volume 3, *Political Puritan, 1915–1925.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1969. Pp. ix, 334. $8.25.

Since his death in 1925, there has been no scholarly biography of William Jennings Bryan, partly because his correspondence is scattered throughout the country, and scholars have been reluctant to travel from one end of the country to the other in order to study Bryan's multifaceted and lengthy career. Paolo Coletta has now done this, and the result is a three-volume biography of Bryan. This, the last volume, covers the years from 1915, with Bryan's involvement in the antipreparedness crusade, until his death in 1925.

The research undertaken for this study is impressive. The author has meticulously examined dozens of manuscript collections, numerous newspapers, and the vast secondary literature dealing with Bryan. Moreover, he has conducted scores of interviews with people who knew Bryan. Indeed, it is rare that one reads a historical study that has been so carefully researched as this one.

While the strength of this volume is in its research and documentation, its weakness lies in its conception. The volume is filled with factual information about Bryan—what he did and said and how people responded to him. But an understanding of Bryan does not emerge from these pages.

The author has chosen not to engage in a systematic and explicit analysis of Bryan's psyche. As a result, we are still without an adequate understanding of the inner dynamics that motivated him to participate in one crusade after another for over a quarter of a century. Nor is Coletta's social analysis entirely satisfactory. In this respect it would have been a better volume had the author provided a more systematic analysis of Bryan's interaction with political parties during these years or offered more explicit explanations as to how and why Bryan became a leader in the fundamentalist-modernist debate.

Coletta quite properly views Bryan as an important figure in the movement for women's suffrage, antitrust legislation, and currency and banking reform; and there is the suggestion that Bryan's activities helped to achieve posthumously the guarantee of bank deposits, minimum farm prices, old age annuities, and insurance programs (p. 293). But one can easily exaggerate Bryan's significance in American history, and the over-all impact of this volume is to overstate Bryan's importance.

When one compares modern American history with that of other highly industrial countries, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that in the process of modernization, certain policies emerge at common levels of industrialization regardless of the country under consideration. And many of the reforms advocated by Bryan are programs that have emerged at comparable levels of industrialization in all modernizing societies. Indeed, it is my judgment that most of the reforms suggested by Bryan and enacted into legislation would have been realized had Bryan never come on the scene. This is not to argue that Bryan was an unimportant person in American history. Rather, it is an effort to place Bryan's influence in proper perspective.

Much of Bryan's importance in American history results from the fact that it was through him that certain forces of industrialization were transmitted into reality. Also, it was through Bryan that the forces of modernization stirred up certain counter currents—witness his support of fundamentalism and prohibition. Indeed, Bryan is an ideal subject for biography, as his life reveals the contradictory forces unleashed in the American modernizing process.

Despite its conceptual shortcomings, this volume contains much information about efforts to keep the United States out of World War I, the debate over the Treaty of Versailles, the presidential compaigns of 1924, and the prohibitionist and fundamentalist movements. Indeed, the

three volumes will long be a valuable storehouse of information for scholars who study that third of the century prior to Bryan's death in 1925.

J. ROGERS HOLLINGSWORTH
University of Wisconsin, Madison

ROY LUBOVE. *Twentieth-Century Pittsburgh: Government, Business, and Environmental Change.* (New Dimensions in History: Historical Cities.) New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1969. Pp. x, 189. Cloth $7.95, paper $4.95.

The history of urban reform and environmental change in twentieth-century Pittsburgh is, according to Roy Lubove, the history of decision making by the city's corporate elite. Early attempts by voluntary reform associations to rationalize urban development without government expansion failed because of reluctance to antagonize the city's competing interest groups. For example, smoke equaled prosperity in the Steel City; thus, smoke control could not be instituted easily.

Pittsburgh's urban "Renaissance" did not materialize until a new generation of businessmen, led by R. K. Mellon and supported by David L. Lawrence's Democratic political machine, rejected the notion of voluntarism and recognized the need for expansion of public power and expenditure. Alarmed by the environmental crisis of the late 1930s and early 1940s, they formed the Allegheny Conference on Community Development to meet the challenge of Pittsburgh's automobile-strangled and dilapidated downtown area, polluted skies, swollen rivers, and inability to attract new industry.

Ironically, however, as the era of voluntarism declined, a "reverse welfare state" was established: public resources became closely identified with corporate welfare, as best symbolized by the city's renewed downtown commercial area, Gateway Center. A business-inspired social renaissance, emphasizing housing reform, improved conditions little for Pittsburgh's lower classes. Thus, during the late 1960s, neighborhood leaders—often blacks—rose to challenge the city's corporate elite. Their aims were to reverse the "reverse welfare state" and to share in urban decision making.

Roy Lubove's study of Pittsburgh contributes significantly to the fields of urban history and planning; it extends to more recent times the thesis that urban reform during the Progressive era should not be interpreted as an uprising against business but was actually business initiated. Although Lubove laments poor local record keeping, he makes good use of the urban history materials that do exist, especially the resources of the Pennsylvania Division of Pittsburgh's Carnegie Library, the records of the Buhl Foundation, and the publications of ACTION-Housing. But, because of its local emphasis and the nature of the materials used, *Twentieth-Century Pittsburgh* leaves one wondering about the relationship, if any, of environmental change in that city to events on the national level. Was Pittsburgh's corporate elite locally inspired, or did it finally accept the "reverse welfare state" because the New Deal's program of liberal capitalism laid the groundwork for just such an acceptance?

BRUCE M. STAVE
University of Connecticut

WILLIAM D. ROWLEY. *M. L. Wilson and the Campaign for the Domestic Allotment.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1970. Pp. x, 219. $8.50.

DON F. HADWIGER. *Federal Wheat Commodity Programs.* Ames: Iowa State University Press. 1970. Pp. xi, 407. $10.50.

LOUIS CANTOR. *A Prologue to the Protest Movement: The Missouri Sharecropper Roadside Demonstration of 1939.* (Duke Historical Series.) Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1969. Pp. 204. $6.50.

MICHAEL P. MALONE. *C. Ben Ross and the New Deal in Idaho.* Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1970. Pp. xxiii, 191. $7.95.

FRANCIS W. SCHRUBEN. *Kansas in Turmoil, 1930–1936.* Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1969. Pp. xiv, 240. $8.50.

In his volume William D. Rowley has written the first full account of the ideas and events that led up to the adoption of the Agricultural Adjustment Act in May 1933. Beginning with a discussion of wheat as a symbol of despair among farmers in the 1920s, the author describes how Wilson, a Montana State College agricultural economist, became disillusioned with cooperatives and McNary-Haugenism and began to advocate agricultural readjustment through better land utilization and the adoption of the domestic allotment plan. Taking

ideas worked out by W. J. Spillman and John D. Black, Wilson sought to translate the domestic allotment plan of farm relief into reality by winning the support of important politicians. In this he was successful.

Much of this historical ground has been pretty well tilled, but Rowley plows deeper and provides more detail on Wilson's work than has yet been published. This study is important because it demonstrates the influence of one intelligent and persistent man in spanning the gap between academic economics and public policy. The author has relied heavily on the pertinent manuscripts and other basic sources, including the Wilson Papers. This book provides a fuller understanding of the background of one important aspect of the New Deal.

If problems facing wheat farmers prompted M. L. Wilson to search for an effective program of agricultural relief, they provided Don F. Hadwiger with the subject matter for his book, *Federal Wheat Commodity Programs.* Hadwiger shows clearly that the problem of wheat was excessive supplies and inadequate demand, especially after 1920. This situation prompted Congress to develop a variety of programs between the 1920s and 1960s to help the wheat situation. It is these programs—McNary-Haugenism, the Agricultural Marketing Act, the New Deal legislation, later production control schemes, conservation, and export programs—that Hadwiger covers in some detail.

This book is more than just a study of federal wheat legislation. It provides a great deal of information on total farm policy since the 1920s. The chapter on the Eisenhower years is among the best. Many valuable tables are included on production, exports, storage, and other aspects of the wheat industry. The weakest aspect of the book is its organization. For example, repetition could have been reduced if the materials included in chapters 2 and 3 had been treated in their proper chronological order. But overall this is a very useful book for anyone concerned with farm policy during the last half century.

Louis Cantor has made it clear that New Deal farm policies did not help the genuinely poor operators. In *A Prologue to the Protest Movement, The Missouri Sharecropper Roadside Demonstration of 1939,* the author tells the story of how more than a thousand oppressed and destitute sharecroppers, most of them black, finally sought to dramatize their plight in January 1939, by camping along highways 60 and 61 in southeast Missouri. Led by Owen H. Whitfield, a Negro farmer-minister who was active in the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, these landless peasants were the victims of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, which encouraged cotton planters to get rid of their tenants and sharecroppers so they could receive all of the cash benefit payments. There were other factors that contributed to their plight, but the AAA greatly added to their problems. Within four days the protesters had been moved away from the highways and out of sight. Yet for a moment in history they had dramatized their plight before the nation as newspapers presented the events in bold headlines. As Cantor says, this was an "early use of nonviolent demonstration to dramatize human want and suffering." But the tragedy was that it achieved so little. There was no basic change in the act that benefited tenants, and other government programs resembled symbols more than substance when it came to helping the poor.

Cantor's book points up at least three important things. Whitfield, a black, emerged as an effective leader who was interested in poor people, both black and white. Yet Cantor shows how difficult it was to get unity among leaders interested in doing something meaningful for the poor. And finally this study demonstrates how very difficult it is to develop and implement programs that might help America's underprivileged. Indeed, this book is a kind of case study of New Deal indifference to the lowest economic groups in American society.

Two books dealing with state politics during the New Deal period are Michael P. Malone's *C. Ben Ross and the New Deal in Idaho* and *Kansas in Turmoil, 1930–1936,* by Francis W. Schruben. Both Idaho and Kansas were agrarian states severely hit by the depression; both were still under the strong influences of the Populist-Progressive tradition; both were predominantly Republican in the 1920s. Idaho, however, turned to C. Ben Ross, a Democrat, for leadership, while Kansans placed their faith in Alf Landon, the Republican.

Ross, a rancher-farmer, Farm Bureau leader, and mayor of Pocatello, won Idaho's governorship in 1930 to close out more than a decade of

Republican control. He skillfully took advantage of the radicalism that was never far below the political surface because of agricultural misfortunes in the post-World War I period. Ross built up a strong following by advocating, among other things, honesty and economy in government, tax reform, and moratorium legislation. Although Ross had some of the characteristics of a demagogue, his rhetoric was usually much more radical than his actions. Indeed, Ross's career lends support to the contention that the New Deal was firmly in the Populist-Progressive tradition of American reform. The remarkable thing about Ross was how much support he could garner during the worst of the depression with programs that were neither very new nor very novel.

Kansas in Turmoil, 1930–1936 is an excellent example of state history placed in proper national context. It is essentially a political study, but economic conditions receive needed attention. The first part of Professor Schruben's book deals with conditions in Kansas in the 1920s, the gubernatorial election of 1930, the impact of the depression on the state, and the election of Republican Alf Landon who defied the Democratic deluge in 1932. A discussion of the famous goat-gland doctor John R. Brinkly adds spice and significance to this study. The last half of the book deals with Landon's race for the presidency in 1936. Schruben maintains that, while Kansans were anxious to benefit from New Deal programs, they tried to maintain their individualism and independence by keeping moderate, common-sense Landon in Topeka during the stresses and uncertainties of the early New Deal. Moreover, Kansas, like Idaho, was still under the influence of Populist-Progressive traditions and ideas.

By providing two fine state studies, Schruben and Malone have broadened our understanding of the New Deal and its impact on the nation. Both books are well researched, as the authors have relied on a wide variety of sources, including manuscript materials. They provide a somewhat fuller understanding of the relationship between the New Deal programs designed in Washington and their implementation in the states. It is here, however, that both studies are weakest. Both books are mainly descriptive of the complex and sometimes controversial relationships between the state and national governments, and, consequently, they do not greatly expand our understanding of federal-state relations in those crucial years. Nevertheless, these volumes present a view of the New Deal from the grass roots rather than from Washington, a perspective that is greatly needed.

GILBERT C. FITE
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DAVIS R. B. ROSS. *Preparing for Ulysses: Politics and Veterans during World War II.* (Contemporary American History Series.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1969. Pp. vi, 315. $10.00.

We have had few serious historical studies of the United States during World War II except in military and diplomatic subjects. The best Roosevelt biography for the period gives little attention to matters not directly concerned with the war. It may be forever thus, but there are some important unworked themes whose study might provide us with some new insights.

Ross has taken up one of these subjects—veterans' policy—and has examined it with diligence and imagination. His topic is, of course, an offshoot of military history but one with broad domestic, political, and social implications. He has not stopped with the New York *Times*, published government documents, and memoirs; he has studied the pertinent holdings in the National Archives, the Roosevelt and Truman libraries, and the widely scattered congressional collections, as well as the American Legion archives.

The result is a monograph that is one of the best accounts we have of the development of public policy. No brief summary can do justice to the book, but a few points may suggest its richness. Roosevelt had a long record of opposition to "veterans' exclusiveness" and a determination to secure social and economic benefits for society in general. The elections of 1942, however, gave added power to the anti-New Deal coalition in Congress, which thereupon scuttled the National Resources Planning Board, the agency most directly concerned with the development of veterans' policy. Anti-New Deal congressmen, led by the powerful John E. Rankin of Mississippi, chairman of the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation, seemed able to take charge in the face of a preoccupied

administration. A revitalized American Legion, however—eager to win members among the sixteen-million veterans—supported measures to broaden and liberalize the provisions of what came to be the "G. I. Bill of Rights" act of 1944. In doing this it broke with other old-line veterans' groups jealous of the prerogatives of their membership. Perhaps the most astonishing news in the book is Ross's discovery that the Legion was "susceptible to bargaining," a fact the Roosevelt administration missed. Ross thinks that "the Legion might have listened to New Deal appeals to depart from the narrow perspective of veterans' exclusiveness" (p. 123). This is iffy, but the evidence is persuasive.

This is an important book in a promising new series. If only Ross had resisted the temptation to drag the *Odyssey* in at every opportunity in his effort to find prototypes and analogies. G. I. Joe may have had a counterpart, but a Ulysses he wasn't.

ROBERT E. BURKE
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Foreign Relations of the United States, 1946. Volume 7, *The Near East and Africa.* (Department of State Publication 8490.) Washington: Government Printing Office. 1969. Pp. viii, 941. $5.25.

For some time after the Second World War the Middle East was the storm center of the cold war. Out of that storm center the United States emerged the most influential power in the Middle East and the main challenger to the Soviet Union. Britain learned to play "second fiddle" to the United States and not the other way around. The United Nations received and survived its first most serious challenges in the course of numerous crises in the Middle East. Secretary of State Byrnes and the diplomatic corps composed a more effective team than a number of critics have led so many to believe. President Truman and finally Byrnes and the Joint Chiefs of Staff refused to compromise human decency and a homeland for the Jews in the Middle East for oil and a more easily arranged plan of security.

These and more conclusions of substantial importance come to light through an analysis of the immediate postwar Iranian, Greek, Turk, and Palestinian crises, which are revealed here in all their naked diplomatic realities. The Department of State certainly had cause to fear the making of a tragedy if the Soviet Union were permitted to bludgeon Greece, Iran, and finally Turkey into granting bases along the Straits and in the Aegean and also control of the oil resources of the Middle East. Such prospects stirred American policy makers and diplomats to new heights of determination and effectiveness. Even the half-century-old "unwritten" Anglo-American alliance was made to come through in spite of President Truman's distrust of Prime Minister Attlee in the Palestine crisis. Attlee was "astonished" that Truman could not have been more generous and patient with British policy makers. American firmness prevailed nonetheless. American troops, for example, were not committed to help Britain out of its Palestine dilemma because such a commitment "would unnecessarily risk such serious disturbances throughout the area as to dwarf any local Palestine difficulties." Besides, "a great part of our military strength, as well as our standard of living, is based on oil."

Many moments of tense diplomatic exchange about such matters are revealed for the first time and in the liveliest of detail. For the most part the editing has been judiciously arranged, including more than the usual number of footnote directives for further reference. Several United States position papers are included and are of special importance. On the other hand, the scholar's appetite is also aroused by the many noticeable omissions. Unfortunately, a most serious criticism must be made of the poor quality of paper and binding used in this and several preceding volumes. The use of not one but two quite different inferior grades of paper in this volume certainly compounds the cause to insist that a higher priority of official concern should be given to the publication of these important and permanent reference volumes of official diplomatic discourse.

MITCHELL WILLIAM KERR
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NUMAN V. BARTLEY. *The Rise of Massive Resistance: Race and Politics in the South during the 1950's.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1969. Pp. ix, 390. $10.00.

Professor Bartley has mined the rich resources of the Southern Education Reporting Service and the Southern Regional Council to produce

one of the most important volumes yet to appear on the political history of the recent South. This is political history defined broadly, for the author places his account of massive resistance in the context of the sharp demographic, economic, and social changes occurring in the South in the post-World War II era. The region suffered from cultural lag as "the southern environment was changing substantially more rapidly than southern attitudes." This climate was ideal for the growth of "neobourbonism" whose leaders led the massive resistance movement in an effort to defeat the second Reconstruction as their predecessors of the last century had defeated the first Reconstruction.

The neobourbons came primarily from the black belt, although there was no lack of support in the small towns and the cities in general. They sought to retain control over a fast-changing society that had traditionally recognized their prerogatives, and they employed the old tactic of scaring the majority of whites with the "black threat," which seemed real enough as the pace of the civil rights revolution quickened in the 1950s. States' rights, the shopworn theory of interposition, and protective vigilance against Communist subversion were elements in the ideological fog used to hide these baser motives. No short review can do justice to this book, but the author examines in depth the origins of massive resistance in the Dixiecrat movement, the role of the White Citizens' Councils as the shock troops of the movement, the ideology of resistance, and the general timidity of the Supreme Court, the federal government, and business, church, and educational leaders of the South that enabled the neobourbons to make a mockery of the law in the name of legality. No doubt the neobourbons are in the vanguard of those calling for law and order today. By the early 1960s, the massive resistance forces were in retreat before aroused "moderates," believers in segregation but motivated enough by pocketbook ethics to lead the way toward acceptance of tokenism in dealing with racial justice, and thus toward the national norm for white America.

One major criticism of the book is that it fails to provide more than a perfunctory account of the victims of massive resistance, black and white. This shortcoming does not detract from the over-all accomplishment, however, and this volume should be required reading for anyone seeking to understand the demise of the civil rights movement in the 1960s, particularly the declining confidence in the law—or at least its enforcement—in the black community.

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Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States. Lyndon B. Johnson. Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and Statements of the President, 1968–69. Book 1, *January 1 to June 30, 1968;* Book 2, *July 1, 1968 to January 20, 1969.* (Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration.) Washington: Government Printing Office. 1970. Pp. lxix, 761, A-93; lxiii, 763–1404, A-93. $10.50; $9.50.

These two volumes, composed of many of Lyndon B. Johnson's previously published statements and transcripts of his press conferences, reflect the pains of a nation torn by racism, violence, and war. During his last thirteen months in the White House, no issue consumed more time and energy or receives greater space in these books than the war in Vietnam. Throughout 1968 Johnson's then-familiar explanations continued: the war was against an external aggressor (North Vietnam) and its "puppet" forces in the South; aggression had to be halted in Southeast Asia or a major part of the world would be lost to freedom; America's eager allies were also fighting for freedom; the government and forces of "democratic" South Vietnam were growing stronger; and the United States was prepared to negotiate a settlement. What had changed is that the president no longer openly suggested the possibility of a U.S. military victory in Vietnam, and he ultimately halted the build-up of U.S. troops there.

By 1968, as the *Papers* makes clear, Johnson had become a prisoner in the White House, a president unable to venture to or near many college campuses. Many Americans, and particularly the growing Left, were finding additional reasons to distrust him. They charged his administration with an unwillingness to settle the war and with insisting on terms that were unacceptable to the South's enemies. They learned that the widely-heralded "de-escalation" of the spring exempted only about seventy-five per cent, not ninety per cent (as Johnson re-

peatedly claimed), of the North's population from American bombs, and that the U.S. Air Force during the early months of "de-escalation" almost doubled the number of sorties against the North. Some Americans gasped after the Tet offensive when the administration contended that it was not a defeat for the South and when Johnson brought Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker to a press conference to explain that Tet was a "military . . . psychological, and political defeat" for the NLF. Also, Americans found additional reason to doubt whether the alleged North Vietnamese attack on an American ship in Tonkin Bay had ever occurred. More and more Americans spoke of the "credibility" gap, and certainly the mistrust of the president was greater than ever before. But for those who recalled the Greer incident under FDR or the White Paper on Cuba under Kennedy, there was less surprise at the lack of candor from the White House. For some scholars, and for more students, there slowly developed many of the same tests for truth that critics of the Soviets had long employed: assume that a statement is dubious until it can be evaluated by independent means.

On the home front in his last year, the president strengthened the civil rights program, expanded medicare and social security, deplored some violence, secured legislation to improve "law and order," won greater aid to education, struggled to halt inflation, increased income taxes, improved manpower programs, gained some protection for consumers, advanced programs for conservation, and alerted the nation to the plight of the Indians. His administration may yet be heralded as the culmination of New Deal-Fair Deal reforms and as the achievement of much of the promise of the New Frontier. But the dominant events at home in 1968 involved not legislation but violence: assassinations of Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy; burning of ghettos; and police brutality in Chicago.

In looking through the *Public Papers,* one also notes certain minor themes: Johnson referred to blacks as Negroes; he broke precedent and did not deliver a farewell address; and he continued to suspect the press but still held twenty press conferences, only slightly below the average of Kennedy and Eisenhower.

Over the years the editing of the *Public Papers* has improved, or at least the conception of the task has expanded slightly. As a result, the annotations, while still narrowly conceived, are fuller than in the Eisenhower and early Truman volumes. Yet there are still some disappointing practices: for example, the note after LBJ's statement on King's death mentions riots during the next week, but the editors did not see fit to cite Secretary Robert McNamara's testimony before a congressional committee on what Johnson's promise of "de-escalation" actually meant in practice. Also, the process of selection is occasionally surprising. A presidential statement on a report on federal aid to education is omitted, but more than two dozen presidential citations to combat units are included. In addition it is unclear why only some statements (for example, numbers 100 and 299) are noted as following the text of the White House Press Office when the introduction to the volumes implies that this office is a major source for an accurate text of most, if not all, documents. These are minor criticisms, and scholars have every reason to be grateful for what the government has provided at comparatively low cost: a convenient collection of many official statements of the president.

BARTON J. BERNSTEIN
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LESLIE B. ROUT, JR. *Politics of the Chaco Peace Conference, 1935–1939.* (Latin American Monographs, Number 19.) Austin: University of Texas Press for the Institute of Latin American Studies. 1970. Pp. xiv, 268. $7.50.

It seems a reasonable conclusion that the Chaco War between Bolivia and Paraguay from 1932 to 1935 was as involved an episode in international relations as can be found in the long panorama of Latin American history.

Not only were the two landlocked and hence frustrated states fighting each other in one of the hemisphere's bloodiest conflicts, but each had within itself the seeds of division. Argentina intermeddled, Chile was a very concerned bystander, other states of the hemisphere—not omitting the United States—exerted pressure, and the League of Nations got into the act. The struggle for peace, once the guns stopped firing, was no less complex. One might well wonder how a settlement was ever achieved; it may still be a question whether peace has permanently descended on the tortured Chaco Boreal.

Communications

TO THE EDITOR:

In an article recently published entitled "Red Fascism: The Merger of Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia in the American Image of Totalitarianism, 1930's–1950's" (*AHR*, 75 [1969–70]: 1046–64), Les K. Adler and Thomas G. Paterson set out to show that in the period covered many Americans drew an analogy between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia as having similar totalitarian systems. Having demonstrated that such an analogy did in fact exist in the minds of many Americans, the authors contend that the analogy was a "potent and pervasive notion that significantly shaped American perception of world events in the cold war" (p. 1046), and "forced rigidity upon postwar American foreign policy . . ." (p. 1060). As a result, Adler and Paterson maintain, the United States lost an unspecified number of opportunities in the years 1945–46 to reach an accommodation with the Soviet Union after World War II (pp. 1060–61). However, the authors fail to prove that American policymakers were indeed influenced by the popularly accepted analogy.

The authors attempt to suggest that the analogy influenced American foreign policy by quoting such public figures as Senator Arthur Vandenberg, George F. Kennan, Adlai Stevenson, Secretary of the Navy Forrestal, and General Douglas MacArthur on the question of postwar appeasement, which the authors maintain was one aspect of the Nazi-Soviet analogy. They fail to mention that the views of neither of the last two received much support within the government. (See the entry of September 21, 1945, *Forrestal Diaries*, ed. Walter Millis [New York, 1951], 96, and Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945–1966* [New York, 1967], 119). They conclude that "indeed, for some, diplomacy and appeasement were probably nearly identical in meaning, and diplomacy with totalitarian states meant concession to principle" (p. 1058). Adler and Paterson then allege that such a "national stance" was suggested by President Truman in his Navy Day speech of October 1945, when he stated: "We shall firmly adhere to what we believe to be right; and we shall not give our approval to any compromise with evil" (p. 1058). The authors comment that "such an attitude had a paralyzing effect on international give and take and certainly impeded the accommodation of international differences."

It is clear, however, that the excerpt was taken out of context and used to misrepresent the tenor and content of the original. It is difficult to believe that Truman could have felt that "diplomacy and appeasement were probably nearly identical in meaning," since the sentences that follow the excerpt read: "But we know that we cannot attain perfection in this world overnight. We shall not let our search for perfection obstruct our steady progress toward *international cooperation*" (*Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States. Harry S. Truman. . . . January 1 to December 31, 1945* [Washington, 1961], 488–85; emphasis added). A little later in the speech he said:

> The world cannot afford any letdown in the united determination of the allies in this war to accomplish a lasting peace. The world cannot afford to let the cooperative spirit of the allies in this war disintegrate. The world simply cannot allow this to happen. The people in the United States, in Russia, and Britain, in France and China, in collaboration with all the other peace-loving people, must take the course of current history into their

own hands and mold it in a new direction—the direction of continued cooperation. It was a common danger which united us before victory. Let it be a common hope which continues to draw us together in the years to come.

Since the authors' flagrant distortion of this speech is the only evidence offered of a supposedly inflexible attitude in international affairs on Truman's part, their contention remains unproven.

There are other distortions. Adam Ulam is cited to support the contention that the USSR had no blueprint for expansion in the postwar period, thereby implying that the Soviets had no aggressive intentions abroad (p. 1062). What Ulam in fact wrote was: "It is fairly clear that no such blueprint existed, that in fact Soviet policies responded to the specific circumstances and to the wider repercussions of Soviet thrusts in this or that area . . ." (A. Ulam, *Expansion and Coexistence: The History of Soviet Foreign Policy, 1917–67* [New York, 1968], 345). Ulam never suggested that the lack of a "blueprint" meant that the Soviets had no aggressive intentions.

After quoting the contention of Francis P. Matthews, a director of the United States Chamber of Commerce, that "all Communists, like all fascists, who owed a 'superior loyalty to a foreign power' should be excluded from government employment and from other sensitive positions," Adler and Paterson write that "Attorney General Tom C. Clark *concurred* [emphasis added] in a speech in 1946 to the Chicago Bar Association, pointing out that 'we know that there is a national and international conspiracy to divide our people, to discredit our institutions, and to bring about disrespect for our government'" (p. 1055). The passage does not show that Clark "concurred" with Matthews' demand.

There are numerous examples of value judgments inadquately supported by the evidence provided, of general statements offered without substantiating evidence, and of assertions made as if they were historical facts when actually they may be either incorrect or subject to debate. Some examples:

(1) "The analogy itself obstructed accommodation: it did not allow for a sophisticated understanding of power relationships in Europe; it substituted emotion for intellect; and it particularly affected the American perception of reality" (pp. 1060–61). There is no proof offered that the analogy in fact obstructed accommodation; there is also no proof that the analyses of totalitarianism were guided by emotion.

(2) "The documents [captured German documents concerning the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939 and published by the United States State Department in 1948] reinforced and reflected the American image of the Nazi-Soviet connection and strengthened the argument of those who believed that Russia had never shared Allied war goals, but rather embraced the German aims of world domination" (p. 1059). Not one of the quotations that precede this statement serves to support it. In none of these is it stated or implied that Russia "had never shared Allied war goals," or that Russia "embraced the German aims of world domination."

(3) "Blinded by the analogy, American leaders could only perceive the civil war in Greece as a Hitler-like fifth-column intrusion by the Russians and not, as it was in reality, a struggle of Greeks against a British-supported monarchy with little interference by the Soviet Union" (p. 1055). The authors present this statement as a simple historical fact, when actually there exist many questions about the extent of Soviet Russia's interference in these events. For a contrary view, see I. J. Lederer, "Russia and the Balkans," in *Russian Foreign Policy: Essays in Historical Perspective* (New Haven, 1962), 450.

Soviet policies and practices during the period discussed are virtually ignored by the authors. Since the article is a revisionist critique of the "traditional" interpretation of the origins of the cold war, such an omission is to be regretted. It has inevitably led to a one-sided treatment of an obviously multi-faceted problem. There is no attempt to discuss either the evidence that indicates that secret Soviet preparations were beginning for the replacement of the "war on fascism" by the "war on capitalism" as early as 1944; or the Duclos letter denouncing U.S. Communist leader Earl Browder for obstructing such a shift in April 1945 and for predicting, in his book *Teheran: Our Path in War and Peace* (New York, 1944) "generations of peace" between Russia and the United States; or the grave and growing con-

cern Franklin D. Roosevelt felt about Soviet conduct before his death; or the many ways in which the USSR alarmed those Americans and Europeans who were doing their utmost to plan a peace settlement and an occupation of Germany in cooperation with the Soviets in 1945–46.

Finally, having themselves admitted that the Soviet system has failed to live up to its ideals, the authors complain that in her study of totalitarianism Hannah Arendt "avoided the important distinction between one system [the Soviet] proclaiming a humanistic ideology and failing to live up to its ideal and the other [the Nazi] living up to its antihumanistic and destructive ideology only too well" (p. 1049). The magnitude of the Soviet failure, however, makes such a distinction more semantic than real.

We have raised the above criticisms not to argue the merits of the stance taken by Adler and Paterson but to question the authors' scholarship. The shortcomings that we believe are in the article leave us greatly disturbed and do nothing to aid the search for truth. We hope that future studies will give evidence of more thorough, careful, and honest appraisals of the issues.

EDWARD J. LAZZERINI
LAWRENCE W. LERNER
University of Washington

THE AUTHORS REPLY:

This challenge to our article on "Red Fascism" falls into the ambiguous trap of claiming to question our scholarship while in reality questioning our argument. It is all the more confusing since it is motivated by what appear to be unexamined premises, of which the authors themselves seem to be unaware, about the origins of the cold war. In addition, their comments on our use of historical data are seriously weakened by their persistent and painfully naive conceptions of how to weigh evidence and present an argument, by the shallowness of their analysis, by their lack of evidence, and by their general insensitivity to differences between image and reality.

Let us begin with their first point, which ignores the large body of evidence we presented on the widespread vogue of the Red Fascist image in the minds of men with considerable influence in diplomacy, up to and including the president of the United States. Their statement that neither Forrestal nor MacArthur "received much support within the government" requires close scrutiny. Let us go to page 96 of the *Forrestal Diaries* and read more carefully. What was the issue? Lazzerini and Lerner never mention it. We did in our article. Forrestal labeled Henry Wallace's idea of sharing atomic information with the Russians "appeasement." Now it may be true that not everyone in the cabinet meeting of September 21, 1945, supported Forrestal's choice of words, but as Walter Millis, editor of the *Diaries,* notes, "The underlying attitude of nearly all seemed closely in accord with Forrestal's contribution" (p. 95). Forrestal did have support within the government. And if we should wish to carry the question to the general level of influence and support in American cold-war foreign policy, we find Forrestal quite often in the forefront of decision making, sending out the Mediterranean Task Force Fleet, elevating George F. Kennan to positions of influence, and publicizing the containment doctrine, for example. (See Lloyd Gardner, *Architects of Illusion: Men and Ideas in American Foreign Policy, 1941–1949* [Chicago, 1970], 270–300.) No one would claim that everybody in the cabinet or government at that time endorsed the Red Fascist notion or spoke in the rhetoric of Red Fascism. Forrestal did; he held considerable influence; and he joined others in utilizing the analogy to argue their case for America's cold-war diplomacy.

In their handling of MacArthur, Lazzerini and Lerner similarly lack an awareness of the complexity of the question involved. We must assume that they mean MacArthur did not receive support within the government because he was fired by Truman. Their point here is shallow and distorts our argument. He was fired not because of his statements about appeasement or Red Fascism—the evidence is overwhelming that many top officials in Washington were speaking and thinking similarly—but because President Truman considered him to be insubordinate in the civil-military relationship.

Now to Truman's Navy Day speech. We deny categorically Lazzerini's and Lerner's charge of scholarly malpractice. Their statements about this speech illustrate well our

point about their own unexamined premises and naive sense of the use of evidence. No scholar weighs every line in every speech equally when assessing the significance of the address. Statements are compared with those of other speeches to evaluate changes in emphasis—changes that are evident to many scholars who have studied Truman's speeches in 1945. The substantive question is clear: On what evidence do Lazzerini and Lerner choose to emphasize Truman's statement on international cooperation? The entire tenor of a speech must be evaluated, certainly, but with an eye to what is concealed as well as to what is revealed and with a sensitive attempt to grasp what underlies the presence of any phrase in the document. What did Truman mean by "international cooperation"? What did he mean by "progress" toward international cooperation and "lasting peace"? Statements such as Truman's on international cooperation are axiomatic in almost all public addresses by leading Americans and Europeans. Truman uttered them again and again; so did Senator Arthur Vandenberg; and so did Joseph Stalin.

What is the evidence? Did the United States by its actions and decisions support international cooperation? We contend that the most accurate meaning of the phrase "international cooperation" in the Navy Day speech is cooperation on American terms. The American record in international organizations in the early cold-war period, for example, should not be very comforting to Lazzerini and Lerner. The reality is that the World Bank and International Monetary Fund of Bretton Woods were dominated by American votes (one-third of the total, not counting those from Latin America) and dollars (especially because of their shortage in the world). The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was disbanded in 1946, because the United States refused to grant it any more funds on the grounds, as Dean Acheson put it, that the U.S. could not control it because Washington had "only one voice out of many voices and many votes . . ." (U.S. Congress, Senate, Foreign Relations Committee, *Assistance to Greece and Turkey,* 80th Cong., 1st sess. [March 24, 1947], p. 37). Neither the Truman Doctrine nor the Marshall Plan bear the mark of international cooperation, in large part because the United States deliberately bypassed existing international institutions such as the United Nations, the Food and Agriculture Organization, and the Economic Commission for Europe to initiate American programs on American terms. Whether one criticizes or admires these diplomatic cornerstones of American foreign policy, he must admit that there is quite a gap between rhetoric and reality. That our readers in this case failed to see the gap and, even worse, were unaware that this kind of interpretive problem exists for scholars, demonstrates their historical myopia. Their charge of "flagrant distortion" is both insulting and ridiculous. As we pointed out in our previous reply to critics (*AHR,* 75 [1969–70]: 2155–64), the problem is one of interpretation. Until Lazzerini and Lerner recognize this problem and become conscious of their own unexamined assumptions, their charge of "flagrant distortion" should be taken as nothing more than the blind projection that it is.

Though denying any intention of questioning our argument, Lazzerini and Lerner quote us out of context in an attempt to leave the impression that our argument is overdrawn and unsubstantiated. Being well aware of the difficulties presented by the problem of proving the influence of an idea or an image, we were deliberately cautious with our language, a caution our critics do not grasp. They quote us from page 1058 without giving the full statement with the qualifications. For emphasis here, let us quote ourselves with italics: "Since the cry of appeasement was pervasive in the American mind, diplomats *may have been* less willing to bargain and more willing to adopt uncompromising positions *vis-à-vis* the Soviet Union. Indeed, *for some,* diplomacy and appeasement were *probably nearly* identical in meaning, and diplomacy with totalitarian states meant concession to principle" (p. 1058). We then go on to quote the Navy Day speech and conclude that such a stance was detrimental to diplomacy. Earlier in the paragraph we quoted others on the appeasement theme. It would be absurd and unscholarly to claim absolute influence for the "Red Fascism" idea, and we do not, as the italicized words indicate. What we do claim is that a great deal about the nature of American perception and policies in the cold-war years can be understood and explained

by recognizing the presence of the "Red Fascist" analogy in the thinking of many American leaders. This is an interpretation; Lazzerini and Lerner are welcome to offer another, but certainly on the basis of research rather than facile assumption and innuendo.

We quoted Ulam correctly. We suggest that the writers of the letter read the entire quotation on page 345, which includes the important distinction between the Soviet domination of Eastern Europe and a perceived threat of a Soviet plan of attack on Western Europe—a plan both Ulam and George F. Kennan argue did not exist, except in the images nourished by some "Western observers."

With respect to the allegation that the words quoted from Attorney General Tom C. Clark do not support our argument, we suggest that Lazzerini and Lerner reread the entire paragraph that deals with the issue of communist and fascist subversion from within. This is precisely the question Clark was addressing. We should also point out that in writing an article it is necessary to leave out much material that would be useful only in a more extended work. For clarification, let us include some of it here. Not only did Clark make the 1946 statement, but in a 1948 speech he proudly quoted his earlier remarks and added, "It is gratifying to note that the American Bar Association, a few days ago . . . took steps to expel those within the organization who are not loyal to our form of Government, and to prohibit from membership any applicant with subversive ideology. This effective work should be extended to all non-governmental groups and agencies." (Speech, September 18, 1948, Stephen Spingarn Papers, White House Assignment, Harry S. Truman Library.) Our research convinces us that Clark "concurred" with Matthews both in general and in specifics.

Of course there are value judgments in our essay. What scholar does not have them? But we do not pass them off as facts, and we could not agree more that our assertions are subject to debate. Was there really need to state this truism? Emotion is evident in Red Fascism. Can Lazzerini and Lerner prove that it was not, or that reason was a more important factor in it? We repeat that one cannot separate the publication of the Soviet-Nazi documents from popular ideas and the cold war.

We answered the point about the Greek civil war in our last exchange, but we wish to point out that I. J. Lederer, whom Lazzerini and Lerner cite, makes his assertion, which is questionable, without a citation or shred of evidence (p. 450). A deliberate distortion? Misrepresentative scholarship? No, a differing interpretation.

There is an implied assumption that bothers us greatly. Lazzerini and Lerner state that "Since the article is a revisionist critique of the 'traditional' interpretation of the origins of the cold war, such an omission is to be regretted." This suggests to us that there are supposed to be different standards of scholarship for "revisionists" and "traditionalists"—labels that are of dubious help in understanding the complexity of ideas—and that if we were not "revisionists" our alleged omission would not have been regretted as much. We do not wish to belabor this matter, but it does reveal something about Lazzerini and Lerner, their clumsiness in analysis, and their lack of care.

Their comment about the Duclos letter confirms our belief that Lazzerini and Lerner are unaware of a considerable amount of historical controversy and scholarship that make their statement superficial. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. would agree with them, of course, because he gave a similar interpretation in his much quoted *Foreign Affairs* article of October 1967. But where is Schlesinger's evidence that the letter was written on orders from Moscow and that it alerted Communists to assume a new posture of noncooperation? Christopher Lasch, Gar Alperovitz, Gabriel Kolko, and William A. Williams, among others, have argued that the question is complex, that the letter can in fact be read as both cooperation and noncooperation. Kolko writes in his *The Politics of War* (New York, 1968) that Duclos was an advocate of United Front politics, that he pursued a moderate line, and that the Duclos letter was simply a casual survey of the dissolution of the American Communist party. Few scholars have penetrated the Duclos letter question deeply, and until they do, Lazzerini and Lerner should be more cautious about asserting such grand positions.

We have never said in our writings that there were no differences between Russia and the United States and that relations were smooth

or could have been after the war. Of course the Russians were difficult to deal with and there would be friction after the war. But the bitterness, the military escalation, the heated rhetoric, and the alliances were not inevitable. Of course Roosevelt displayed some annoyance, even anger, in 1945; but he was also angry in 1939–40 over the Soviet subjugation of Finland. And his "grave and growing concern" was not the same as that of Truman, who was clearly more blustering, less cautious, and less willing to compromise. Their letter suggests that Roosevelt's anger would have impeded pacific Soviet-American relations of any degree and would have brought about some realization that the Russians were nothing more than obstructionists. Roosevelt knew they were difficult; he had bargained with them at Yalta a few months before. There is no solid evidence that Roosevelt was not seeking at the time of his death an accommodation with the Soviets.

The complex history of American relations with the powers over Germany calls into question Lazzerini's and Lerner's statement. What does "peace settlement" mean? On American terms? Terms agreed to by cooperation? As John Gimbel has pointed out in his *The American Occupation of Germany* (Stanford, 1968), France in 1945–46 was more the obstructionist than Russia, and the myth of Soviet intransigence needs to be strongly questioned. The Soviets were difficult over central administration and reparations issues in Germany, but a reading of the minutes of the Allied Control Council reveals that the Soviets made a number of key compromises, whereas the French adhered stringently to their opposition to centralized four-power control of Germany.

The Soviet "war on capitalism" was always there. It was toned down during the war, as was American anticommunist sentiment. The Soviet anticapitalist line became more vociferous toward the end of the war, as did the American anticommunist line. We grant their existence, but ask if their existence per se precluded any accommodation in the cold war. We might add that American foreign policy might have had something to do with the rise of anticapitalist rhetoric in Russia. And it is true also that the "war on fascism" was a fact; the "war on capitalism" was rhetoric, unless we give such a loose definition to "war" that it loses meaning.

The view of totalitarianism suggested by Lazzerini and Lerner in their continuing efforts not to argue "the merits of the stance" taken in our article has several problems. First, it assumes that similarities in domestic political forms will necessarily carry over into the area of foreign affairs. Second, it is essentially static in its assumption that because two systems have certain similarities at a certain time they are forever fixed in that relationship, and third, it avoids dealing with the vast social, cultural, and ideological factors that differentiate and motivate differing systems. Following the logic of their letter—not unfairly, we think—Lazzerini and Lerner would seem to be in the difficult position of arguing, for example, that because certain American actions in Southeast Asia (invasions, disregard of international opinion and law, massacres of civilians, wanton bombings, etc.) are very similar in actuality to those of Nazi Germany in Europe, the distinction between America's failure to live up to its humanistic ideology and Germany's success in living up to the Nazi faith is also "more semantic than real." Our feeling is that to make such an argument, one has to be willing to sacrifice a great deal of complexity for soothing simplicity.

In conclusion, we are all the more confirmed in the findings of our research that the Red Fascist analogy distorted reality and was a serious impediment to peaceful relations in the early cold war. We have enjoyed this debate, but we believe that debates are usually more productive and analytical if the other team does its homework and avoids sweeping assumptions that lack substantiation and analysis of complexities and that tend to confuse rather than to clarify. To Lazzerini and Lerner, who write that our study does not qualify as a "search for truth," we can only suggest that it may appear so to them because they are too sure of what the "truth" is.

LES K. ADLER
Sonoma State College

THOMAS G. PATERSON
University of Connecticut

TO THE EDITOR:

Regarding my fascinating piece on "The Royal Navy and the Ethiopian Crisis, 1935–36" (*AHR*, 75 [1969–70]: 1327–56), on page 1351,

at the end of paragraph one, I state that the Anglo-French naval agreement allocated to the British "the area westward of a line drawn eighty degrees from Cape de Gata, Spain, about seven miles east of Gibraltar, where the British Home Fleet would be responsible." This is nonsense. The passage should read: "the area westward of a line drawn one hundred and eighty degrees from Cape de Gata, Spain, where the British Home Fleet would be responsible. This line hits the African coast almost exactly on the frontier between Morocco and Algeria."

In reference to page 1340, note 36, where I say that the origin of the expression to give an officer a "bottle" (to rap him on the knuckles) is obscure, the full term, it develops, is "a bottle of acid." This you deliver or collect as the case may be. Perhaps the full meaning is that when an admiral is displeased, his comments tend to be pretty acid!

A few bits and pieces from letters received since publication from senior officers of the Royal Navy to whom I had sent offprints may be of passing interest. A fact not generally known is that the first offensive action planned by the Vice-Admiral, Aircraft Carriers, Sir Alexander Ramsay, if Britain found herself at war with Italy, was a Fleet Air Arm night attack on the Italian fleet in Taranto harbor. Because of the short range of the aircraft, the British would have had to land at Janina airfield in northwest Greece and be landed-on at sea, off Zante Island, west of the Peloponnesus, the next morning. This involved amicable negotiations with the Greek government. There was, of course, no war with Italy in 1935–36; but the germ of the idea remained in being and, modified to suit the conditions, evolved into the actual attack on Taranto harbor in World War II. Again, the naval concentration at Aden during the crisis gave the Germans the key to the British naval cipher. The ships used their wartime codes and ciphers, "offering a cryptanalyst's feast. Call-signs were easily identified; key words and phrases regularly repeated" (Donald McLachlan, *Room 39: A Study in Naval Intelligence* [New York, 1968], 77). Malta apparently had no antiaircraft (A/A) guns in the beginning, and the air defenses of Gibraltar were little better: two three-inch guns. Serious consideration was given to sending one of these A/A guns to the naked island fortress! In the Far East the fleet had been so drained of ships for the Mediterranean that, to give the Japanese the impression that it had not been weakened appreciably, one old cruiser and four destroyers "rushed madly about and pretended they were the China Station Fleet!"

Finally, there is this raw bit of history that points up the attitude of the British sailors toward the "Ities," and vice versa. In the words of one who was there: "We were guard ship at Port Said for many weeks and used to see the troopships passing. In one of them an Italian sailor peed over the stern to show his feelings for the British. A sailor shouted, 'Do it while you can!' which brought the house down, because the Ethiopians were well known for their trick of castrating their prisoners!" On which high note I conclude.

ARTHUR MARDER
University of California, Irvine

TO THE EDITOR:

James M. McPherson's excellent article, "White Liberals and Black Power in Negro Education, 1865–1915" (*AHR*, 75 [1969–70]: 1357–86), described the continued demands for black control of white-financed institutions of higher education for blacks. He proposed that the unwillingness of those who raise the funds to relinquish control of them and the lack of adequately prepared blacks to take charge of the institutions were critical factors in the development of these institutions. His data, however, lend themselves to an additional analysis, and suggest two important alternate hypotheses.

McPherson accepts that the drive for black control centered on demands for greater participation as teachers, deans, presidents, and trustees. He presents tables showing, among other things, the proportion of the staff and faculty that was black and whether or not the principal or the president of the school was black for the years 1894–95 and 1914–15. The following table, based on McPherson's data, shows the correlation between these two factors. Black executive leadership is rarely found when the proportion of black faculty is below fifty per cent; it occurs most often when the proportion of black staff and faculty exceeds seventy-five per cent. The distributions were the same whether one examined the data for 1894–95 or for 1914–15.

The Relationship between the Proportion of Black Staff and Black Leadership of White-Financed Institutions of Higher Education for Blacks

Proportion of Black Staff and Faculty	Number of Leaders of Each Race		
	White	Black	Total
.76–1.00	1	10	11
.51– .75	4	1	5
.26– .50	22	1	23
.00– .25	18	1	19
Total	45	13	58

Based on a two-by-two table (white and black; over fifty per cent black, under fifty per cent black), statistical analysis yields a Chi Square of 27.10. For one degree of freedom, this value indicates an association between the two variables, significant well below the .0001 level of probability. It is highly unlikely that the values in the table above represent a random distribution of numbers.

All of the institutions were white funded, and all had totally black student bodies. From McPherson's data, a general hypothesis can be derived that black executive leadership will be related to the proportion of blacks serving in the institution, and not to the proportion served by it. (An index of the community control of service organizations being developed by Frank J. Corbett and Edward Cole of the Office of Urban Affairs, State University of New York at Buffalo, identifies black executive leadership and budgetary control as important indexes of community control.) The hypothesis could be tested, furthermore, by examining trends in a wide variety of institutions—prisons, businesses, or antipoverty programs. The hypothesis may be particularly adaptable to the public school situation. The funding for public schools comes from tax revenue, and, as in McPherson's study, this revenue is collected primarily from whites. Usually the prime argument in demands for community control of schools is the proportion of nonwhites in the student body. The proposed hypothesis suggests, however, that the critical variable in determining whether or not the top administrator will be black is the proportion of black faculty and staff, and not the proportion of black students in the schools. The data also suggest an alternate hypothesis: When the top administrator of an institution is black, the proportion of black faculty and staff may become progressively greater. This hypothesis could be tested by examining the dates of the appointments of the top administrator and the black members of the faculty and staff in various institutions. Confirmation of either hypothesis would have bearing on the strategies of groups concerned with community control of their schools.

MURRAY LEVINE
State University of New York, Buffalo
DAVID I. LEVINE
Calasanctius Preparatory School

TO THE EDITOR:

In his review of my collection *España Bélica* (*AHR*, 75 [1969–70]: 141–42), Mr. Charles H. Carter comments that the work is not sufficiently informative. As I stated several times in the volumes, the work was intended as a survey, not as an exhaustive investigation; it is impossible to write a thorough study of three centuries of military history in a thousand pages.

Mr. Carter's allegation that more information is given about the conquest of the Canary Islands than about the conquest of Italy is unjustified. Ninety-seven pages are devoted to the conquest of Italy and thirty-one pages to the Canaries. The reviewer claims that not a single modern history of the Thirty Years' War is mentioned in the bibliography. In fact, George Wagner's *Wallenstein, der böhmishe Condottiere* (Vienna, 1958), August Leman's *Richelieu et Olivares. Leurs négotiationes secrètes de 1636 à 1642 pour le rétablissement de la paix* (Lille, 1938), General D. Julio Fuentes' *Batalla de Nördlingen* (Madrid, 1906), and other long Spanish historical works are cited. And why would Charveriat and Janssens, for example, not be adequate sources for a survey? When he criticizes me for relying solely on Churchill for Elizabethan England, Professor Carter ignores my use of Lingard's *A History of England* and the Spanish works on the period.

The comments about Denia and Lerma are not clear at all. Sandoval, Marquis of Denia, became Duke of Lerma in November 1599 (see,

for example, the annuaries of the Spanish secretary of justice).

Professor Carter's criticisms could have been more accurate and dispassionate. It is regrettable that such an unfair critique has been published in the *American Historical Review.*

CARLOS MARTINEZ DE CAMPOS
Madrid, Spain

Professor Gordon Rimmer regrets that in his review of *Courtaulds: An Economic and Social History,* by D. C. Coleman (*AHR,* 75 [1969–70]: 1111–12), he inadvertently referred to George Courtauld III instead of Samuel Courtauld III (1793–1881) in the first and second paragraphs of the review, and that in the second paragraph he referred to Samuel Courtauld III instead of George Courtauld III.

Professor Moses Rischin regrets that in his review of Robert M. Crunden, *A Hero in Spite of Himself: Brand Whitlock in Art, Politics, & War* (*AHR,* 75 [1969–70]: 1788–89), he inadvertently failed to mention Jack Tager's *The Intellectual as Urban Reformer: Brand Whitlock and the Progressive Movement* (Cleveland, 1968). If not a full-scale biography like Crunden's, it is a superb portrait of Whitlock as a Progressive. It is regrettable that Crunden neglected to take a few cues from Tager's monograph, which he fails even to cite. It would have aided him substantially in locating Whitlock's "center of gravity."

Festschriften and Miscellanies

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed. Other *Festschriften* and similar volumes that are amenable to reviewing will be found in the review section.

Essays on Western History in Honor of Elwyn B. Robinson. Sioux Books. Grand Forks: University of North Dakota Press. 1970. Pp. 86. $2.00.

ROBERT P. WILKINS, Elwyn B. Robinson: An Appreciative Sketch. EDWARD C. BLACKORBY, George B. Winship: Progressive Journalist of the Middle Border. WILLIAM W. PHILLIPS, Growing Up With the Country: Asle J. Gronna's Apprenticeship. WESLEY A. WAAGE, *The Wheat Grower:* A Journal of the Commodity Pooling Movement. RALPH J. KANE, The Paradox of California Populism. JACKSON K. PUTNAM, Down to Earth: A. B. Guthrie's Quest for Moral and Historical Truth. D. JEROME TWETON, Progressivism Discovers the Farm: The Country Life Commission of 1908. SINCLAIR SNOW, Protestant versus Catholic: U.S. Reaction to the Mexican Church-State Conflict of 1926–29. A Bibliography of the Writings of Elwyn B. Robinson.

HOLLINGSWORTH, HAROLD M., editor. *Essays on Recent Southern Politics.* [The Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures, Number 4.] Austin: University of Texas Press for the University of Texas at Arlington. 1970. Pp. 115. $4.00.

JOHN B. CONNALLY, Introduction. E. C. BARKSDALE, The Power Structure and Southern Gubernatorial Conservatism. GEORGE NORRIS GREEN, Some Aspects of the Far Right Wing in Texas Politics. T. HARRY WILLIAMS, Huey Long and the Politics of Realism.

HOLLINGSWORTH, HAROLD M., and MYRES, SANDRA L., editors. *Essays on the American West.* [The Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures, Number 3.] Austin: University of Texas Press for the University of Texas at Arlington. 1969. Pp. 114. $4.50.

OTIS A. SINGLETARY, Introduction. SANDRA L. MYRES, The Ranching Frontier: Spanish Institutional Backgrounds of the Plains Cattle Industry. BLAINE T. WILLIAMS, The Frontier Family: Demographic Fact and Historical Myth. ROBERT L. WILLIAMSON, The Muzzle-Loading Rifle: Frontier Tool. RAY A. BILLINGTON, Frederick Jackson Turner and Walter Prescott Webb: Frontier Historians.

Indiana Historical Society Lectures, 1969–1970. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society. 1970. Pp. 88.

HOWARD H. PECKHAM, Redcoats and Red Men: The Development of American Military Confidence. JAMES MORTON SMITH, The Transformation of Republican Thought, 1763–1787. HARRY L. COLES, Some Recent Interpretations of Jeffersonian America.

NASH, PAUL, editor. *History and Education: The Educational Uses of the Past.* New York: Random House. 1970. Pp. x, 338. $6.95.

PAUL NASH, History and Education: The Dialectics of Enquiry. KENNETH CHARLTON, The Teaching Profession in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England. HENRY J. PERKINSON, René Descartes and Modern Education. MICHAEL B. KATZ, Education and Social Development in the Nineteenth Century: New Directions for Enquiry. BRIAN SIMON, Classification and Streaming: A Study of Grouping in English Schools, 1860–1960. A. V. JUDGES, The Meaning of Equality in Education. TIMOTHY L. SMITH, Parochial Education and American Culture. DAVID B. TYACK, Onward Christian Soldiers: Religion in the American Common School. A. C. F. BEALES, Church and State in Education: Public Support for Confessional Schools in Some English-Speaking Countries. W. H. G. ARMYTAGE, Battles for the Best: Some Educational Aspects of the Welfare-Warfare State in England. BRIAN HOLMES, The Contribution of History to a Science of Education.

Other Books Received

Books listed were received by the *AHR* between October 1, and December 1, 1970. Books that will be reviewed are not listed, but listing does not preclude subsequent review.

GENERAL

ABADIE-AICARDI, OSCAR. *El Uruguay, los Estados Unidos y la Unión Panamericana (1916–1918).* Preliminary study and notes by CARLOS MARIÁ DE PENA: *Apuntes diplomáticos.* Montevideo: Impresora Cordón. 1969. Pp. 250.

BERMAN, MARSHALL. *The Politics of Authenticity: Radical Individualism and the Emergence of Modern Society.* Studies in Political Theory. New York: Atheneum. 1970. Pp. xxiv, 325. $8.95.

BEŠEVLIEV, V., and TĂPKOVA-ZAIMOVA, V. (eds.). *Recherches de géographie historique.* Studia Balcanica, No. 1. Académie Bulgare des Sciences, Institut d'Études balkaniques. Sofia: Éditions de l'Académie Bulgare des Sciences. 1970. Pp. 243. 2.80 L.

BULLOUGH, VERN L. (ed.). *The Scientific Revolution.* European Problem Studies. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1970. Pp. 129.

CROUZET, MAURICE. *The European Renaissance since 1945.* History of European Civilization Library. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. 1970. Pp. 216. $2.95.

EASTON, STEWART C. *The Heritage of the Past: Earliest Times to 1500.* 3d ed.; New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1970. Pp. xvi, 792.

GAY, PETER. *The Bridge of Criticism: Dialogues among Lucian, Erasmus, and Voltaire on the Enlightenment—on History and Hope, Imagination and Reason, Constraint and Freedom—and on Its Meaning for Our Time.* Harper Torchbooks. New York: Harper and Row. 1970. Pp. 173. $1.95.

GROSE, DAVID D., *et al.* (eds.). *A Select Bibliography of History.* Comp. by the Henry Adams History Club, Harvard University. 4th ed.; [Cambridge, Mass.: the Club.] 1970. Pp. xi, 428.

HITTI, PHILIP K. *Islam: A Way of Life.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1970. Pp. 198. $6.50.

ILLICK, JOSEPH E. (ed.). *America & England: 1558–1776.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. 1970. Pp. viii, 299. $3.65.

KISCH, GUIDO. *Consilia: Eine Bibliographie der juristischen Konsiliensammlungen.* Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn. 1970. Pp. 86. 25 fr. S.

LÉON, PIERRE. *Économies et sociétés préindustrielles.* Vol. 2, *1650–1780: Les origines d'une accélération de l'histoire.* Collection U, Ser. "Histoire moderne." Paris: Armand Colin. 1970. Pp. 459.

LEWIS, I. M. (ed.). *History and Social Anthropology.* A.S.A. Monographs, No. 7. London: Tavistock Publications; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York. 1968. Pp. xxviii, 307. $8.00.

LOTHSTEIN, ARTHUR (ed.). *"All We Are Saying . . .": The Philosophy of the New Left.* New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1970. Pp. 381. $7.95.

NAGELS, JACQUES. *Genèse, contenu et prolongements de la notion de reproduction du capital selon Karl Marx: Boisguillebert, Quesnay, Leontiev.* Centre d'Histoire économique et sociale. [Brussels:] Université Libre de Bruxelles, Institut de Sociologie. 1970. Pp. 274. 585 fr. B.

OGLEY, RODERICK. *The Theory and Practice of Neutrality in the Twentieth Century.* The World Studies Ser. New York: Barnes and Noble. 1970. Pp. xiv, 217. $8.00.

RUGGLES, NANCY D. (ed.). *Economics.* The Behavioral and Social Sciences Survey. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1970. Pp. viii, 182. $2.45.

SETTON, KENNETH M., *et al. The Renaissance: Maker of Modern Man.* The Story of Man Library. Washington: National Geographic Society. 1970. Pp. 402. $12.55 postpaid.

STAVRIANOS, L. S. (ed.). *The Epic of Man to 1500: A Collection of Readings.* Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1970. Pp. 366. Cloth $7.95, paper $5.95.

WOLOCH, ISSER (ed.). *The Peasantry in the Old Regime: Conditions and Protests.* European Problem Studies. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1970. Pp. 112.

ZIEL, RON. *Steel Rails to Victory.* New York: Hawthorn Books. 1970. Pp. 288. $14.95.

ANCIENT

ARNOTT, PETER D. *The Romans and Their World.* [New York:] St. Martin's Press. 1970. Pp. 318. Cloth $6.95, paper $3.50.

BENGTSON, HERMANN. *Introduction to Ancient History.* Tr. from the 6th ed. by R. I. FRANK and FRANK D. GILLIARD. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1970. Pp. viii, 213. $7.50. See rev. of 1st German ed. (1949), *AHR*, 56 (1950–51), 850.

JARRETT, JAMES L. (ed., with an introd. and notes). *The Educational Theories of the Sophists.* Classics in Education, No. 39. New York: Teachers College Press, Teachers College, Columbia University. 1969. Pp. x, 231. Cloth $6.95, paper $2.75.

NYLANDER, CARL. *The Deep Well.* Tr. from the Swedish by JOAN TATE. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1970. Pp. 210. $7.95.

PINEAU, HENRI. *La côte atlantique de la Bidassoa à Quiberon dans l'Antiquité.* École Pratique des Hautes Études—VI[e] Section. Centre de recherches historiques. Mémoires de photo-interprétation, No. 7. Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1970. Pp. 92, 44 maps, 13 plates. 49 fr.

MEDIEVAL

BEARDWOOD, ALICE (ed. for the Royal Historical Society). *Records of the Trial of Walter Langeton, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, 1307–1312.* Camden 4th Ser., Vol. 6. London: the Society. 1969. Pp. v, 370.

CAVARNOS, CONSTANTINE. *Byzantine Thought and Art: A Collection of Essays.* Belmont, Mass.: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies. 1968. Pp. xii, 14–139. Cloth $4.50, paper $2.95.

CLARK, CECILY (ed.), *The Peterborough Chronicle, 1070–1154.* 2d ed.; New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. lxxxvii, 136. $9.75.

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RODMAN, SELDEN. *South America of the Poets.* New York: Hawthorn Books. 1970. Pp. xiv, 270. $9.95.

Recent Deaths

CECIL ROTH, eminent historian of the Jewish people, passed away on June 21, 1970, at the age of seventy-one. He was born in London on March 5, 1899, and, like his brother Leon, a distinguished philosopher of the Hebrew University, was educated at Oxford University, where he received the B.A. in 1923 and the M.A. and Ph.D. in 1924. From 1939 until his retirement in 1964 he also taught at Oxford as reader in post-Biblical Jewish studies. Subsequently he served as visiting professor at Bar Ilan University in Israel and at Queens College and Stern College in New York. His earlier American connections consisted of a visiting professorship at the Jewish Institute of Religion in New York in 1925–26 and at Columbia University in 1958.

Roth's very first book, *The Last Florentine Republic* (1925), immediately established his reputation as a historian and led to his appointment as fellow of the Royal Historical Society; as a result of the Italian translation published in 1929, he became a corresponding member of the Accademia Colombaria of Florence. During his archival researches in Italy, he became intrigued by a collection of manuscripts pertaining to the distinguished Rabbi Menahem Navarra (1717–77), which served as a basis for his pertinent biographical sketch published in the *Jewish Quarterly Review,* n.s. 15 (1925): 427–66. All along he developed a deep interest in, and a fine detective talent for unpublished documents, of which he soon became a distinguished collector in his own right. A "Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Roth Collection," published by him in 1950 in the *Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume,* listed no less than 850 items in his possession. He also was a fine collector of artistic objects; his house in Oxford and later his apartment in Jerusalem, both presided over by Mrs. Roth (the former Irene Rosalind Davis, whom he married in 1928), resembled small museums rather than private residences. I understand that his manuscripts and books are now to be transferred to the University of Leeds, while the art collection is to be placed in Toronto.

Roth's main areas of research were the history of the Italian and English Jews during the Middle Ages and early modern times and the history of the Marranos both on the Iberian Peninsula and in their dispersion through many lands. His major works in these fields were his *History of the Jews in Venice* (1930); *A History of the Jews in Italy* (1946); *The Jews in the Renaissance* (1959); *A History of the Jews in England* (1941); *The Jews of Medieval Oxford* (1951); *Essays and Portraits in Anglo-Jewish History* (1962); a major bibliographical compilation, *Magna Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica* (1937); *History of the Marranos* (1932); and *Life of Menasseh Ben Israel* (1934). It is noteworthy that even in his comprehensive works, he rather steered clear of the modern period. His *History of the Jews in England* stops in 1858, and that of Italy devotes only eighty out of six hundred pages to the century from 1848 to 1946; that of Venice is satisfied with a brief ten-page epilogue to cover the period from 1797 to 1930. Yet, when the Nazi onslaught on Jews and Judaism impelled him in 1938 to write a comprehensive apologia for the *Jewish Contribution to Civilization,* he assiduously collected materials of considerable significance pertaining to the nineteenth century as well. His manifold interests also led him in 1958 to take a stand on the much-debated *Historical Background of the Dead Sea Scrolls* in which he advanced a con-

troversial theory of his own. He also published a *History of Jewish Art* in 1961 and edited a number of beautifully illuminated Passover Haggadahs. In the last years of his life he became ever more convinced of the need of encyclopedic handbooks for Jewish learning. After contributing over the years a large number of articles to various encyclopedias, in 1959 he first edited the *Standard Jewish Encyclopedia,* which appeared in several editions and translations. More recently he served as editor-in-chief of a multivolume *Encyclopaedia Judaica,* which is now nearing completion.

Endowed with great industry, encyclopedic knowledge, and an elegant English style, Roth also wrote a multitude of essays, both scholarly and popular. A bibliography of his writings, prepared in 1966 by Oskar K. Rabinowicz, listed no less than 572 items, although "the enumeration of many articles in various encyclopaedias, reviews in periodicals, prefaces, and journalistic contributions has been omitted deliberately." This bibliography is included in the jubilee volume edited in Roth's honor by John M. Shaftesley and presented to him by the Jewish Historical Society of England, of which he had served as president for eight years, including the critical period of the Second World War. Many of his books and articles also appeared in Hebrew and other translations. With his passing, Jewish as well as general historical scholarship has lost a gifted, tireless, and eloquent co-worker.

SALO W. BARON
Columbia University

GEORGE BORN MANHART died in Greencastle, Indiana, on October 31, 1970. Dr. Manhart taught modern European history at DePauw University for forty-eight years; he was also head of the history department and coordinator of experimental curriculum and general studies. He was a member of numerous historical societies, including both the American Historical Association and the Indiana Historical Society, to which he belonged for over fifty years. His publications, along with many periodical articles and book reviews, include: *English Search for a Northwest Passage in the Time of Queen Elizabeth* (1925), *Alliance and Entente* (1932), and *DePauw Through the Years* (1962).

VERNON J. PURYEAR, professor emeritus of political science at the University of California, Davis, died in Norman, Oklahoma, after a brief illness, on November 10, 1970. At the time of his death he was serving as visiting professor of history at the University of Oklahoma.

Professor Puryear was born in Sulphur Springs, Oklahoma, in 1901. He received his A.B. degree from Baylor University, an M.A. from the University of Missouri, and the Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley. His initial academic appointment was at Albany College in Oregon. Later he taught at Humboldt State College. In 1937 Professor Puryear was appointed to the faculty of the University of California, Davis, and from that date until 1952—except for the war years, when he taught on the Berkeley campus—Professor Puryear was chairman of the department of history and political science on the Davis campus. As the senior social scientist at Davis, he played an important role in planning the creation of a College of Letters and Science, which came to fruition in 1951.

Beginning in 1952 Professor Puryear taught courses in political science, and for many years he had sole responsibility for offerings in the fields of international relations and comparative government. His teaching will be remembered by many, perhaps especially by students aspiring to careers in the Foreign Service. An interdepartmental major in international relations, the work of Professor Puryear, was elected by many students, some of whom embarked upon successful careers in government service and teaching.

Professor Puryear's publications, in addition to articles and reviews, include four important books on the diplomacy of major European powers in the Near East. His book, *England, Russia, and the Straits Question,* 1844–1856, was awarded the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize of the American Historical Association in 1931. All of his major scholarly works were widely reviewed and were characterized by probing analyses of neglected archival records.

CLYDE E. JACOBS
University of California, Davis

CLARENCE W. RIFE, for thirty years chairman of the department of history at Hamline Univer-

sity, died recently. Dr. Rife was founder and adviser to Hamline's International Relations Club and co-founder of the school's World Affairs Institute. After retirement in 1956, Dr. Rife was active in the Ramsey County (Minnesota) Historical Society and financial director of the Minnesota Student Project for Amity Among Nations.

Other members of the Association who have died recently include: A. K. Christian, professor emeritus of history at the University of Oklahoma; Harold M. Dudley, former professor of history at the American University; N. Ray Gilmore of Carmel Valley, California; K. A. MacKirdy of the University of Waterloo; W. H. Peifer of Springfield, Virginia; and R. Daniel Ricks of Mobile, Alabama.

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MEMBERSHIP: Persons interested in historical studies, whether professionally or otherwise, are invited to membership. The present membership is about 18,000. Members elect the officers by ballot.

MEETINGS: The Association's annual meeting takes place on December 28–30. The meeting in 1971 will be held in New York City. Many professional historical groups meet within or jointly with the Association at this time. The Pacific Coast Branch holds separate meetings on the Pacific Coast and publishes the *Pacific Historical Review.*

PUBLICATIONS AND SERVICES: The *American Historical Review* is published five times a year and sent to all members. It is available by subscription to institutions. The Association also publishes its *Annual Report,* the *AHA Newsletter,* a variety of pamphlets on historical subjects, and bibliographical and other volumes. To promote history and assist historians, the Association offers many other services. It also maintains close relations with international, specialized, state, and local historical societies through conferences and correspondence.

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Correspondence regarding contributions to the *American Historical Review* and books for review should be sent to the Managing Editor, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Unsolicited book reviews or review articles are not accepted; a statement concerning reviewing policy will be found in the issue for December 1970, vol. 75, pp. 1889–91. Preliminary inquiries concerning articles are not necessary, though authors may find them useful. Attention is urged, however, to a statement concerning the kinds of articles the *AHR* ordinarily will and will not publish; it appears in the issue for October 1970, vol. 75, pp. 1577–80. The entire text, including footnotes, of manuscripts submitted for publication must be prepared in double-spaced typescript, with generous margins to allow for copyediting. Footnotes should be numbered consecutively throughout and should appear in a separate section at the end of the text. The editors of the *AHR* are the final arbiters of length, grammar, usage, and the laws of libel; articles will be edited to conform to *AHR* style in matters of punctuation, capitalization, and the like. The editors may suggest other changes in the interests of clarity and economy of expression, but such changes are never made without consultation with authors. There is no official style sheet for the *American Historical Review,* but a convenient general guide is *A Manual of Style,* published by the University of Chicago Press.

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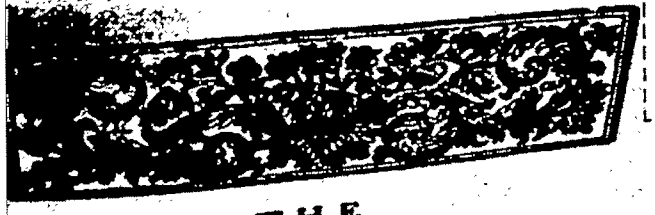
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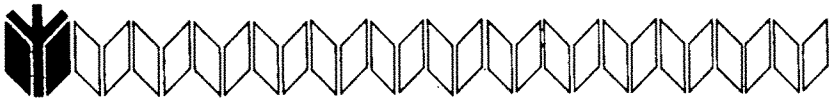
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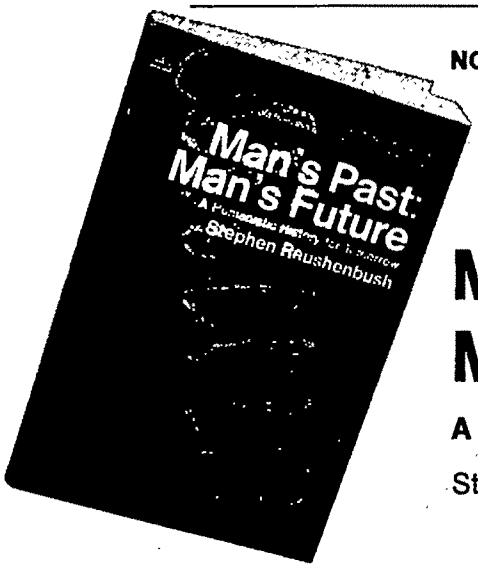
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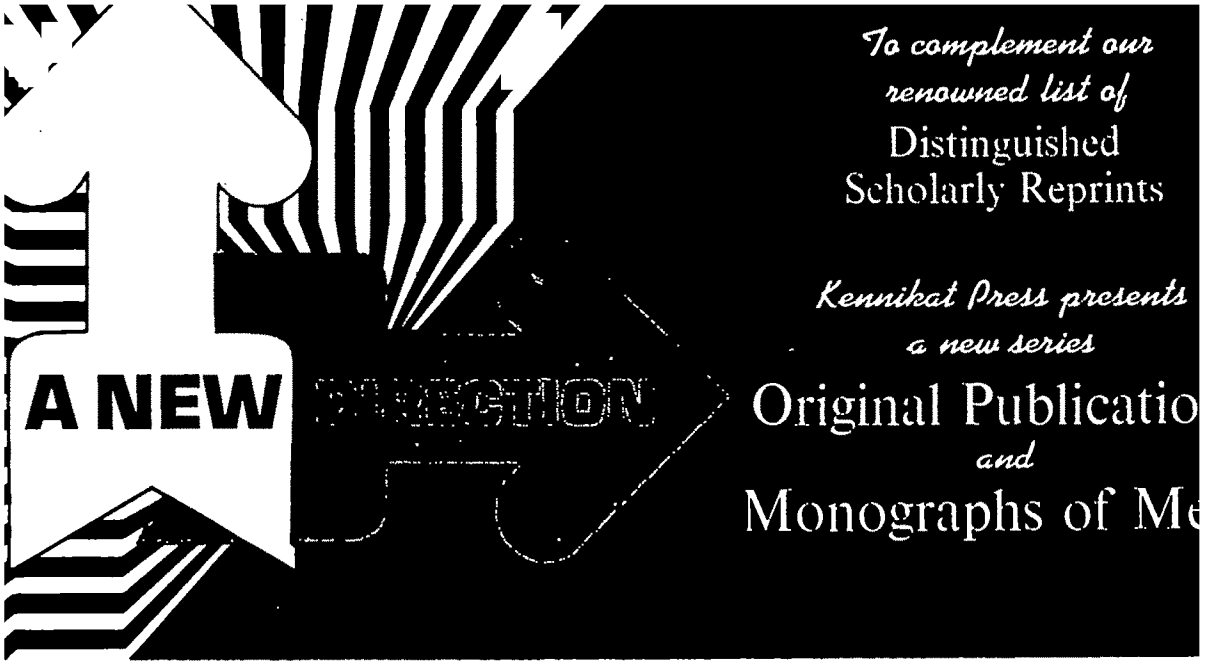
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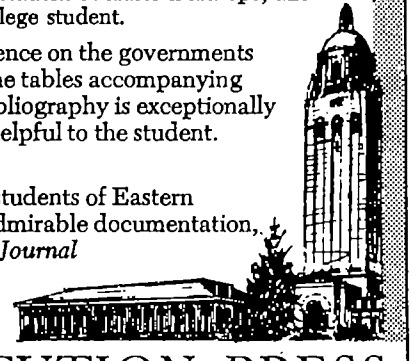
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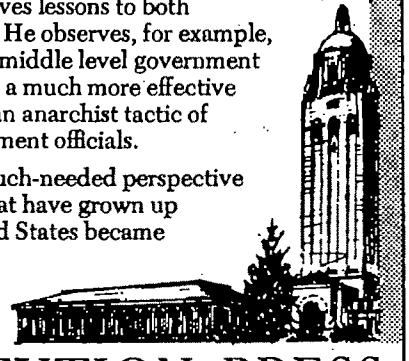
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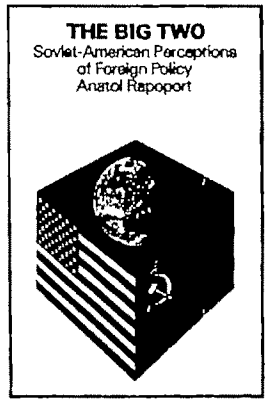
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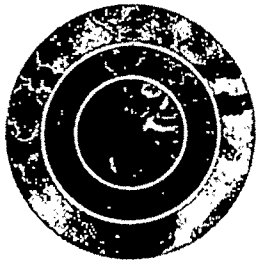
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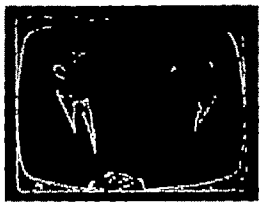
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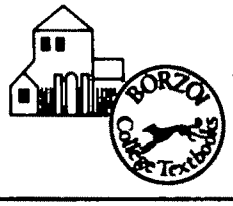
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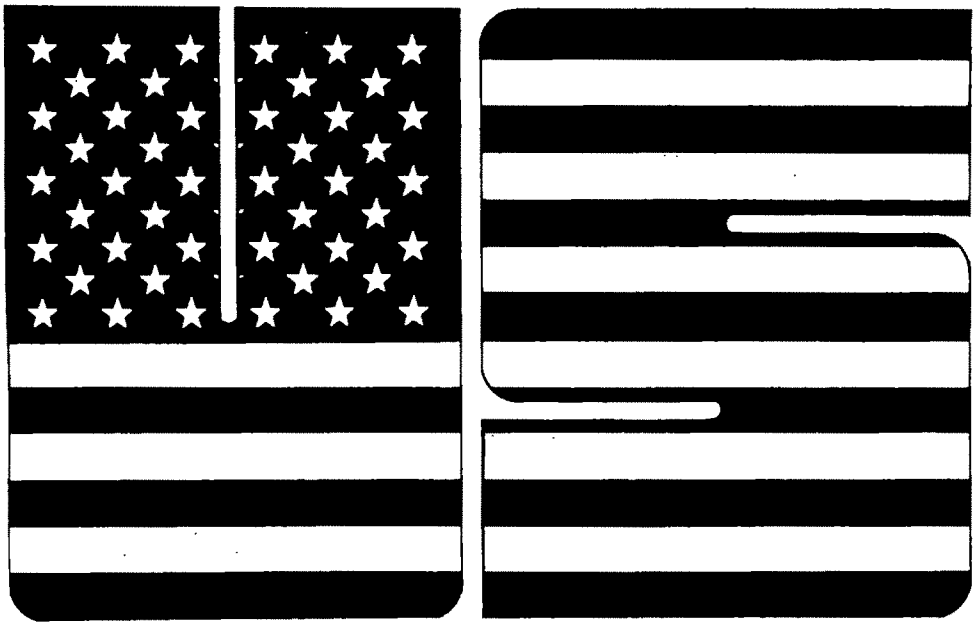
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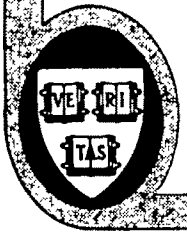
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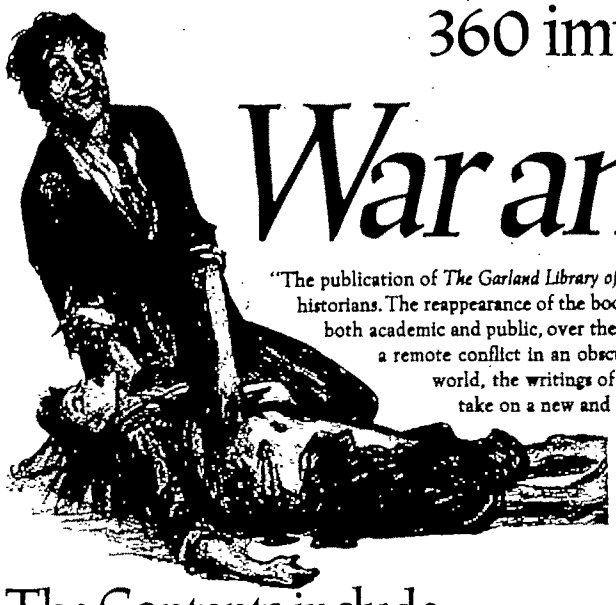
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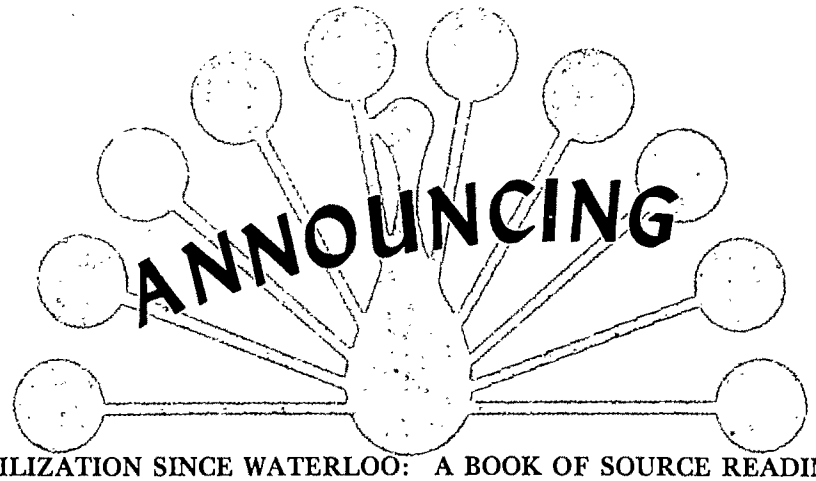
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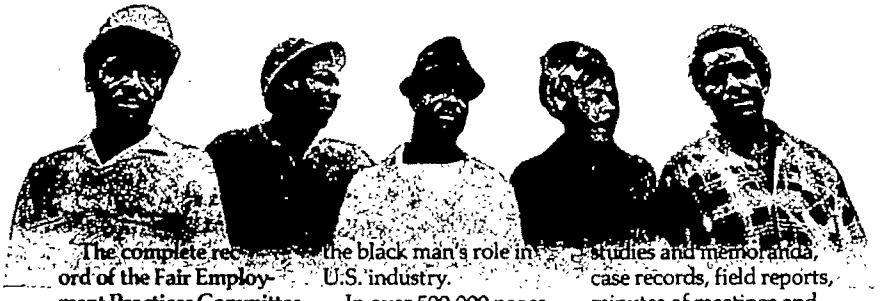
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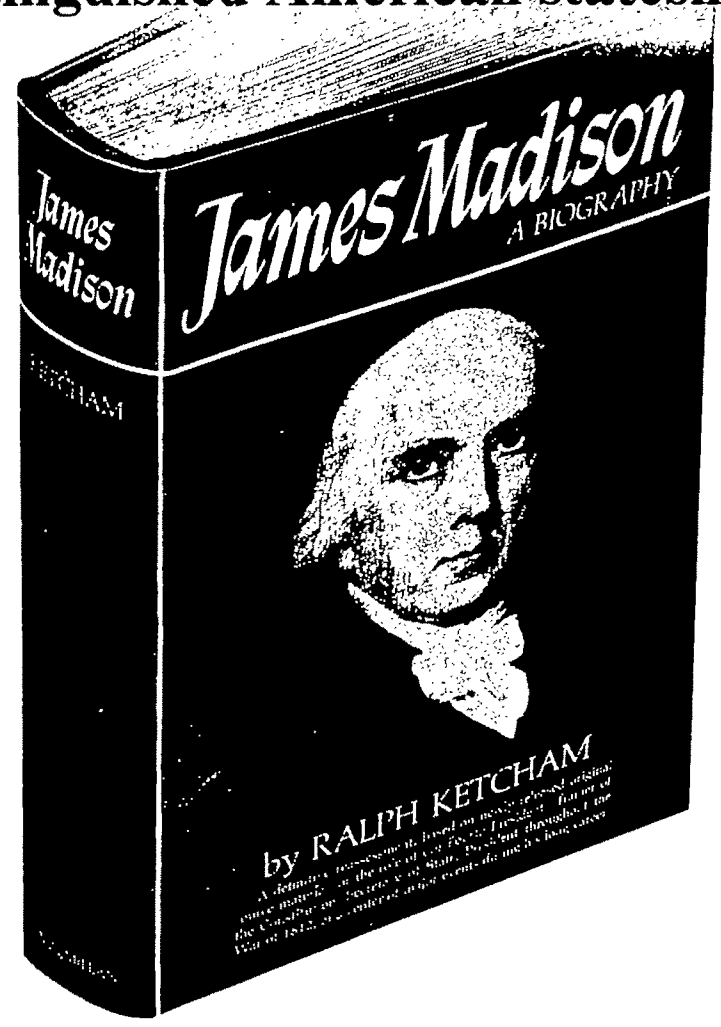
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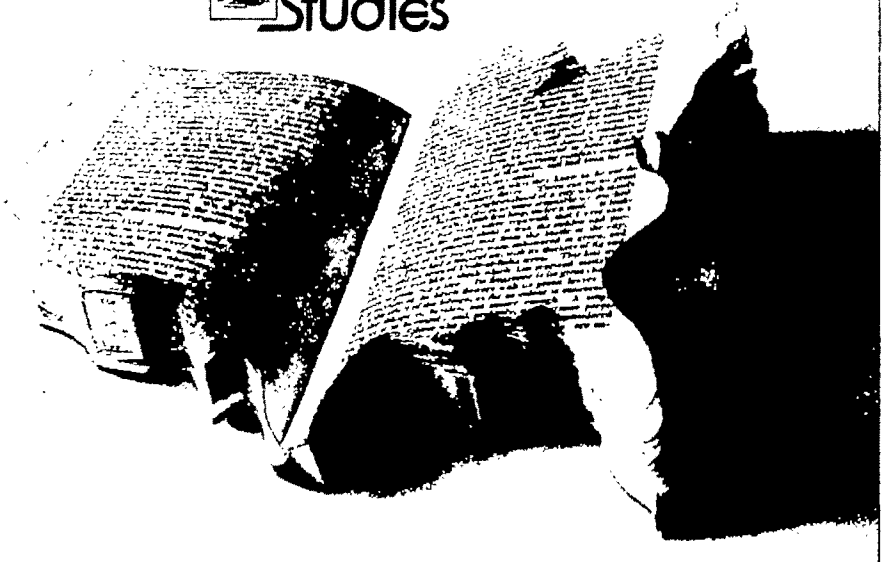
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